













# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON Opium held its first sitting in Calcutta on Saturday in the Bengal Council Chamber. The members present were the Right Hon Lord Brassey, President, Sir James B Lyall, G C I E, K C S I, Mr A U Fanshawe, Mr Haridas Voharidas, Mr R G O Mowbray, M P, Mr H J Wilson, M P, Mr Arthur Pease, Sir William Roberts, M D, and the Maharaja of Durbhunga, K C I E.

## Terms of the Reference.

The proceedings were opened by the President calling upon Mr J P Hewett, the Secretary, to read the terms of the reference, which were as follows —

1 — Whether the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited, except for medical purposes, and whether such prohibition could be extended to the Native States

2 — The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements can be with justice terminated

3 — The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium, taking into consideration (a) the amount of compensation payable, (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures, (c) the loss of revenue

4 — Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium trade and for raising the revenue therefrom

5 — The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts of India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people

6 — The disposition of the people of India in regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes, (b) their willingness to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures

**Address by the President.**

Lord Brassey, President of the Commission, delivered the following opening address —In opening the work of this Commission in India, it may not be unfitting that I should offer one or two observations from the chair. First, I desire to refer to the circumstances which have led to the appointment of the Commission. With reference to the sale and consumption of opium it has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Parliament at home. More than half a century ago the affairs of the East India Company formed the subject of enquiry by a Select Committee. The Committee were called upon to consider the opium question chiefly in relation to the trade with China. The traffic at that time was contraband, but the Committee, notwithstanding, gave its express sanction to its continuance. A few years later, in 1840, Lord Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, made a vigorous attack in the House of Commons on the opium trade. Coming down to a much later period, in the course of the enquiry of the Select Committee on East India finance extending over three sessions, the subject of the opium traffic was frequently brought up. Turning to the latest phase of the question in Parliament, a resolution to the effect that the Indian opium revenue was morally indefensible was passed in the House in 1891. Many prominent members of the Government voted in the majority, among them Messrs. Asquith, Fowler, Mundella, Burt, Marjoribanks, Sir E. Grey and Sir Charles Russell. The late Government, while unwilling to accept the proposals actually brought forward in Parliament by the representatives of the Anti-Opium Association, were anxious to show themselves in some measure in sympathy with their views. It was stated by Mr. W. H. Smith that the policy of the Government of India had been greatly to reduce the acreage under poppy cultivation, and they promised that this policy should be continued. Lord Cross also pledged himself to some important changes. The smoking of opium was no longer to be allowed on the premises where it was sold. In Bombay the condition that the license-holder should undertake to sell a certain quantity of opium is no longer in force. In the present year the subject has been again brought forward on a motion introduced by Mr. Webb and supported by Sir Joseph Pease, the President of the Anti-Opium Association. That motion was to the effect that, "having regard to the opinion expressed by the vote of this House on the 10th April, 1891, that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and which urged the India Government to give practical effect to that opinion by ceasing to grant licenses and by taking measures to arrest the transit

of Malwa opium through British territory, and recognising that the people of India ought not to be called upon to bear the cost involved in this change of policy, that oppressive taxation and the stoppage of expenditure necessary for the welfare and progress of the India people must be avoided, this House is of opinion that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire, both in India and this country, and to report as to (1) what retrenchments and reforms can be effected in the Military and Civil expenditure of India (2) by what means Indian resources can be best developed (3) and what, if any, temporary assistance from the British Exchequer should be required in order to meet any deficit of revenue which would be occasioned by the suppression of the opium traffic " If the Government had moved a direct negative to the resolution which I have read, it would, undoubtedly, have sustained a defeat That result was averted by Mr Gladstone throwing himself into the breach with a vigorous speech, and with a counter proposal for the appointment of a Royal Commission with more limited powers In the present state of opinion in England, where we see men in the position of the Archbishops and Bishops and the late Cardinal Manning, supporting the Anti-Opium movement, and yet admitting themselves to be ignorant of the facts, and urging the Government to give the light of an exhaustive and impartial enquiry, it must be recognised that the decision of a Royal Commission was inevitable, and, as I understand, that suggestion had gone forward some time ago from the Indian Government In conclusion, I would urge that the active interest which has been shown in England in the opium question should be accepted as evidence of the deep interest which is taken in all that concerns the good government of India Never has that feeling of interest in India and sympathy with and regard for the people of India been more strongly felt than at the present time In any action which may be taken on the subject before us, we are expressly charged with the duty of ascertaining the opinions and wishes of the natives of India To those engaged in the weighty task of governing this country, I can give an assurance on the part of the Commission that we have no desire to be unduly meddlesome, and that, in common with all our countrymen at home, we admire and recognise to the full the admirable qualities for which the Civil Service in India is so justly renowned

#### **Evidence of Sir David Barbour.**

In reply to questions by the Chairman the following evidence was given by Sir David Miller Barbour

I landed in India in December, 1863 I have, therefore, served very nearly thirty years.



In the earlier years of my service I was employed in Patna, and other opium-producing districts. I joined the Finance Department of the Government of India in January 1872, and since that date I have served almost entirely in that Department, or in offices under the control of the Finance Department.

In the earlier years of my service I had an opportunity of seeing the importance of the poppy cultivation to the ryots of the districts in which that cultivation is carried on. It is a very valuable crop, and though no doubt other crops could be substituted, they would not be so valuable, and the prohibition of the poppy cultivation would be a serious injury to the districts in question. While serving in these districts I had also a fair opportunity of seeing the effects of the consumption of opium. Opium was regularly consumed by only the most trifling fraction of the population in the large towns. Its consumption had practically no effect on the general population, and I can only call to mind one or two cases where it was consumed to an extent which was supposed to be injurious. In those cases all that I noticed was, that the person was indolent, and apparently rather stupid in the morning until he had his allowance of opium.

Since 1872 I have not come across a single person who appeared to have suffered in any way from the consumption of opium. There may, of course, be such persons in India, but there are certainly not many of them. I do not say that I have had special opportunities of observing the effects of the consumption of opium, but it is a remarkable fact that it is possible to serve thirty years in India and to mix pretty freely at times with the people, and yet never to see any evils which are worth considering arising from the consumption of opium. It may be that there are parts of India where the people suffer from the excessive consumption of opium, but I have never seen any evidence which could justify the belief that the consumption of opium in India was so great as to constitute a serious evil. I have seen and heard a good deal of evidence to the effect that the moderate and regular use of opium is not injurious and is not attended with any special evils, and that in many cases its use is positively beneficial. I believe that this opinion is entertained by many Natives of India, and I believe it to be well founded.

I have no doubt that the prohibition of the consumption of opium in many parts of India would excite the gravest discontent, and I think it would be madness for a Government such as ours to attempt to enforce prohibition. We have no right or authority to prohibit the production or consumption of opium in Native States, and I am sure these States would resent any attempt to coerce them in this matter.

I have no personal knowledge of the effects of opium in China, as I have never been in that country, but I have conversed on the subject with friends of mine who have travelled in China, and in whose judgment and impartiality I have confidence, and their statements were to the effect that the evil effects of opium in China had been grossly exaggerated.

The total revenue derived from the consumption of opium in India is about Rx 1,000,000. The net revenue derived from the export of opium is much larger, and may be taken at Rx 5,000,000 in the present year. The revenue derived from the export of opium has materially fallen off in recent years. This is mainly due to the growing competition of opium produced in China, but it is partially due to temporary causes, such as poor crops of opium in recent years, and probably in some degree to the introduction in China of the system under which a consolidated rate of duty is levied on the import in place of the lekm or transit duties. We may fairly take the total net revenue from opium at Rx 6,000,000 yearly at the present time. I have no hesitation in saying that it would be impossible to carry on the administration of India if the revenue were reduced by Rx 6,000,000. As it is, there is considerable difficulty in making revenue balance expenditure, and for my part I would positively refuse to attempt the task if the revenue were reduced by Rx 6,000,000. Some revenue could, of course, be raised by additional taxation, but not Rx 6,000,000. I have no doubt the country would bear some additional taxation if the taxation were imposed in consequence of some disaster which we could not have avoided, but the imposition of heavy, or perhaps of any considerable amount of taxation, in order to make good a loss of revenue caused by interference with the consumption or export of opium, would cause most serious discontent among the people of India. I would be most unwilling to face the consequences of taxation imposed for such a purpose. Of course the Rx 6,000,000 does not represent the total loss to the country that would be caused by the prohibition of the consumption of opium. Certain Native States would lose heavily, and the peasants in many places would suffer severely, if deprived of the chance of cultivating a specially valuable crop.

I am aware that it has been said that the loss of the revenue from opium might possibly be made good by a reduction in the army charges on account of British troops. For my part, I am unable to see any connection between the two questions. I take it that if the Home charges are to be reduced at all, they must be reduced without any reference to the opium question. If the Home Government are in a position to announce on behalf of the British Government that the Home charges should be re-

duced, I take it that the effect of that consideration will have an important effect upon the financial position, if they are not in a position to do so, I cannot take into account the probable decrease of expenditure due to that cause. The Government of India have represented that the Home charges ought to be reduced, and I believe there has been some consideration of the question in favour of an open Commission to enquire into the subject, but on the other hand, I understand that on a review the War Office and Treasury held, if anything, that the charges on account of the British troops in this country are not larger than they may fairly be.

There is one other consideration which has been put forward in regard to the loss of revenue, and it is this—that if the exports of opium from India were prohibited, its abolition might be spread over a series of years, say thirty years, so that the loss of revenue would be gradually introduced, and leave the question to adjust itself. Against that proposal I for my part desire to protest in the strongest terms. It would throw upon posterity a burden which we are unable or unwilling to take up ourselves, and there is no good reason to suppose that posterity will be in a better position to bear that burden. No man can tell what the history of India will be during the next thirty years. It may be that the country will be financially prosperous, or it may be that it will be in great financial difficulties. We are in very serious difficulties at the present time, and the financial burden of to-day would be simply intolerable if our predecessors had decided thirty years ago to stop the export of opium, and if our revenue was five millions less than it is now.

Q.—Turning to the military charges, the reason for opposing any modification in the present system of the opium monopoly being partly, and, I may say essentially, financial, it is impossible to exclude altogether from view a general consideration of the various charges which the Government of India have to meet. In a speech in the House of Commons, in support of the motion which led to the appointment of the present Commission, Sir Joseph Pease made special reference to the rapid increase in the military charges. He quoted figures, and pointed out, first, that the military charges had increased from 1880-81 to the present time by 8½ million tens of rupees, that the British Army in India had increased during the same time from 63,000 to 71,000 in 1891, and the Native Army from 126,000 to 149,000, and I believe there has been a large increase in expenditure on military works. Have you any reason to apprehend a further development in the same proportion in the military expenditure for the external defences of India?

A—Nobody would be better pleased than I if it could be found possible to reduce the military expenditure, but there are different opinions on the subject. It depends upon the course of events whether the charges increase or not.

Q—You are in a position as a financial officer to form an anticipation of the military necessities of the future?

A—Going back a little, my objections to the abolition of the production of opium in India are not by any means purely financial. If every rupee we levy directly or indirectly were to be made good to the Government of India, I would still say it would be a mistake to abolish the production of opium, because no extensive measure like that should be forced on people who don't want it, unless in order to get rid of evils of a most serious character, and I don't hold that the evils are of any serious character. Looking at the question from a practical point of view, it is perfectly true that the Home charges and the military charges in this country may be reduced, on the other hand, it is equally possible that the the Home charges and military charges here may increase. We may have a war on our frontiers which might be a source of most serious financial embarrassment, that would also be the case if we have to meet an extensive famine, and we have serious difficulties in attempting to introduce a gold standard in India, and I am not prepared to take into consideration a possible increase or decrease of expenditure unless upon more definite grounds. I admit that if the Home charges are reduced, the financial position will improve, and that if the military expenditure is reduced, the financial position will be better, but I have no guarantee in favour either of reduction of expenditure or increase of revenue. I can form no estimate.

Q—If the military defences of the country are of such a character that no Government could afford to disregard, and if it is financially impossible for the Government of India to carry into effect the recommendations of the House of Commons, in such a contingency as that it will be incumbent for the Imperial Government to deal with the defence question.

A—I have no doubt that when things are at the worst, we shall hope to receive assistance from the Imperial Government.

There is one matter—the feelings of the people of India with regard to the prohibition of the consumption of opium in India—with regard to which I wish to speak. I hold a very strong opinion that the prohibition of the consumption in India would of itself excite discontent in many parts of India, and it would be folly for this Government to attempt to

enforce the prohibition of the consumption. It is different in a country where everybody has a vote and a great majority of the people have come to the conclusion that the traffic in a certain article should be put down. But if the consumption of opium is to be put down in opposition to the general wishes of the people, or a large proportion of the people, the consequences may be very serious.

Q.—That consideration was considered when this Commission was appointed, and we are specially charged under the order of reference to put ourselves into contact with those races which are the chief consumers of opium.

A.—I have no doubt that the opinion I have formed is correct, and that it will be very difficult to stop the consumption of opium in this country. I also wish to say that I am not aware if the Government of India have any right or authority to prohibit the consumption of opium in Native States, and many Native States would resent it. The amount of revenue derived from opium by Native States is very great.

Q.—Perhaps you may not inappropriately glance at one aspect of the question, and that is with reference to the exportation of opium in relation to China. What is your view as to the feelings entertained by the Government in China with reference to the opium traffic?

A.—I have no special means of saying what the feeling of the Government in China has been in the past, or what it is in the present. I hope the Commission will find other witnesses who can inform them on the subject. But I am satisfied that the Government of China could not prevent the consumption of opium in that country. They would find it impossible, I think.

Q.—Supposing that a large increase in the duty of opium were imposed, and that the Chinese Government agreed to it, what is your view as to the probable effect of such increase of duty levied in Chinese ports with reference to smuggling?

A.—We know that the Chinese are most adroit smugglers, and I presume the higher duty on the importation of opium the greater the temptation to smuggling would be. But the Chinese Government seem to prevent smuggling tolerably well, and I believe they have an agreement with the authorities at Hong-Kong to prevent smuggling. I think they could prevent smuggling unless the temptation was very great.

Q.—As a matter of fact, we know that the management of their customs has been under the supervision of Englishmen for years.

A—I know that it was done at the instance of Sir Robert Hart, that the levy of import duty has been so managed, and that it is done in a fairly effective manner

Q—I will now direct your attention to a fact of considerable importance. Looking at it on behalf of the Government, you would naturally recognise the importance of meeting the objections of those who do object to the opium revenue

A—Certainly

Q—Particular exception has been taken to what is called the Bengal monopoly. In seconding the motion in the House of Commons at the present Session of Parliament, Sir Joseph Pease, as President of the Anti-Opium Association, expressed himself in words which it would be proper I should read. He said —“ The position of the Indian Government is a position which is terribly unique. It licenses every poppy plant that is grown, the Indian Government subsidises the whole of the cultivators of the Province, they frequently have as much as two millions sterling out in subsidies in the country, the Indian Government are the people who are responsible for this, they are the people who license and who regulate more or less the growth of the poppy according to the exigencies of the trade, it is a position which I may say is perfectly unique, they subsidise the growers, they buy the crop, they manufacture the drug and sell it by auction at Calcutta. This is the position of a beneficent Christian nation. We do license public houses, but we do not carry on a trade in public houses, we are not the manufacturers of all the whiskey used in this country, and if we were, we should hesitate before trying to force our whiskey crop according to the exigencies of trade. As a moral Christian nation we have no right to trade, and that in one of the greatest causes of misery to the human race.” That is the opinion of Sir Joseph Pease which I wish to bring prominently forward for the consideration of those who have the Government of the country. We have another view of the same kind calling for more weight, as it comes from Lord Hartington, late Secretary of State for India, who in a despatch of June, 1881, said —“ The points at which the position of the Government has been chiefly attacked are—(1) our direct connection with the trade, and (2) the policy pursued towards the Chinese Government in relation to it. As regards the first, it can scarcely be contended that the subjects of Native States can be prohibited from growing opium, or that the exportation of opium was not a legitimate source of revenue. But it is obvious that the Government are in a very difficult position when, as in Bengal, they are the manufacturers of, and dealers in, a drug

which is a subject to great abuse, and which, in the opinion of many persons, is the cause of much evil and misery ”

Then we have the views of the Anti-Opium Association, as put forward more particularly in a pamphlet which is referred to in Sir William Muir's minute of 1868. In that minute reference was made to the recommendation of Sir Charles Trevelyan in favour of the appointment of a Commission under the Government of India for the consideration of the expediency and practicability of introducing the Bombay system into Bengal, and, among other arguments which are there urged, was the large amount of money which was locked up in advances to cultivators. This objection and other objections were discussed in Sir William Muir's minute, and among other references was a reference to the opinion of Mr James Wilson, at that time Finance Minister of India, and his objection to the change proposed in Bengal amounted to this that if you have the Bombay system in Bengal you will no longer have the Government brand, and opium will sell to less advantage in the market. To that the answer was that Bombay opium had not the Government brand, and yet you get a bigger price. The main argument for a change taken by Sir Charles Trevelyan was put in this wise — “*Prima facie* the change proposed will remove a blemish from the administration without injuriously affecting the finances. It cannot be a proper position for the Government of India to occupy in which it has from year to year to determine the quantity of opium which has to be brought to sale ” This was taken up by the Anti-opium Association, who adopted the arguments they found in Sir William Muir's minute. I have thought it well to put before you the arguments which have been addressed to the British public, and which have so far prevailed with them as to result in the position which led to the appointment of this Commission. The assault was most seriously addressed to the question of the Bengal monopoly. I am aware that the despatch of Lord Hartington has been met by a very able minute on the part of the Government of India over which Lord Ripon presided, in which very strong reasons were given in favour of the Bengal monopoly. But I wish to lay before you the position put forward by Sir Joseph Pease, and I would ask you what your view is on one point, and especially with reference to this. Sir William Muir in this minute urges the impossibility of any immediate change. He said the new system would, of course, be substituted gradually, and then suggested that it might be tried experimentally in districts selected for the purpose, and if the results were such as the Government could not accept from a financial point of view, and if further it was found by experiment

that smuggling was stimulated, and that it increased rather than diminished the growth of opium, the experiment would be discontinued. This question of the Bengal monopoly being very strongly pressed, I would be glad to hear your views.

A—The arguments which you have read are no doubt plausible, and I have no desire to speak otherwise than with respect of those who used them, and of their convictions, but I think that when they are examined those arguments will prove to be entirely unsound. The real question is, Are you, or are you not, going to abolish the production of opium in Bengal. If you are going to abolish it, there is no use in discussing the monopoly system, or the production by Government of opium. And the question resolves itself into this—assuming that the production of opium is to be continued—what system gives the best results, the monopoly system or the system proposed to be substituted for it. I must say, I think, Sir Joseph Pease has put the argument unfairly when he talks of subsidising and licensing. The result of our system is to very largely reduce the area in which opium would be otherwise cultivated, and I don't think the Government is fairly open to the charge of stimulating the consumption of opium. It limits the cultivation of poppy and the extraction of opium for the purpose of raising as large a revenue as possible and checking the immoderate use of it in India. There is a very large consumption of spirits in England. If the Government decided to adopt the system which prevails elsewhere, namely, that of making over the production and sale to local bodies, and if possible, to reduce the quantity of spirits every year to one-fifth of the quantity now consumed, could they be fairly charged with stimulating the consumption of spirits? There is no doubt that it would check the consumption. What the Government has done here is to limit the production and consumption, and at the same time to enlarge the revenue. At present under the supervision of Government officers the poppy is cultivated and produced, and brought to the central factory, and the production is limited.

If you have a different system, which might be called "free trade," the Government would still have to license the cultivation and production of the drug, they would still have their own officers to supervise, and to levy the duty upon it, but, on the other hand the cultivators would have to pay a higher rate of interest for the advances which those who would take the place of the Government would make, they would require to keep up an establishment, and the Government would also keep up their establishment, and the result would not bear so high a rate of taxation as



it does at present, because it must come out of the pocket of the producers; and there would, at the same time, be a greater chance of smuggling owing to the two establishments. I also think that the opium would not fetch so high a price on account of possible adulterations.

Reference has been made to Malwa opium fetching higher prices than Bengal opium, but it should be remembered that Malwa opium contains twenty per cent more of opium than Bengal opium. There is more moisture in Bengal opium than in Malwa opium. On the other hand it would be a very serious matter to allow the general cultivation of the poppy under license, because the growth would, in all probability, extend over a large area, and there would be greater risks of smuggling. Therefore, on all grounds the monopoly system is superior to free trade, even from the point of view of the Anti-Opium Association.

Q.—I was contemplating asking you one or two questions about the home charges. You have given us already in your general statement your general view, and I think it is hardly necessary to occupy your time, or that of the Commission, in eliciting the obvious confession that you would be very thankful to have these charges reduced, and you would not refuse to entertain the belief that, on the ground of equity, something might be done in mitigating the present burden which India has to bear at home. These points are obvious, and it is also obvious that if anything is to be done to advocate the cause of India with the British public, it is not the work of the Commission, though some of us would return home in the belief that in another capacity it might be our duty to move in the matter. I, therefore, would not trouble you with any further questions from the chair; but if there are any other points upon which you wish to make a statement, we shall be glad to hear you.

A.—There is one point on which I wish to make two remarks, it is a most serious question. It has been argued or said that we should give up our treaty rights with China as regards the import of opium into that country, and should prohibit the import of opium into China in the interest of the Chinese people. Now it seems to me that to justify the interference of the Government of India in interference of this nature, it would be necessary to prove, first, that the consumption of opium in China was such an overwhelming evil that it is our duty to interfere in the interest of humanity, and secondly, that our interference would be attended with such benefit as would outweigh the loss of revenue to India which would certainly follow. Of course, it is for this Commission to come to the conclusion whether the consumption involves evils to that country of such a character as to justify that interference. I

am of opinion that that is not the case, I have not been to China, and my opinion can only be taken for what it is worth. But upon one point I have no doubt. If we abandon our treaty rights with China, and allow China to impose any duty it pleases, the whole of our present Indian revenue from the export of opium to China will be lost to India. We sell, yearly, a certain quantity of Bengal opium at the highest price; every additional rupee imposed upon it in China will involve a corresponding reduction in the price paid for opium in China, and such a reduction in the Calcutta trade means an equivalent loss of Indian revenue. The Malwa trade in opium has been in anything but a flourishing condition for some years, and its export has fallen off; any increase in the taxation in China must be met by a corresponding reduction in this country. The destruction of the Malwa trade would be the most serious blow to the States which produce that opium, because opium is their most valuable crop. On the other hand, the imposition of a higher rate of duty into China would have no effect upon consumption of opium in China. It would not affect the total duty upon Indian opium, because Indian opium bears the highest duty already imposed upon it, and in the case of Malwa opium, Government would be forced to reduce the export duty in order to save loss. Even if we were to assume that the Government of India was prepared to see the Malwa opium trade extinguished or reduced, any considerable consumption of opium in China would not follow. This opium has been largely displaced in China by indigenous opium and Persian opium, and its reduction will be accelerated by the quantity of Indian opium exported. In my opinion the financial effect of the Government of India doing away with the whole or the greater part of the Indian revenue derived from the export of opium, would be of the most serious character. Apart from the question of raising the revenue, which would lead to the destruction or serious reduction of one of the most valuable articles of export trade, which at present I can see no means of replacing, it would have consequences upon the rate of exchange, which might prove disastrous at a time when we are attempting to introduce a gold standard into India. The success of that measure depends very largely upon the proportion between Indian imports and exports, and any change which would tend to reduce exports may have serious consequences. It is conceivable that the consumption of opium might be the cause of such evils as to make it possible in the interests of humanity and morality to force us to wash our hands of the whole business, but I deny that this is the case. I am a Civil Servant of thirty one years' standing, and have served in the Financial Department twenty one years.

I was a member of the Royal Commission upon gold and silver two years ago. I have made a special study of the Exchange question, and I wish to give this Commission the most solemn warning of the consequences of destroying the opium revenue. I can see no justification for measures involving such results, and I am confident that this measure would not produce any of the benefits expected in the case of China. My connection with the Government of India will come to a close before another week is over, and I desire to place this my deliberate opinion upon record as the outcome of the experience which, I think I am forced to say, is of its character, not surpassed by any living member of that service.

The President—It will be our duty carefully to weigh your statements and paper which, you may be assured, will receive our most careful consideration. Speaking on the matter generally in relation to China, I suppose we are all of opinion that whatever our views may be of the history of those relations between England and China in the past, in the present those relations are governed by the resolution of the House of Commons, and the observations made by Sir J. Fergusson. Public opinion would never sanction any exercise of force on the part of the British Government to compel China to receive our opium. That declaration is before the Chinese Government to act in such a way as they may think justified. Any additional duty levied in Chinese ports must inevitably lead to additional smuggling, and it would be exceptionally difficult to put a check upon smuggling if our increase of duty were to stimulate it.

Q.—By Sir J. Lyall—You have anticipated in your evidence most of the questions I had thought of asking, but I will ask one or two upon small points. If any savings in the Home charges should be effected, if there were any practicable things to be done which would cost money, and yet have urgent claims, the Indian revenue would be set free to afford the money wanted for canals, railways, or for example, for reducing of the salt-tax?

A.—Nobody knows better than I do the claims upon the Government of India for very useful and good purposes and to an indefinite amount too. A great many things are wanted which ought to be provided for if money was available. My whole career has been that of occupying the important position of refusing to provide money for objects which are directly of importance.

Q.—In the last letter to Lord Kimberley from the Anti-Opium Society, which is said to represent the present case of the Society, it is

said that the suppression of the opium trade with China would, in all probability, have a beneficial effect upon silver and exchange, by putting an end to the drain of silver from China, to a certain extent, thereby enabling the Chinese to use silver in place of copper, and that it would thus check the depreciation of silver. Do you think there is any truth in this?

A.—I think there is no evidence of this at all. I have heard many strange arguments in connection with this currency question, but this is one of the strangest.

Q.—You think it would have no effect, either good or bad?

A.—I do not see the connection between the two things. The consequence, as a lawyer would say, is too remote.

Q.—It is said in that letter that, if the trade in opium were stopped, in all probability the trade in Indian productions of other kinds would be greatly increased?

A.—I imagine that, if the cultivation of the poppy were stopped in India, whether for export or not, a great deal of land would not be fallow, but other crops would be put in, but nothing so valuable as the present opium cultivation. We export now ten millions worth of opium. If these were stopped, we should either fail to pay our foreign debts to that amount, or export something else. I apprehend the way it would be brought about would be by the exchange falling till we exported something more, and until our natural imports were reduced. I know no other way of adjusting the accounts. Depend upon it exchange will fall very considerably.

Q.—By Mr Fanshawe.—I should like rather to clear up the position of the Government. The resolution of the House of Commons, dated the 13th June, 1893, pressed upon the Government the continuance of their policy to gradually diminish the cultivation of opium. I should like to ask what is the Government policy at present as regards its real objects and the limits within which such diminution should be carried out.

A.—The policy of the Government of India in regard to opium has varied somewhat from time to time according to the views of Government members for the time being. For a good many years past the policy in regard to internal consumption has been to raise taxation upon opium, as far as would be possible, without increasing smuggling. The object of the policy should be, I think, to raise a revenue and, at the same time, check the excessive consumption by increasing its price. As regards the exports

of opium from Bengal, the policy has been to sell about the same amount every year, neither diminishing nor increasing. This means that the average area would remain the same, rising or falling according to circumstances. I may also mention that the policy of Government has not been the same in every province, because in some provinces, as Burma and Assam, it is believed that opium was consumed to an excessive extent and in these provinces special restrictions were imposed, both by raising the rate of duty and limiting the number of shops. I am not sure whether that policy has not been carried too far. As regards Malwa opium, the policy has been to impose as high a duty as it could bear, raising it and reducing it as found practicable. It may be a question whether this resolution has rightly described this policy, but the policy has been what I have stated it to be.

Q.—This great diminution as regards exports referred to is not necessarily a part of the present policy of the Government?

A.—No, nor can I say that it has been in the past. My attention has been called to a statement made in the House of Commons by Mr W. H. Smith. I looked it up this morning, and found that he had described the policy as the policy of the Home Government. I was not aware that was the policy of the Home Government until that statement was made, and the policy here has been what I have stated it to be. I may say that from personal knowledge.

Q.—By Mr Mowbray—Amongst the subjects referred to the Commission is the amount of compensation payable to Native States. I do not think you have given us any estimate of what they may have to receive. Does it mean Native States alone or cultivators?

A.—I suppose it refers generally to both, but the serious amount of compensation would be the compensation payable to Native States and their inhabitants. As you have no right to stop their cultivation of opium, their amount of compensation would be a matter of bargain with those States. It would be a large amount, but I can't say what the amount of compensation would be, nor what the States would accept. Opium is grown in a great many Native States, even in States of which I do not know the names. It would amount to crores of rupees.

Q.—Do you consider that there will be also compensation payable to cultivators, some of them cultivators of the Government of India, deprived of that method of using these lands?

A.—This is very much a question of fact. If these cultivators and landowners from whom they hold land lose their profits and rents, I suppose it would be a question whether they ought not to be compensated.

If the loss was small, it would not be necessary ; but if the loss was serious, something would have to be done for them I could not give you any estimates of possible amounts, but I do not think it would be anything like that payable to Native States

Q—I believe there are other products of the poppy besides the actual drug ?

A—Yes, poppy seed is of considerable value It is a good deal exported, and a good deal used in this country

Q—Another point is the cost of the necessary preventive measures Assuming that it would be impossible to prohibit the growth in Native States, that the Government would have a right to prohibit the growth in British India for some of the people of India, do you think it would be possible, with the resources of the Government of India, to stop the export trade to China or elsewhere ?

A—I think a good deal could be done in the direction of stopping the very large exports to China, because opium is sent in such large quantities, and it would have to go down the sea coast I think in this way the exports could be practically stopped, but the whole resources of the Government would be unable to prevent smuggling from Native States into British India Some of the small Native States are in half-a-dozen scattered places, and the extent of boundary between Native States and British India must be some thousands of miles in extent The prevention of smuggling into British India is beyond the resources of the Government

Q—Sometime ago a Commission, assembled on this particular question, referred to the cost of necessary preventive measures ?

A—I think I can give you no estimates of what it might be, but you would require a large army of preventive officers, and when you had got that army you would not prevent smuggling even then

Q—In regard to any possible alterations in the monopoly system of Bengal, I believe you have in the Punjab, apparently not to a very great extent, an acreage duty ?

A—Yes there is ; there is a certain growth of poppy and an acreage levied upon it.

Q—Has the experiment been tried upon a large scale so as to enable you to speak with any certainty upon the effect ?

A—I think it is a peculiarity of the Punjab, and circumstances there are totally different to what they are in Bengal, but I am inclined to think that the amount of tax imposed upon opium by that duty is

very much smaller than what is levied upon opium grown in Bengal. Other officers will be able to give you more accurate information on the subject.

Q.—By Mr. Wilson, :—Do I understand you to say that the policy of the Government of India is pretty much the same as that declared in the House of Commons by the late Mr W H Smith, the Leader of the House.

A—I said that the policy of the Government of India is that which I have explained in my answers. It may be a question whether that policy is correctly described in the Resolution speaking of the Indian Government. I should not say that it would be the policy of the Government of India and I am not aware that it is the policy of the Home Government. I don't know whether your attention has been called to the question asked in the House of Commons subsequently on the 23rd April 1893 by Mr. Maclean,—“I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the India Office has any evidence to show that the recent reduction in the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is due to the intention of the Government of India to do away with the opium revenue little by little, and not to the commercial necessity for reducing production in order to keep at the price in face of the increasing competition of opium grown in China, and whether the policy of the Government of India with regard to this source of revenue is correctly expressed by Sir David Barbour, the Indian Finance Minister, who in introducing his Budget for the year 1891-2 said :—‘The opium revenue has no doubt fallen largely, and at this moment there are no indications of a recovery. On the other hand the fall up to date has been discounted, and provision made to meet the consequent loss of revenue. As the fall has been so great we may fairly hope that for the present we have seen the worst.’ And the answer to that question was—“The reason given for the reduction of the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is that the reserve stock of opium had become unduly large. The statements of Sir David Barbour no doubt do correctly express the policy of the Government of India.” The reason for that was that we had very good crops for a number of years, and a considerable stock of opium accumulated, therefore it was not necessary that the usual area should be brought under cultivation. That answer was given by Sir John Gorst out of my financial statement, and it rightly expresses the policy of the Government of India.

Q.—The fact then was that Mr. W. H. Smith was scarcely correct as to the policy of the Government of India when he made that statement in the House of Commons.

A.—I think some allowance must be made for him: he was not the Secretary of State for India. It is a very large country, with many Provinces, inhabited by a great many races, and a great many complicated questions connected with the administration, and it is not to be wondered at that even the members of the Government at home should not be completely informed on every practical question.

Q.—May I direct you to the language of Sir James Fergusson when in the same debate and representing the India Office, he used these words—"I freely admit that the Government of India have never denied that it would be very desirable to reduce the production of opium, they have diminished the number of licenses and the area in which poppy is grown by about 10,000 acres "

A.—As a statement of fact that is correct enough, but it was shown in the answer of Sir John Gorst that the area of cultivation was reduced because we had a large stock of opium in hand, and therefore to keep up the quantity required it was not necessary to put the usual area under cultivation. When there have been bad crops the area is increased.

Q.—Taking the statement of Sir James Fergusson to represent the India Office, and the statement made by Mr W H Smith, who was the leader of the House of Commons for many years would really mean

A.—I cannot say what the impression of the House of Commons might be, but I believe that on many occasions many inaccurate impressions have been conveyed to that House —(A laugh)

Q.—Then on the question of fact Is it quite correct as a question of fact to say that the area under cultivation has fallen 100,000 acres? I find that the area under cultivation in 1890-91, was about 500,000 acres. Taking ten years before; that is, in 1880-81, it was 536,000 acres, so that taking the difference in ten years, it was 36,000 acres and not 100,000

A.—That corroborates my statement that inaccurate observations are sometimes made in the House of Commons. I don't think there is much difference. But of late years the area under cultivation has rather fallen off. In 1892-93 it was 456,000 acres. I think the fluctuations are not due to any special policy but for two or three years we have avoided any increase of cultivation, because we were liable to be attacked in the House of Commons.

Q.—In the same book there is a statement as to the average production of opium per beegah. The general result goes to show that the produce has gradually fallen off,



A.—That is a question which was very much discussed a good many years ago. About twenty years ago there was a considerable falling off in the production, and it was thought that the soil would not produce the same quantity as before, that it had deteriorated in quality. But just about that time a change in the seasons took place and the produce became very large and we had a series of very good years. Recently, however, there has been a series of very bad years, but it would be wrong to base any conclusion upon the result of a few years.

Q.—Before the Indian Finance Committee in 1871 Sir Cecil Beadon was asked whether the action of the Government had been, while encouraging the use of opium in other countries, to discourage the use of it among their own subjects. He answered "Certainly." Would you agree with that?

A.—If you limit the production by saying it shall only be sold in a certain area, and impose a high rate of duty, and only allow it to be sold in a limited number of shops, you distinctly discourage the consumption.

Q.—He was asked what was the reason and he said, "The object of the Government was a fiscal object, to get as much revenue out of opium as it possibly could. He was asked whether it was indifferent to the Government whether the opium was consumed by the Chinese or by their own subjects. He said, Not quite. The profit upon opium for exportation is very much greater than the largest profit which we obtain from opium sold to our own people."

A.—Certainly, in a large number of places the profit on opium sold for internal consumption is greater than the profit derived from opium sold for exportation. The profit on a seer of opium sold in Bombay is much greater than the profit on a seer of opium exported to China. I may mention that the rate of duty on opium for internal consumption varies in different Provinces. In some Provinces the consumption is comparatively small and in others there are great facilities for smuggling. In these cases we don't impose so high a rate of duty, as in Burma and Assam.

By the President Q.—In Burma you have decided to put a restriction upon the sale of opium.

A.—It has been decided that the consumption of opium by Natives of Burma should be absolutely prohibited, making allowance for those who have been accustomed to use it in the past.

By Mr Wilson. Q.—Then Sir Cecil Beadon was asked, "But it has been the wish of the Government not to encourage the consumption of opium among their own subjects," He answered, "I do not think that

the consideration has had much weight with the Government as far as I know. I think their object has been to get as much revenue out of the consumption of opium as they possibly can

"And the Government would have been quite ready to see it consumed by their subjects as well as by the Chinese?"

"I do not think the Government have ever regarded the subject in that point of view, and endeavoured to get as much revenue out of it as they possibly could?"

A.—Sir Cecil Beadon had no doubt the means of knowing what the policy of the Government was at that time, but that refers to a state of things long past. His evidence refers to what took place about the year 1860, but in the past few years and especially at present the point looked at was not exclusively the raising of revenue. At the same time if that was the only point looked at it must be remembered that the raising of revenue had also the effect of checking the consumption. It does not stimulate consumption. But I am inclined to agree with Sir Cecil Beadon as regards the policy of the Government a great many years ago, that they looked only to the raising of revenue, and the point was not raised whether the raising of revenue checked the consumption.

Q.—Then he was asked "Therefore you may say generally that your sales of opium in India as well as in China are adjusted to obtain the utmost revenue possible?" And he said "Yes." Probably your answer would be the same?

A.—I should say decidedly, speaking of the present, that our desire is to obtain a maximum of revenue from the opium consumed in India, but it would be incorrect to say that would be the only consideration either as regards India or China. As regards India we do take special measures where the consumption is believed to be excessive. I am not sure whether those measures have not been carried too far, but they have been adopted in deference to English public opinion. As regards China, the question of the revenue derived from the export of opium being under discussion and very strongly attacked by men whose opinions are entitled to weight, we have by force of circumstances grown about the same quantity of opium every year. We have not very largely increased the revenue and have adopted a middle course, rather preserving the *status quo*.

Q.—In reply to the question: "I understand you to say that opium is grown in India simply for the revenue," the answer given by Sir Cecil Beadon was that the Government only required the opium as a means of obtaining revenue. Another question was, "If they could obtain more

revenue by doubling the cultivation they would adopt it, and would not be deterred by the effect it might produce;" and the answer was "Probably not."

A. Sir Cecil Beadon no doubt had knowledge of matters of which he had knowledge, but I can say confidently that no considerations of revenue at the present time would induce the Government of India to attempt to double the cultivation of opium, and if they attempted to do it the British Government, that is, the India office, would have prevented it, and Parliament would not have allowed it. One would never dream of doing it.

Q.—You referred to the net revenue from opium as being Rx. 5,000,000. Are you aware of the statement made in the House of Commons by Mr. Russell, the Under Secretary in India, that that sum was not likely to be realized by Rx. 600,000?

A.—It is doubtful whether we shall get that revenue this year. It may be less, but may be more in the present year, but the amount I would expect is Rx. 5,000,000. You may get a million or two millions, but five millions is a fair estimate. It may be somewhat less this year.

Q.—You said in your statement that you would probably export Rx. 600,000 less this year.

A.—When the estimate was made we expected a good crop and rather higher prices. The crop proved a bad one and as a consequence we have had to pay less for it, probably there will be a saving of Rx. 400,000 or Rx. 5,000,000. On the hand when the price of silver falls we lose Rx. 130,000 or Rx. 140,000. But you may take the revenue at Rx. 5,000,000 which I think is rather a low estimate.

Q.—Are you aware that the Anti-Opium Society have advocated the payment of the deficit by England?

A.—I should say that if measures are taken which would do away with the opium revenue to any material extent I really think England would have to pay. I myself would not recommend the abolition of the production of opium even if England would pay the whole.

Q.—Are you aware that that is a part of the programme of the Anti-opium party?

A.—I know that there are members of Anti-opium party who are in favour of England making good the loss to the Indian revenues, but I cannot say what the policy of the party is as a party.

Q—In May 1891, Sir Joseph Pease stated that in the House of Commons

A—So far as England would make good the loss, so far the financial objection falls to the ground, I mean so far as the loss would be made good permanently

Q—By Mr Pease—The revenue of the last two years does not actually represent the returns of the past year, because there has been a considerable reduction of stocks ?

A—There has been a considerable reduction in stock We have no reserve now

Q—In 1888-89, there was a very considerable reduction of area under cultivation ?

A—Yes there was

Q—Was any compensation given to the cultivators ?

A—There was a reduction in cultivation, whether or not licenses were refused I cannot say, but I have not heard of any compensation No one would think of proposing compensation My belief is that the reduction was made under the orders of the Government of India If I had been in India I should have recommended that the area of cultivation should not have been diminished

Q—You mentioned that there is a very considerable revenue derived from opium by the Native States, can you give any figures ?

A—I could not give them myself, it is very difficult to prepare these figures, but we are preparing them I think they raise the revenue mainly by charging very high rent upon lands given up to opium cultivation You will find great difficulty in getting accurate figures

Q—The crops are grown upon lands belonging to the Government ?

A—The land system here is different to what it is in England I fancy all the land in those States belongs to the Government in theory, but the cultivators have certain rights

Q—Have you any information in regard to the revenue derived by China ?

A.—The revenue derived by the Chinese Government from the import is very considerable. They charge thirty taels as import duty and eighty taels as consolidated lekin duty I have always understood that they get a larger revenue from the imports of Indian opium than from

Native grown opium, and I have further understood that they have a difficulty in getting into their own hands the revenue collected on the opium grown in China, because the money has to pass through the hands of the local Governments and they appropriate as much as they can for the purposes of their own provinces

By Mr. Fanshawe. Q.—Do you think it the right policy of the Government to discourage the consumption of opium?

A.—It is right to discourage, to a reasonable extent, any immoderate use of it. It is a drug liable to great abuse.

Q.—Do you think that in the past the Government of India looked upon it in the past entirely as a matter of revenue?

A.—I understand Mr. Wilson's question to refer to the state of things disclosed in the evidence of Sir Cecil Beadon. Sir Cecil Beadon was an officer who had special means of knowing, and I apprehend his answers as regards opium were correct, but it is certainly the case that the moderate and beneficial use of opium has been brought to the notice of the Government in recent years. Formerly I do not think the case was enquired into, and I must say that until two or three years ago, I myself was not aware to what extent opium was consumed in moderation, or noticed its beneficial effects. I have been surprised, since enquiries were made on that score, at the mass of evidence to show that its effects are beneficial when used in moderation. Every branch of the subject has received attention during the last few years.

Q.—It has not been left out of sight altogether?

A.—Yes, but like other Europeans, started with a very decided prejudice against opium. When I came to the country, I, like many others, looked with prejudice against opium as one of the evils of the country, and I have fairly come to the conclusion now that the evils have been greatly exaggerated. But that there are evils attending its immoderate use I do not deny.

Q.—By Sir James Lyall.—In answer to Mr. Wilson in reference to Sir Cecil Beadon's evidence, you admit, that probably Sir Cecil Beadon correctly described the policy which existed down to about 1860. Sir Cecil Beadon's evidence I suppose was confined to Bengal, but my recollection is distinct that in the *Excise Manuals* which are published in Northern India under the name of Thomason's Directions to collectors, and in the circulars which were issued by the Punjab and North-Western Provinces Governments long before 1860, the moral obligations of managing the

internal sale and consumption of opium were plainly asserted. Have you ever had occasion to refer to that manual?

A.—I have never had occasion to refer to it. I think Sir Cecil Beadon's experiences would be mainly confined to Bengal; but in so far as he spoke of matters coming under his own observation, his evidence is as good as that of any other person. But it is most improbable that he could speak with authority as regards the North-Western Provinces or the Punjab. So far as his personal experiences went there can be no better authority.

### **Evidence Tendered by Surgeon-Major General Rice.**

Surgeon-Major-General Rice was then called, his examination being led by Sir William Roberts. The following is the abstract presented by him —

I have been a member of the Indian Medical Service, Bengal Establishment, for thirty-seven years, during thirty years of which I have been employed as a Civil Surgeon in the Central Provinces, and for about twenty-eight years in medical charge of District and Central Jails—of the latter for twenty-two years, during three or four years of the time I was also superintendent of one or the other kind of jail.

It was always my duty to examine into the state of health of every prisoner on his coming into the jail and when he was discharged. I estimate that about 1,300 or 1,400 prisoners passed through the jail every year on an average. For the twenty-two years that I was in medical charge of a Central Jail, it was occupied by long-term prisoners from eight civil districts. In those days prisoners were transferred without any regard to the state of their health, so that I was dealing not only with the lowest kind of criminal classes, but with those in the worst possible state of health, for which with them the standing means of relief was opium.

Being medical officer I was held responsible for any undue sickness and mortality that occurred, so that it became imperative on me to appraise carefully the state of health of every prisoner on admission, and by a personal examination of everyone of them at least once a week, to see how they kept their health during their imprisonment. So that I came, for a long series of years continuously, to be intimately acquainted with the health characteristics of a not inconsiderable body of individuals who from their mode of life are most prone to become addicted to the abuse of opium.

It was an important part of my enquiries to ascertain the extent to which they were so addicted for several reasons, but especially for one, namely, to enable me to determine the nature and extent of the labour which should be allotted to them in each case—a duty which in all cases rested with me; and also to enable me to advise the magistrate as to the degree of culpability attaching to a prisoner when he failed to perform the full task awarded. From my general knowledge of the people, as well as of these prisoners in particular, I became impressed with the fact that, when deprived of his daily dose of opium, a man habituated even to the moderate use of it would fail to complete his full task, and in consequence it devolved upon me to state whether I thought this occurred from the above deprivation or from a vicious perverseness in the individual.

In common with tobacco, alcohol, hemp drugs, luxuries in diet, etc opium was forbidden as an article of ordinary use under the prison rule

It is a fact, of which I have no doubt whatever, that never, from the very first years of my service, did I recommend opium to be given to a prisoner as a special case in the form in which he had used it when free.

As far as I can estimate, I should say that in no more than two or three cases in the year were men imprisoned who were suffering from the abuse of opium, and in those cases I was able to satisfy myself that this abuse was owing to pre-existing disease

In the Central Provinces, malarial fevers, with severe ague and dysentery and diarrhoea, are diseases with which the people are afflicted. In these, muscular pains, nervous irritability, griping, and tenesmus are common and persistent symptoms, causing an amount of depression and inability to exert one's self that can only be appreciated through actually suffering them.

It may, I think, be safely stated that not ten per cent of the population all over India ever consult medical men of any nationality practising the European system of medicine. Not twenty per cent ever even see one. Practically, therefore, the great majority of the population are beyond the reach of such advice. The consequence is that either they consult *hakems* or *bards*, who invariably administer opium for these torments, or they have discovered its beneficial effects, and take it themselves. They soon have to take to it regularly, for these pains are ever present in one form or another, and seriously hinder the people in their work. The effect in such cases is magical, a man, literally disabled from these ills, after a dose of a quarter or half a grain of crude opium, in a few minutes begins to become a new man, and is able to do a

full day's work. He knows that if he cannot do this he and his family must starve. Even in Europeans who do not suffer anything like the hardships and exposure natives do, this drug is often called for, and in my hands has been equally successful. When the European gets well, he stops the drug, and, as the causes of his ailments which obliged him to resort to it are in his case only occasional, he is not called upon to recur to the use of it so soon again. Not so the native—he is always exposed to these causes, and the results never leave him, and as, for the reasons I have above stated, the use of opium is the only relief available, he must resort to it continuously, or die prematurely of disease or starvation. Taken in small quantities—and, as a rule, it must be in small quantities, for opium is dear and the native too poor to indulge in it unnecessarily—the individual leads a healthful, and if not a vigorous or robust life, certainly one in which he is enabled to maintain himself and his family in tolerable prosperity.

But a small percentage suffer so severely from the effects of the diseases I have named, that they must resort to the drug in steadily increasing quantities, and I presume it is from those individuals that pictures of the injurious effects of opium are drawn.

But those who draw such pictures unconsciously exaggerate the effects of it on the great mass of the people through inacquaintance with the purposes for which it is used, and the manner and extent to which it has come to be a daily necessity, just as tobacco is.

Without this remedy at their hands, and readily accessible, the sufferings of the people would be very great. As I have stated above, it may be accepted that medical relief for the great bulk of the people is non-existent, and I regard it as most providential that such a remedy as opium is within their reach.

The recollection is familiar to me, of prisoners declaring that inability to perform their allotted tasks was owing to their being deprived of their small daily dole of opium. It was also well recognised among the jail officials that, no matter how successful they may be in excluding tobacco, spirits, or other forbidden articles, they were never sure of being able to keep opium out of the jail; most people believed that, owing to its small bulk and the ease with which it could be concealed, it was constantly being smuggled in and was in free use among the prisoners.

In singling out my experience among prisoners it must not be understood that my experience lay altogether among persons of this class. It should be recollected that during all the years named above, I have had to deal with native infantry and cavalry soldiers, policemen and some hun-



dreds of thousands of patients resorting to charitable hospitals and dispensaries.

My general experience with the latter classes confirmed me in my opinion as to the mode of use and effects of opium among the former.

It should also be recollected that there is a sort of popular idea among Government officials of all classes and nationalities that any unusual slackness or inactivity in the performance of their duties or any sickness, the prominent sign of which was lethargy, on the part of their subordinates, was due to the abuse of opium, or to an occasional debauch with it. In consequence it was a common occurrence with me to have my attention directed to the possibility of this being the cause of the individual's temporary incapacity.

But the result of my enquiries was just the reverse, the sluggishness was due to his inability from one cause or another to procure his usual dose.

One reason I have for mentioning these details is to show what means I had, or was obliged to resort to, of ascertaining the effects of opium on the people as it is used by the great mass of them.

If such use of it as they now resort to were even restricted only, it would be productive of a considerable amount of suffering as a consequence of residing in malarial tropical climates, for which I know of no other single remedy, of the nature of food, drink, or drugs that could be substituted for opium. Quinine, besides being expensive, is useful only in malarial fevers, and has little or no effect in relieving the torments of dysentery, diarrhoea, rheumatism, &c.

It will be noticed that I abstain altogether from defending the use of opium on the grounds that it is not nearly so demoralising as alcohol, and that we should look at home as to the effects of the latter before going abroad to trouble ourselves with the former, on the maxim that "two wrongs will never make one right." I do not look upon this as at all a satisfactory line of argument. To me it appears that the fact of our not being able to prevent the abuse of alcohol is no reason at all why we should leave opium alone if it is anything like so destructive, physically and morally as it is represented to be.

I have seen it stated that the natives of India are much more tolerant of the action of opium than those of China or Upper Burmah. I really believe this is only a general popular notion, for which there are no substantial or rational grounds, except the one that Indians have been accustomed to opium, from time immemorial, and in their case a constitutional tolerance may have been developed. I have no experience with

Chinese, but I have had a goodly number of Burmans under my medical charge in jail and I did not perceive either more or less toleration of the drug when administered medicinally on their part as compared with the Hindustani prisoners. Besides, I have satisfied myself in my professional practice that Europeans are more tolerant—they require larger doses of opium—than natives, bulk for bulk. The former have acquired no tolerance of it as a race.

In this connection it may not be amiss if I mention that in the early years of my professional practice I learned that to produce the full beneficial medicinal effects of opium, much larger doses of it were necessary than is laid down in books, or than were prescribed by my brother medical officers in India. As time and experience gave confidence in this direction, I became what may be called a fearless prescriber of the drug, doubtless timid persons would describe me as a reckless one. But this never deterred me, it was sufficient encouragement to me that my patients got well of their diarrhoea and dysentery within short periods. My practice lay in districts where these bowel-complaints are yearly very prevalent and very fatal, being especially harmful to young European children. They occurred mostly in the rainy season—a time when, the rivers being in flood, there was no getting away from them for change of climate as can be done now with so much facility in these days of railways.

I enter into these otherwise trivial details in order to convey some idea of the extent to which I became familiar with the various uses and effects of opium, and of the yeoman's service it did me during thirty years of extensive professional practice.

Examined by Sir William Roberts stated as follows. It was my duty to examine into the health of the prisoners directly they were taken into the jail. The average number passing through the jail in the course of a year would be about 1,300 or 1,400. The prisoners were mostly of the criminal classes, they were a not inconsiderable body of individuals who generally suffered from the effects of a malarial and tropical climate and resorted to the taking of small quantities of opium as a relief from their sufferings. My experience was almost entirely confined to the Central Provinces, but during the last six or seven years my experience has extended beyond these Provinces. I believe that not more than ten per cent of the population all over India ever consult medical men of any nationality practising the European system of medicine, and although there are a number of dispensaries scattered all over the country I think I am right in saying that not twenty per cent ever even see such a

medical man ; practically therefore the great majority of the population are beyond the reach of such advice. The consequence is that they either consult *hakims* or *bards* who invariably administer small quantities of opium for the torments the people suffer from diseases caused by the effects of malaria or they have discovered its beneficial effects and take it themselves. The effect in such cases is magical. It enables them to do a good day's work ; if he cannot get the opium he knows that he and his family must starve. Even among Europeans who do not suffer any thing like the hardships and exposure natives do, this drug is often called for and in my hands has been equally successful. The natives of the malarial districts in the Central Provinces probably take about half a grain of crude opium at a time. It is taken in a solid form called *muddut*. I cannot say how often they take it daily, but I have never seen one of these men under the influence of opium. In these remarks I am dealing with the bulk of the people, the poor, but a small percentage suffer so severely that they take opium in increasing quantities.

Q.—Is it your suggestion that the diseases you mention increase in some patients in spite of the taking of small quantities of opium and therefore they take it more and more

A.—Yes

Q.—Is it your suggestion that if they do not increase the doses they would be in a distinctly worse plight.

A.—Yes

Q.—So the disease would still go on from bad to worse, but the symptoms are not the symptoms from the effects of opium, but of the disease.

A.—Yes ; that is my experience.

Q.—You have no experience of people who have contracted the opium habit except the people who suffer from disease caused by the effects of malaria among perfectly healthy people ?

\* A.—I would not refer to people who suffer from the effects of malaria as unhealthy people. There is no native of India who does not some time or other suffer from malarial fever.

Q.—Have you been to Rajputana ?

A.—No. I speak of Oudh and the Central Provinces, which are very malarial provinces, where the people suffer from malarial fevers, and dysentery and rheumatism.

By Mr Fanshawe. Q.—You are aware that Government quinine is sold all over the country in five grain doses for one pice.

A.—The price charged is a good deal beyond the means of the people. To effect a cure five grain doses of quinine must be taken three or four times a day for four days, and then single doses for eight or ten days after

Q.—Am I to understand that an effective doses of opium is cheaper than an effective dose of quinine?

A.—Yes, because I have an idea that a good deal of the opium that is taken has not paid duty and therefore they get it cheap

By Sir William Roberts. Q.—Among soldiers have you had medical charge of Sikh regiments?

A.—No

Q.—Have you ever noticed that opium has the same effect on soldiers as on prisoners

A.—Yes, but it has a secondary effect as a stimulant. The want of a dose is more severely felt than the want of tobacco or alcohol

Q.—Have you known prisoners who have the opium habit unable to perform their tasks from want of their customary stimulants?

A.—It is very uncertain. It would be conjectural. I have no recollection of any thing to that effect

Q.—You have not known men to recover from the habit of opium taking. After what time would a man recover?

A.—It would be different in different Provinces. One would recover after a week, another would take a fortnight. I would never be certain that a man was not getting his regular dose of opium. The improvement would probably be from the effect of regular diet and mode of living.

Q.—As far as your experience goes is opium taken in such quantities that the people who take it suffer from the effects of the opium as well as from the fever for which they take it?

A.—Only in a few cases among prisoners; not the general body.

Q.—You are aware that the dose you mention is very small as compared with the doses taken by many opium eaters?

A.—Yes, but they take it several times a day, amounting probably to five grains a day. I have no personal knowledge of it.

Q.—You must draw a distinction between the use of opium in certain districts where it is taken merely medicinally and in cases where it is used as a stimulant. Am I to assume that you have no experience of the use of opium taken as a stimulant when taken by healthy persons ?

A.—I have said that in my experience it is taken to check or prevent those pains and aches which are attendant upon malarial diseases.

Q.—You say Europeans require larger doses than Natives to produce the same medical effect ?

A.—Yes. What I mean to say is that to produce the same medicinal effect you would have to give a larger quantity to Europeans than to Natives. It however may be answered that that is because the European is not accustomed to the habit. I mean the Europeans have not the same toleration for opium that Natives have although they require larger doses to produce the same effect. It may be answered to me that Europeans have acquired a toleration, but Europeans don't acquire a toleration. The point is that they require larger doses to produce the same effect, and thus cannot be said to be any toleration of it. So also the Chinese may be said to have no toleration. The point I wish to show is that the Indian is not more tolerant to opium than the Chinaman or German.

Q.—Your experience of opium has been more or less medicinal in malaria, it is connected almost entirely with its effects from malaria ?

A.—I believe this induces the people to take it. There is another fact—the habit of mothers amongst the poorer classes giving little bits of opium to their children when they have to leave them to go about their household duties. These small pills keep them quiet when conducting their business, and probably they then acquire the habit. The amount given is about the one-eighth of a grain of opium. This opium is largely adulterated with foreign substances.

Q.—By Mr Pease —There is no more necessity for the Indian smoking opium than the Chinese ?

A.—A greater necessity.

Q.—They are more susceptible to the influence of opium—smaller doses produce the same effect ?

A.—Yes, where taken medicinally.

By Mr. Wilson. Q.—I notice that you have expressed a certain amount of disagreement with some of your professional brethren in your early years with regard to the use of opium. Does that difference of opinion continue ?

A.—I cannot say that I have spoken to my professional brethren on that point. I do not think I have any experience which would justify my giving an answer one way or the other. I have not made enquiries; but it is a curious fact that one medical officer speaking to me yesterday, mentioned that he also had found it necessary to produce larger doses of opium in this country than were prescribed or laid down in the pharmacopœia.

Q.—By Sir William Roberts :—Where was his experience gathered?

A.—He was in Calcutta chiefly.

Q.—By Mr. Wilson: Do you know Russell's book on malaria which relates particularly to Assam?

A.—I have heard of the book, but have not read it. I have never been in Assam.

Q.—By Mr. Wilson: Mr Russell uses this language: "The opium eater enjoys considerable immunity from malarial affections in the early stage—the first few years of indulgence in the habit before the organic visceral changes are set up, and the general shattering of constitution results, which prematurely break down the consumer of opium, and render him an easy prey to diseases of every kind?"

A.—My experience does not coincide with that. In my opinion the disease from which the man suffered arose from other causes—from climatic causes in spite of the opium.

Q.—Then Mr. Russell deals with prisoners in jail. He says—"No work can be got out of a long confirmed opium-eater. He can digest nothing but light food—milk or soups. On ordinary diet he suffers from diarrhoea, tending to rapidly run to dysentery. His system has very slight heat making power, he is extremely susceptible to any changes of temperature, and cannot stand cold, he thus is specially liable to both chest and bowel disorders."

A.—I have no experience of that in the Central Provinces.

Q.—Mr Russell further says—"The emaciation of the opium-eater is characteristic and extreme. Eventually after having been a source of infinite care, after repeated courses of medical and dietary treatment, after having caused large expenditure in sick diet, extras, etc, he perishes, usually of a chest or bowel disorder, or, perhaps, from practical starvation from eventual inability to digest any kind of food, even the lightest and most delicate"—My experience in the two or three cases *per annum* which I have mentioned always enabled me to detect the disease as the cause of death, and not the opium habit.

The disease went on and progressed to a fatal issue in spite of the use or abuse of opium. It was the disease that killed the man, and not the opium. I differ from the conclusions drawn in that book.

Q.—By Mr. Wilson.—Further on it is said: “The observations of several surgeons, of extensive experience in opium-eating regions, confirm the popular belief that the opium-eater, in the early stages of the habit, while as yet not constitutionally broken, by its long continuance does, as a matter of fact, enjoy considerable immunity from malarial affections. It would appear from the whole tenor of this that Mr. Russell thinks that in the earlier years of a man it affords some relief, but that afterwards it breaks him down, and I take it leaves his later state worse than the first?”

A.—He and I are in agreement, until the disease has so far made progress that the man gets worse and dies in spite of the opium. I say the man dies from the disease. He says he dies from the opium.

Q.—By Mr. Haridas Beharidas—you say that these people were not allowed to have opium in jail? •

A.—No, it is prohibited in jails.

Q.—You have to give something instead.

A.—No, except in the cases of two or three men whom I found extremely weak and suffering from the abuse of opium, and then it was administered indirectly.

Q.—When they got rid of the habit were they as healthy and as strong.

A.—They were not so healthy and strong, because they were suffering from the effects of previous disease. I was also never sure that they were not getting opium surreptitiously from the prison warders. There was always a general suspicion that opium was being surreptitiously introduced into the jails.

Q.—By Mr. Fanshawe.—You have spoken of malarial districts, and I think you were in eight districts. Was it a wrong impression you formed that these districts were in the condition of ordinary districts in Bengal.

A.—I was referring to the eight districts from which prisoners were transferred to jails. The whole of the districts were malarial—ordinary malarial districts.

Q.—Has it been in your experience that opium-eaters who live in them are in the habit of increasing their dose of opium.

A.—I have not sufficient experience of the quantity they take to enable me to answer. It is generally understood that they have to increase the dose; but whether they do so or not I do not know.

Q.—You state as the result of your own experience that the moderate use of opium amongst the people generally, is well-established and general

A.—Yes, that is my meaning; the moderate habit of eating opium is very generally well established.

Q.—By Sir James Lyall—You have had great administrative experience. Opium is greatly used, you said, as a medicine, can you conceive any practical system whereby opium could be provided at moderate rates for medical purposes without facilities for allowing its use as a stimulant or intoxicant. Can you conceive it?

A.—As far as the medical department stands at present, it is impracticable. The agency is not sufficiently extensive. The police agency would be untrustworthy, the temptation to sell opium would be too great.

Q.—By Mr Wilson—There has been some evidence that opium is taken for the purpose of stimulating sexual passion. Do you know anything of that?

A.—I have no personal knowledge of that. A man in my position is not likely to go into results of that sort as regards the use of opium for stimulating or intoxicating. I have heard it talked of but I have had no experience.

Q.—By the Maharaja of Darbhunga :—You have said that one of the reasons why people take opium is that *hakims* and *kobirages* are in the habit of prescribing opium for diarrhoea and dysentery; and also because you consider it is the cheapest thing, but are not there other medicines they prescribe—don't they, in cases of diarrhoea and dysentery, prescribe vegetable medicines other than opium.

A.—Undoubtedly, they prescribe them largely—bael fruit, kine, catechu. Bael is very popular but not so efficacious as opium.

The commission here adjourned for the day.





# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part II. 20th November, 1893.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

## Bishop Thoburn's Evidence.

The Rev. J. M. Thoburn, D D examined, stated, in answer to questions by the President, as follows :—I am a missionary, and am at present Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India and Malaysia. I have been thirty-four years in the East, and have personal experience in almost all parts of India. My present duty is to superintend all the Methodist Churches in the Indian Empire. We have missions among thirteen different races, and I am expected to visit all these every year, and I have therefore had a very wide field of observation. We have a large number of Natives under our supervision, about 50,000, chiefly in Northern India, but we have some of all these races. In my early life in India, I spent a great deal of time among villagers, and had opportunities of ascertaining their views on public questions, and I am convinced that the habit of opium-eating is a very great evil, but not so much in villages as in towns. I have had opportunities of comparing Indian Natives with the Chinese in Singapore and Penang, and in every place I regard the opium habit as a very bad habit and very deleterious to those who indulge in it; but it is very much more mischievous among the Chinese than among the Natives of India. The opium habit is worse in Rajputana than in Rohilkund; whilst in Kumaon and Garhwal and many other parts of India it is not used at all. The physical condition of the people of the Punjab is very satisfactory when they are not under the effect of this or any other pernicious habit; they are a finer race naturally than the people in many other parts of India. The lower classes of Rajputana are an inferior set of men. The opium habit is certainly more prevalent among the lower classes than among men of the superior classes. There is very great difference in the hold the opium habit has upon different persons; some can give it up without much trouble, with others it is nearly impossible. I have been told by intelligent Chinamen that it has a peculiar hold upon those of their countrymen who indulge in the habit, it has a fascination for them, and they cannot give it up without extreme suffering. It would be difficult to form an estimate of the proportion of the population who indulge in the habit temperately, and those who take it in excess; but, as a general rule, you can tell a man who takes

opium in excess by his countenance Speaking roughly, I would say that, among those who are in a position to get it, about one-half use it in excess, among others, about one-tenth. Habitual consumers of opium among the poor expend about one-eighth of their earnings, which, as a minimum, would mean, say, one pice; the maximum, to a man of the labouring class, would be about four pice, the earnings of that class ranging from eight to twelve pice a day. At the lowest, a man spends about one-eighth, at the highest, from one-third to one-half. It is very common for them to spend one-half, and as the highest of the class earn about twelve pice, it follows that their children suffer from insufficiency of food. There are some forty or fifty millions of people in India who have insufficient food as it is, and if one-third of a labourer's income is taken for indulgence in the opium habit, it follows that it must cause suffering among their children. I think the worst of the evil is that it is the cause of the starvation of millions of children. This applies to Rajputana more particularly, to my certain knowledge, and it is much the same among the poorer classes in the Punjab. The classes which are called the "depressed classes" are the same in all parts of the empire.

Q.—Can you give a general view as to your experience as to the results of the opium habit physically, mentally, and morally?

A.—Physically, where opium is used at all to excess, it undoubtedly weakens the constitution after a very few years. It differs, however, in individuals; some may take it for many years without much apparent harm; but, if you take fifty confirmed opium smokers, you would find that forty were physically affected, they show it at a glance. With regard to those who eat opium, the effects are not so bad; there is a great difference between eating opium and smoking or drinking it. In the Punjab opium is chiefly taken in a solid form, sometimes they mix it with other substances, but that is more commonly done in Rajputana.

Q.—Have you any experience as to the value of opium as a protective against fever?

A.—I think that is a popular delusion. I have never met a doctor who prescribed opium in any form as a protective against fever, or a cure for fever. The natives of India, especially the poorer classes, are subject to all manner of delusions. They believe that anything which makes a man feel more comfortable is doing them good and it undoubtedly makes them feel the effects less. I have been in districts where the natives expose children in the rain as a cure for measles.

Q.—On this point you give your belief, as a layman ?

A.—Certainly ; but I have had experience in the most sickly places and swamps where they never use opium, and where some of our Civil Surgeons say that it does protect them from fever they don't obtain exemption from fevers

Q.—Have you any experience of the value of opium as enabling people to bear an unusual amount of bodily toil ?

A.—I have given some attention to the point They can carry heavy burdens, perhaps to the extent of fifty per cent more, within a given time . but they have no powers of endurance, and ultimately it tends to break them down At Singapore, where there are about ten thousand junk-shaw drawers, I am told that they use opium to give them strength and endurance, but the reaction which ensues must, in the nature of the cases, and it undoubtedly does, break down the constitution Intelligent Chinese connected with the administration of the public revenue at Singapore, told me that those ten thousand men don't live on the average more than seven years. I asked an intelligent physician if that statement was correct, and he said that it undoubtedly did shorten their lives very much

Q.—Have you anything to tell us with reference to the manner in which the opium habit is regarded by public opinion from a moral point of view ?

A.—The opium habit is considered a public vice generally, and in sections where it is more common it is in less disfavour Wherever the Hindustani language is spoken, the term “aphium” is used, and is regarded as a term of abuse It has a sting which does not belong to the epithet “drunkard” An opium eater is regarded as untrustworthy, he would steal or do anything to get the drug Hence in most parts of India it is considered disreputable

Q.—Do you think that persons who consume opium are generally unreliable and dishonest ?

A.—Yes, unless they are well-to-do men, if they have not the money and become confirmed in the habit, I would not trust them. I would not trust their word, but I cannot say that ordinarily a man who takes opium is dishonest or untruthful

Q.—In China it is a matter of common knowledge that many natives, who are employed in confidential positions, are more or less consumers of opium.

A.—I don't deny it. I have stood before an opium den in a street hard by and watched the people entering it I found that the lowest

amount a man spent in his purchase was two annas, and the largest was one and-a-half rupees. When a poor man must have a large quantity of opium daily, there is only one way for him to get it.

Q.—With regard to the licensing system, do you consider that the restriction upon the production and sale of opium is regarded as an evil.

A.—I should say that anything put upon sale publicly will have its sale increased, no matter what the article is. Then when you add to that the authority of the Government, the people generally think that because it is under Government restriction its value is enhanced, and that tends to increase the sale.

Q.—Suppose the Government did not consider itself called upon to prohibit the sale of opium, the imposition of license duty on the sale, or the levy of export duty must, to that extent, be a restraining influence.

A.—It is a charge upon it, and my idea is that the sale will be increased by any policy except prohibition. If you close a few shops it is so much in favour of morality, but as long as you keep enough shops open to supply the public, in the nature of the case the use of opium will continue to increase.

Q.—But the system of licences to a certain extent is a restriction as compared with free sale.

A.—Certainly, anything that reduces the number of shops is better than free trade.

Q.—Can you tell whether the prohibition of the consumption of opium on the premises has been fully carried out in Calcutta yet?

A.—I think it is carried out as far as I know everywhere now in Calcutta it has been carried out since March or April last.

Q.—Have the results of this prohibition been beneficial?

A.—I think undoubtedly they have. There have been some private opium clubs set up in Bombay, and I am told in this city, but they will do much less harm than the opium dens which used to exist.

Q.—As you consider it desirable to prohibit the sale of opium, would public opinion be in favour of such a measure?

A.—I say without exception, that if you leave a million of people from the higher classes and from thirty to fifty millions from the lowest classes out of consideration, the balance of the people would be overwhelmingly in favour of closing opium shops.

Q.—Do you recognise any exceptional difficulty in the carrying out of such a measure by a Government like the British Government of India?

A.—Nothing very difficult, but they would have to consider the question of confirmed opium eaters ; I should be glad to see some consideration shown in such cases.

Q.—Supposing a policy of prohibition were adopted, how would you propose that the loss of revenue resulting from such prohibition should be met. Would you be prepared to propose additional taxation, or can you suggest economies or other means of meeting the difficulty ?

A.—I am not a British subject, and therefore I feel a little hesitancy in expressing an opinion, but I must say that the people of India are extremely sensitive about any increase of taxation. If assured on that point, they would be almost unanimously in favour of doing away with the production and sale of opium. But if I may be allowed a single suggestion, I would say that if tobacco were put in the place of opium, it would yield almost the same revenue ; certainly one-half. And if the British Government were to take into consideration the fact that the heaviest portion of the military expenditure is incurred in the North-West Provinces and on the North-West frontier, and, would regard it as an Imperial and not an Indian question, and, in view of that fact, if the Imperial Government would pay a part, if not the whole, of the military expenditure on the North-Western frontier, this question would disappear.

Q.—Are you aware that, by a declaration of the representatives of the British Foreign Office in the House of Commons, the position now taken up by the British Government in regard to opium is this, that it is free to the Government of China to adopt any policy they think fit in regard to the importation of opium.

A.—I am aware of that. As to the political view of the question, I don't feel competent to express any opinion.

Q.—Do you regard this matter as a moral one ?

A.—Certainly.

Q.—Do you think there is any danger of the habit spreading among the Indian people generally ?

A.—I think, if the present policy is pursued, it will. I think there is great danger, because the people are becoming more prosperous, and if they had the means, and if the sale is within their reach, there is the great danger of its spreading all over the Empire and becoming a very common habit.

Q.—Do you know anything of the statistics of consumption in India

A.—I do not.



Q.—You are not prepared to say what the statistics would show as to increased consumption as per head of the population?

A.—I have had no opportunity of collecting statistics.

By Sir William Roberts Q.—I think you said that the evil effects of opium-taking were seen in some districts and not in others. Do you know of any malarial district where there is not a belief in the saving power of opium?

A.—In the Terai districts of Rohilkund, about thirty years ago, I never heard of opium being used, though it is the most malarial district in all India. I should have discovered it if the opium habit had been there.

Q.—Is that the only district you can speak of?

A.—I am told that in some of the districts in Lower Bengal it is not used; in others it is, but I cannot speak from personal observation.

Q.—You have heard it said that it enables a man to do with less food?

A.—I believe it does: he does eat less when he has the opium habit.

Q.—You are aware that the belief in the prophylactic power of opium in India is not confined to ignorant people?

A.—When I first came to India people thought that we could not do without alcoholic drink.

Q.—Do you regard drinking as an equally bad vice?

A.—It is like asking which is worse—a cobra, or a kerait. People who drink alcohol are willing that their children should learn the habit, but it is not so in the case of opium-taking.

Q.—You are aware that it is a common custom for them to administer small quantities of opium to their children?

A.—It is a very pernicious habit, and is complained about. Natives generally regard it as a vicious practice, and it leads to the death of many children, and certainly injures many permanently. I know a case of one of our own missionaries whose infant had been drugged by a native nurse, and almost lost his life.

In answer to Mr. Pease and Mr. Wilson the witness said: I have not noticed any difference in the toleration of opium between Europeans and Natives. We do not admit any personal use of opium, and if the habit is acquired, we put our people under discipline. The use of opium, in my opinion, is inconsistent with a correct Christian life. It creates certain vices, which no other habit does. I once asked the

Commissioner of Police why he closed opium shops at 6 P.M., and left liquor shops open up to 9 P.M., and he said, that if he did not do so, all the bad characters of the city would be found congregated there, and he dared not leave them open. Opium-smoking takes the moral stamina out of a man. The head-quarters of my mission are in the United States. We have about eighty foreign missionaries, and a large number, something over a thousand, of native preachers of all classes, some of them medical missionaries. The Rajputs are the descendants of the ancient warrior-castes of India. They used to be a kind of aristocracy and at the present time they would still be regarded for the most part as forming a sort of an aristocracy, though very much reduced. This would refer in that province to the upper classes; and people, when they use this term, refer to these people as belonging to a particular caste. As a matter of fact, I never knew one doctor who used opium as a medicine in cases of fever. I have been told by doctors that it does good as a preventive against fever; but I never found one use it himself for that purpose. I regard the whole thing as a myth. There are several forms of using opium. Smoking is held as its worst abuse, worse than eating or drinking it; but indulgence in any form of it gets a man a reputation which is by no means favourable. Opium-smoking is more common in China, and eating it is more common in India. There are a number of races in India, and I do not think it would be practicable or desirable to discriminate in any way between one race, or one part of the country, and another, as far as the opium habit is concerned. India has become cosmopolitan, and it would be impossible to draw a line between them. I referred to the use of opium being worse than the use of alcohol, in the sense that it undoubtedly leads to immorality in the sensual sense of the word. I was told by a gentleman in Singapore, who had gone in disguise through its streets, that there was not a public woman in the city who was not a opium-smoker. I have been often told that. It was accessory to that vice, and it was kept for that purpose.

Q.—By Mr Mowbray—You have told us that a large number of children are actually starved in consequence of the waste of money upon opium by their parents; have you any reason to think that, if parents spent less upon opium, they would not waste their money either upon alcohol or *ganja*?

A.—What I meant was that the infants were receiving insufficient food.

Q.—Therefore to prevent the evil which you point out, it would be necessary to go a great deal further and prohibit other things.

A.—*Ganja* ought to be prohibited, no doubt; and the liquor habit produces the same results. Under the Bengal outstall system, the worst result was the starvation of children. I have been to Guzerat and Kutch, Baroda and Ahmedabad, but my knowledge of Guzerat is very limited.

To Mr. Farnshaw.—I lived first in Kumaon, then in Garhwal and Peshawar, and have frequently been in the Doab. I have had very little experience of the Panjab. When I spoke of the opium habit starving children, I alluded to the practice among what we call the "depressed classes" in all these provinces, and I spoke of the two hundred and eighty millions all over, including Bengal. I was speaking of all India when I said that there would be an overwhelming majority of the people in favour of prohibition. I have been in about six or seven provinces, about half over India. I have expressed the opinion that smoking opium was more deleterious than eating it. If the people can get the money they will go on increasing the dose, but the majority cannot get the money. Those who can eat two pice worth do so; those who can only get one pice, take one pice worth. But the tendency in all cases is to increase the dose, and they are only limited according to their means. This is what I have been told. This habit continues all through the year; I have not noticed any difference.

By Sir James Lyall.—You have used the word drunkard; what is the native term people use for the word drunkard?

A.—It differs; *mutwallah* is a very common word.

Q.—Do you really think that the term *mutwallah* is a less opprobrious term than the word *aphimi*?

A.—I think so.

Q.—Does not the term *aphimi* apply to what is called an opium sot?

A.—It corresponds with the term drunkard, but it has a sting in it that the word drunkard has not.

Q.—If the use of opium as a stimulant were stopped, would it not be likely that the poorer classes would spend as much money or more than buying spirits or hemp drugs?

A.—I should say that the same policy should apply to *ganja* and *opium* as well.

Q.—You would have a general system working?

A.—I think of these drugs or drinks in the case of these very people proved to be a large.

Q.—You do it amongst the people of your own church. If you find a man beginning to take opium you bring him into discipline, as you term it, and the same as regards hemp drugs or spirits?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Opium is, I think, you know, used in India by the common people in villages, who form a great mass, for medicinal purposes, for themselves and their cattle too. You propose that it should be prohibited except for medicinal purposes. Have you ever tried to think out how opium could be readily supplied for medical wants, and yet its use prohibited as a stimulant and intoxicant?

A.—I have thought a little over the subject. I do not think there are insuperable difficulties, but there would be a difficulty, no doubt. I have seen it tried in my own country in places where they have prohibition. It is always attended with difficulty, but they have succeeded in doing it.

Q.—Alcoholic drinks are not used as medicine as much as opium.

A.—I don't know that, I think they are used as much. Some forms of drink are constantly used as medicine.

Q.—Anybody knows that the great difficulty in administration is to get reliable officers. If you give an ordinary native of India some powers or discretion he does very often make money out of it?

A.—I understand that.

Q.—Even if your views were carried out, how could you possibly get a system by which opium could be made available at one's doors?

A.—I think it would be no worse than it is now. I have just been in Garhwal where they have no opium whatever, and they get along very well without it. I don't value opium very much as a medicine, and I don't think it is what would be called a medical necessity among the common villagers. There must be a multitude of villages where they never see it.

Q.—You suggested that a tax could be put upon tobacco, which would raise as much money as opium. Are you aware that an attempt to put a tax upon tobacco by the Shah of Persia led to a grievous revolt?

A.—I should not think the Shah ought to be mentioned in the same connection with the Governor-General. I think the Governor-General could do a thing without difficulty, which the Shah would not dare to try. I may say I should not have ventured to make that suggestion if I had not read that the same suggestion had been originated in the mind of Sir John Strachey. He estimated that they could get a revenue of two millions from this tax.

Q.—Are you aware that these things have been considered and thought so unpopular that they have been abandoned ?

A.—Sir J. Strachey said it was unpopular, but still he said it was practicable.

Q.—Do you think that the Government of India is so popular that it can afford to take the risk of adopting any such unpopular measure

A.—I am glad you asked me the question I have often persons come to me talking confidentially, because I am not an Englishman, and I believe that leaving out of consideration the same people I spoke of a little while ago, of a million at the top and fifty millions at the bottom, with the balance of the people, the English Government is exceedingly popular.

Q.—This popularity would bear additional taxation

A.—Upon tobacco it would

Q.—By Mr Wilson—Do you think that missionaries in this country would generally agree with the opinions you have expressed ?

A.—I think they would, in some details they might differ We have missions in the Central Provinces and in Southern India In my earlier years I have come into personal contact with the people Since I became bishop, I have had more intercourse with the missionaries and most of them have stronger views on the subject than I have

#### **Mr. Joseph G. Alexander's Evidence.**

Q.—Chairman—I suppose you will concur with me that the arrangement in pursuance of which you are here to-day to give evidence was one which was practically suggested to you by myself on behalf of the Commission It was not convenient to hold protracted sittings before our early departure for India, and it was difficult to find a day for your evidence in England I, therefore, suggested that it would be a convenience that you should meet us here and give your evidence in Calcutta

A.—That was so

Q.—I believe you are the Secretary of the Anti-Opium Association ?

A.—Yes I appeared before the Commission in London, and put in a few documents which I thought might be useful at that stage, reserving further evidence I need only repeat that I am Secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and have been so nearly four and-a-half years. But I had for many years previously been a member of the Executive Committee of the Society, and taken great interest in its work.

Q.—You are a barrister-at-law ?

A —Yes, but I have not been in practice since I became Secretary

Q —We may take it from you that you have been actively concerned in bringing the case which you wish to present to the consideration of the Committee to-day under the notice of Members of Parliament, and also before the public in England at public meetings, by pamphlets and otherwise ?

A —That is so

Q —I think it is your wish that we should regard the last memorial presented by your Society to Lord Kimberley as containing in brief your case for the suppression of the opium trade ?

A —That is so Not strictly the last memorial, but our last general memorial We have since had occasion to address His Lordship about Burma.

Q —It would be for the convenience of the Commission and your wish also that we should address you questions which will enable you to submit to the consideration of the Commission the views and arguments put forward in that last general memorial, supported by a greater amount of evidence than you could conveniently incorporate in a formal document That is so, is it not ?

#### NO IMPUTATION OF MOTIVES

A —Yes But before entering upon the consideration of the points in that document, I should like to take the opportunity of adopting on behalf of the Society the very appropriate words with which your Lordship closed your opening address the other day “To those engaged in the weighty task of governing this country, I can give a assurance on the part of the Commission that, in common with our fellow countrymen at home, we admire and recognise to the full the admirable qualities for which the Civil Service in India is so justly renowned” Our Society is composed of gentlemen who would be very sorry indeed to take up anything like a hostile position towards the Government of India We differ from them on this very important question, but we are very anxious not to impute evil motives We know that men differ on great questions of morality and policy from various circumstances, and it is far from our desire to take up any position which would assume that those who are responsible for the Government of India are not actuated by the highest motives in their desire to fulfil their duty towards the people of India In support of that I would mention that we have in connection with our Society a number of gentlemen who have spent a good

part of their years in the service of the Government of India. The venerable Sir Arthur Cotton, now more than ninety years of age, is one of our Vice-Presidents and one of our most ardent supporters. I will not simply say that he is proud as he says of what England has done in India, but the way in which he has expressed it to myself and others is that he feels intensely thankful to God for the wonderful providential way in which, as he believes, England has been permitted to discharge its duty towards India. Then we have on our Executive Committee Lieutenant-General Tremenhare, who was for some years Administrator of Sind, and who was also at one time the Chairman of our Executive Committee, and again Brigade-Surgeon Pringle, who has spent thirty years in the Medical Service of India. We have also two other members of the Committee who have sons in the Indian Civil Service. It will, therefore, be seen that we are not likely to wish to take up any attitude of general hostility to the Government of India. Our attitude is that, admiring that Government, and rejoicing in what it has done for the people of India, we want to remove from it a stigma which we believe rests upon it at the present time in connection with its opium traffic.

#### THE VOTE OF 1891

Q.—Turning to the general memorial, I notice that in the first paragraph reference is made to the vote taken in the House of Commons on the tenth of April, 1891, when by a majority of thirty-one votes a resolution was adopted in principle run in as follows: “This House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that they should cease to grant licenses for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medical purposes, and that they should, at the same time, take measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory.” Have you any observations to make upon that part of the memorial?

A.—I should like to point out that we have adopted a somewhat careful wording with regard to the action of the House of Commons. The House adopted the resolution “in principle.” A good deal has been made of a somewhat technical point owing to the way in which resolutions have to be submitted to the House of Commons. The motion was not an affirmative motion, it was an amendment to the motion to go into the Chair. Sir Robert Fowler had given notice of an amendment dealing with the financial question, and the result was that whilst the vote was taken on the main question, it was technically only a vote not to go into Committee of Supply. At the same time, practically, as Members

of the House of Commons will recognise, it was an adoption of Sir Joseph Pease's words. Those words were preferred to the ordinary formal vote submitted in the ordinary course by Government. At that time the rule of the House was to rise at one o'clock. One o'clock had almost arrived, the intervention of a Member for one or two minutes was sufficient to prevent any vote being taken on the amendment submitted by Sir Robert Fowler, and therefore Sir Joseph Pease's resolution never became a substantive question, and was not formally adopted and recorded on the Minutes of the House.

### DID ENGLAND FORCE OPIUM ON CHINA?

Q.—In your second paragraph you allege that the use of opium brings misery to countless millions in China, and that whereas we in England subject the sale of opium to great restrictions, and it is recognised as you allege by the entire medical profession as a dangerous poison, on the other hand, in our dealings with China we did in past years endeavour to force the importation of opium into China by acts of war. You point to the repugnance of the English people to the whole system as being evidenced by resolutions passed at hundreds of public meetings almost always with complete unanimity, and you refer to the large number of petitions which are constantly being presented to Parliament in support of the views of the Anti-Opium Association. I think that that is a fair summary of your second paragraph. Have you anything that you wish to say to us further with reference to the wars by which in your view the legalisation of the traffic was wrung from China? I need scarcely point out that those wars are now rather old history, and you will recognise that the attitude of the Government is substantially changed, as is clearly proved by the speech of Sir James Fergusson, so often referred to, and by the speeches of Mr Smith, Lord Cross and other representative public men.

A.—With regard to that question of the wars, I should have been disposed to say exceedingly little, looking upon them as past transactions, had it not been for the evidence produced before the Commission in London. As the members of the Commission in London will remember, we had three gentlemen, Sir Thomas Wade, Mr Lay and Dr Lockhart, all alleging that England never forced the opium trade upon China. It seems to me that one can hardly allow such an allegation as that to pass unchallenged, because, as we put it here, the fact of those wars, and the fact that as we believe opium was by those wars forced upon China, impose upon the British nation a greater degree of respon-



sibility for this trade than it would have had if China had from the beginning voluntarily accepted the trade. I am afraid, therefore, that I shall have to trouble the Commission with some attempt to show that the statements of Sir Thomas Wade, Mr Lay and Dr Lockhart are really not well founded. In the first instance I should like to refer to a pamphlet "The Opium Question at the Society of Arts," by my predecessor, the first Secretary of our Society, Mr Storrs Turner. As I told the Commission in London, he was very ill at that time, and was unable to give evidence. In one portion of that pamphlet he has dealt very carefully with this question. It was written in connection with the debate at the Society of Arts meeting last year, when Sir Thomas Wade made a speech very much to the same effect as the evidence he gave before the Commission. Mr. Lay not only made these statements, but he handed in a note on the opium question and a brief survey of our relations with China, in which he endeavours to make out that the wars were not waged in any sense in support of the opium traffic. I have gone throughout that note very carefully. I should be very sorry, as I have said, to impute motives, and I do not wish to suggest that Mr Lay had any desire to mislead, but it seems to me that he has written under such extreme bias that he has presented a most unfair and one sided view of the question. I think perhaps it would be more satisfactory if instead of attempting to reply in detail, I should go through the history briefly, and put forward my own view and the view of the Society on the question.

Q —That would be the more convenient course

A —I have here a book which may be looked upon as an authoritative history of China, "The Middle Kingdom," which I believe is adopted officially by the diplomatic service in China as a text-book of Chinese history and Chinese questions generally, to be studied by gentlemen belonging to that service. It is written by Dr S Wells Williams, who was I believe, at one time a missionary in China and who is an American, not an Englishman, so that he may be supposed to look at the question from an impartial and outside point of view as between England and China.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE TRADE

The early history of the opium trade is best told in Dr. Edkins' pamphlet which has been already put before the Commission and will be printed as an Appendix, but I think that Dr. Edkins, who has brought forward a great deal of new and most interesting information from the early records of China, has omitted one point which Dr. Williams here refers to. Dr. Williams says, "The use of

opium amongst the Chinese two centuries ago must have been very little, or the writings of Romish missionaries from 1580 down to the beginning of the nineteenth century would certainly have contained some account of it" Dr Dudgeon, of Pekin, another very high authority on Chinese questions, says; "the absence of any reference by the Jesuit missionaries who resided in all parts of the country to either opium-smoking or poppy cultivation is very remarkable. All other sources of information are equally reticent, whether it be travellers, diplomatic agents or missionaries. Barrow and Staunton, who describe China most minutely and correctly in their visit in 1793, only remark that many of the higher mandarins smoke tobacco with other odorous substances, and sometimes a little opium." There is also a book containing a description of Lord Macartney's mission, which travelled through a considerable district of China to Pekin, and had a botanical gentleman attached to it. It contains a careful and accurate notice of the plants met with, but it has no mention whatever of the poppy as having been grown, that is at the end of the last century. Dr Dudgeon has also pointed out that some of the earlier extracts given by Dr Edkins refer only to the medicinal use, and not to what one may call, by way of distinction, the sensual use, and that the decree of 1729, which was for the first time brought to light by Dr Edkins, and which was

#### THE FIRST CHINESE DECREE AGAINST OPIUM,

was not a general decree applying to the whole country, but simply to the island of Formosa, where apparently the opium-smoking habit was first known in China. A few years later, as I am informed by Dr Dudgeon, there was a decree generalising that, because it was found that the use of opium-smoking had spread to the mainland. Then I pass to

#### THE POSITION WHICH LED UP TO THE OPIUM WAR

Dr. Williams states in his chapter on the origin of the first war with England how that arose out of the ceasing of the East India Company's commercial privileges in 1834, and he deals with the mission of Lord Napier which followed that change. He comments upon Lord Napier's ill advised attempt to set aside the rules of the Chinese Government, which ended in a somewhat tragic way by his death before the question was at all settled. At page 478 he sums up the position just before the war: "The peculiar position of the relations with the Chinese and the value of the trade, present and prospective, was so great that these events called out many pamphleteers both in England and the East.

The servants of the Company naturally recommended a continuance of a peaceable system, urging that foreigners should obey the laws of the Empire where they live, and not interfere with the restrictions put upon them." A little lower down he quotes what was said by the Duke of Wellington, "That which we now require is not to lose the enjoyment of what we have got," and his advice, he says, "was followed in most respects" It was a fairly satisfactory trade, although the English traders were very anxious to have greater openings for their commerce than through the single channel of Canton Then, speaking of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, he says, "While the point of supremacy seemed to be settled in favour of the Son of Heaven, the virus of the contraband opium trade was working out its evil effects among his subjects and hastening on a new era" I now quote a despatch from Sir G B Robinson, who succeeded Lord Napier as Superintendent of the British trade "On the question of smuggling opium I will not enter in this place, though, indeed, smuggling carried on actively in the Government boats can hardly be termed such Whenever His Majesty's Government directs us to prevent British vessels engaging in the traffic, we can enforce any order to that effect, but a more certain method would be to prohibit the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in British India, and if British ships are in the habit of committing irregularities and crimes, it seems doubly necessary to exercise a salutary control over them by the presence of an authority at Lintin"

#### WAS CHINA SINCERE ?

Dr. Williams, commenting on that despatch, says, "There is not the least evidence to show that the Court of Peking was not sincere in its desire to suppress the trade from the first edict of 1800 till the war broke out in 1840 The excuse that the Government smuggled because its revenue cruisers engaged in it and the helpless provincial authorities winked at it, is no more satisfactory than to make the successful bribery of custom-house officers in England or elsewhere a proof of the corruption of the treasury department' I might apply that argument in India When I was passing through the Central Provinces, I was told some stories about smuggling from the Native States said to be carried on with the connivance of the English Government Police I think it would be just as appropriate to say that the Indian Government is not sincere in its desire to suppress the smuggling of opium into its territories because some of its police officers are, or are said to be, bribed, as to say that the Chinese Government were not sincere because some of its officers were bribed. I therefore strongly object to the phrase, which was quoted by Sir

Thomas Wade or Mr Lay with approval, that it was not properly to be called smuggling because there was so much official connivance with it. Then Dr Williams goes on to recount a remarkable proposal made to legalise the opium trade by Hu Nai Tsi. Some quotations were made from his memorial in the evidence which was put forward in London, as if those were the views of men who did not recognise the evils of the trade. I think to any one who reads through those memorials it is clear that these men did recognise the great evils of the trade, only they thought it was hopeless to attempt to stop it, and it was better to legalise it. But those memorials were replied to by statesmen on the other side. One of them says, "It has been represented that advantage is taken of the laws against opium by extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants to benefit themselves. Is it not known, then, that when Government enacts a law, there is necessarily an infraction of that law? And though the law should sometimes be relaxed and become ineffectual, yet surely it should not on that account be abolished, any more than we should altogether cease to eat because of stoppage of the throat. The laws which forbid the people to do wrong may be likened to the dykes which prevent the overflowing of water. If any one urging then that the dykes are very old and therefore useless we should have them thrown down, what words could express the consequences of the impetuous rush and all-destroying overflow?" I venture to think that these arguments may have some application in India at the present day as they had in China then. The result was that the Court of Peking decided not to legalise. Meanwhile Captain Elliott had expressed himself in despatches home as confident that legalisation was about to take place. The contrary actually took place. Two of these memorials suggest that the purpose of the English in introducing opium into the country has been to weaken and enfeeble it. That was in the memorial of Chu Tsun. A Sub-Censor supported him, and in the abstract of that memorial Dr Williams says "The Sub-Censor agrees with Chu Tsun regarding the designs of foreigners in doing so, that they wished first to debilitate and impoverish the land as a preparatory measure, for they never smoked the drug in their own country, but brought it all to China." It is interesting to compare those views expressed more than half a century ago with the evidence given by several missionaries that a precisely similar impression is at present largely prevailing in China, and that among some of the best classes in China it is said that England purposely introduces opium into China in order to weaken and debilitate the Chinese nation, so that they may ultimately conquer the country. Of course

we know that it is not so, but we can understand how such a view has arisen. Then Dr. Williams again refers to the question of sincerity. He says, "It is unjust to the Chinese to say, as was argued by those who had never felt these sufferings, that all parties were insincere in their efforts to put down this trade, that it was a mere affectation of morality, and that no one would be more chagrined to see it stop than those apparently so strenuous against it. This assertion was made by Lord Palmerston in Parliament, and re-echoed by the Indian officials, but those who have candidly examined the proceedings of the Chinese, or have lived among the people in a way to learn their real feelings, need not be told how incorrect is the remark. The highest statesman and the debilitated victimized smoker are alike agreed in their opinion of its bad effects, and both were pretty much in the position of a miserable lamb in the coil of a hungry anaconda." (That is a very favourite metaphor with the Chinese on the subject of opium. A friend shewed me not long ago a little model which he had received from some missionary friends in China representing the opium wretch in that way. It was not an anaconda, but it was a cuttle-fish or octopus destroying the man.)

#### COMMISSIONER LIN SENT TO STOP THE TRADE

As is well known, the result was that the Emperor sent down to Canton, Commissioner Lin in order to put a stop to the trade. Before Commissioner Lin arrived some measures had been taken. Dr. Williams says. "There can be no reasonable doubt that the best part of his people and the moral power of the nation were with their sovereign in this attempt. Hu Nai Tsi was dismissed for proposing legalisation, and three princes of the blood degraded for smoking opium, arrests, fines, tortures, imprisonments, and executions were frequent in the provinces on the same grounds, all showing the determination to eradicate it. The Governor of Hekwang, Lin Tseh-su, was ordered to proceed to Canton, with unlimited powers to stop the traffic. The trade there was at this time almost suspended, the deliveries being small and at losing prices. Many underlings were convicted and summarily punished, and on February 26th Fung A-ngan was strangled in front of the factories for his connection with opium and participation in the affray at Whampoa. The foreign flags, English, American, Dutch, and French, were all hauled down in consequence. The entire stoppage of all trade was threatened, and the Governor urged foreigners to send all opium ships from Chinese waters. Commissioner Lin arrived in Canton, March 10th. The Emperor sent him to inquire and act so as thoroughly to remove the source of the evil, for, says he, 'if the source of the evil be not clearly ascertained, how can we hope that the

stream of pernicious consequences shall be stayed? It is our full hope that the long indulged habit will be for ever laid aside, and every root and germ of it entirely eradicated, we would fain think that our ministers will be unable to substantiate our wishes, and so remove from China dire calamity' It was reported in Canton that the monarch when recounting the evils which had long afflicted his people by means of opium, paused and wept, and turning to Lin said 'How, alas, can I die and go to the shades of my imperial fathers and ancestors, until these direful evils are removed?' Such was the chief purpose of this movement on the part of the Chinese Government, and Lin was invested with the fullest powers ever conferred on a subject. Although long experience of the ineffectiveness of Chinese edicts generally lead those residing in the country to regard them as mere verbiage, still to say that they are all insincere and formal because they are ineffectual is to misjudge and pervert the emotions of common humanity" The following events are such well-known history that I need not dwell upon them. It is well-known that the Chinese Government obtained possession of the opium by imprisoning the British merchants in their houses (you have had before you Mr Donald Matheson, one of the merchants imprisoned), and the opium was all destroyed Dr Williams states that the market value of the 20,283 chests of opium destroyed at the time was not far from nine million dollars, and the cost price nearly eleven millions

#### THE OPIUM WAR

War ensued, and here Dr Williams quotes the language used by Lord John Russell "The bonds were not made a pretext for war by the English ministry, that, on the part of England, according to Lord John Russell, was 'set on foot to obtain reparation for insults and injuries offered Her Majesty's Superintendent and subjects, to obtain indemnification for the losses the merchants had sustained under threats of violence, and lastly to get security that persons and property trading with China should in future be protected from insult and injury, and trade maintained upon a proper footing'"

#### THE CAUSE OF THE WAR

Now I stop here to point out what seems to me to be the vice of the argument of Sir Thomas Wade and Mr Lay Undoubtedly, as is fully admitted by Mr. Turner in his pamphlet, there were other causes leading to the war in addition to the seizure of opium; and it seems to me that Mr Lay and Sir Thomas Wade have simply set aside this one cause and have taken those other subsidiary and collateral causes

and said that they were the only reasons of the war. It does not seem to me that you can logically adopt that course

Q.—I think Sir Thomas Wade urged that the exclusiveness of the Chinese, their unwillingness to enter into relations with other powers, treating us as barbarians only to be approached through the Hong Kong merchants, were a natural and inevitable cause of misunderstanding. He urged that if the Chinese authorities had been willing to enter into direct communication with us, explanations would have been exchanged which would probably have averted the ultimate warlike proceedings which we all regret?

A.—No doubt that was the substance of his argument. Dr Williams combats that by pointing out that on previous occasions concessions had been obtained from China without force, and if China had been treated in a proper way, these concessions might have been obtained. But at all events, as he says, the war did, as a matter of fact, grow out of the trade; and Sir Thomas Wade himself admits that it may properly be called the Opium War. Dr Williams says "The war was looked upon in this light by the Chinese, and it will also be so looked upon by candid historian, and known as the Opium war." Dr Williams also refers to the debate which took place in Parliament. Of course it was not admitted in that debate by Lord Macaulay, who was the Government spokesman, that opium was the object of the war, nor was it by Sir George Staunton, who took an independent position in the debate, and whose authority, from his great knowledge of China, was very great. He defended the war, but spoke in the strongest terms against the opium-smuggling trade. But I venture to think that the speech made by Mr. Gladstone already quoted by Sir Joseph Pease, truly states the case, that while there had been no doubt many things on the part of the Chinese which were objectionable, yet in the main the Chinese were right and we were wrong. Lord Melbourne in the course of the debate said, "We possess immense territories peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though I would wish that the Government were not so directly concerned in the traffic, I am not prepared to pledge myself to relinquish it." Dr Williams remarks "This debate was in fact a remarkable instance of the way in which a moral question is blinked even by conscientious persons whenever politics or interest come athwart its course." He also refers to two letters written by Commissioner Lin to Queen Victoria desiring her assistance in putting down the opium trade. One of those letters has been recently published. I should like to hand in to the Commission a publication of ours, "A Chinese Statesman on the Opium

Traffic." It begins with one of these letters, and the other letter will be found in Mr Storrs Turner's book, "British Opium Policy." The note on the first page is incorrect in the supposition that these were different translations of the same letter. Mr Lay has already pointed out that they were two different letters. In dealing with the conduct of the war, on two or three occasions, Dr. Williams points out that negotiations which were begun with the object of stopping the war failed mainly because of the determination of the Chinese to resist rather than to grant full indemnity for the opium.

#### THE TREATY OF NANKING

As we all know, the Chinese were defeated and ultimately had to yield. One of the conditions of the treaty was that a large sum, I think six million dollars, was to be paid by China as compensation for the opium that was destroyed, that opium having been contraband. Then, after the treaty, at the final interview between Sir Henry Pottinger and the Chinese Commissioners, there was a remarkable conversation of which Dr Williams gives an account taken from Captain Loch's "Events in China." "When matters connected with the treaty had been arranged, Sir Henry proposed to say a few words upon the great cause that produced the disturbances which led to the war, *viz*, the trade in opium." That is a round-about-way of saying that it was the trade in opium that led to the war. "But upon hearing this (Captain Loch says) they unanimously declined entering upon the subject until they were assured that he had introduced it merely as a topic for private conversation. They then evinced much interest, and eagerly requested to know why we would not act fairly towards them by prohibiting the growth of the poppy in our dominions, and thus effectually stop a traffic so pernicious to the human race. This, he said in consistency with our constitution and laws, could not be done, and he added that, even if England chose to exercise so arbitrary a power over her tillers of the soil, it would not check the evil, so far as the Chinese were concerned, while the cancer remained uneradicated among themselves, but that it would merely throw the market into other hands. It, in fact, he said, rests entirely with yourselves. If your people are virtuous, they will desist from the evil practice, and if your officers are incorruptible and obey your orders, no opium can enter your country. The discouragement of the growth of the poppy in your territories rests principally with you, for nearly the entire produce cultivated in India travels east to China; if, however, the habit has become a confirmed vice, and you feel that your power is at present inadequate to stay its indulgence, you



may rest assured your people will procure the drug in spite of every enactment. Would it not, therefore, be better at once to legalise its importation, and by thus securing the co-operation of the rich and of your authorities, from whom it would thus be no longer debarred, thereby greatly limit the facilities which now exist for smuggling? They owned the plausibility of the argument, but expressed themselves persuaded that their imperial master would never listen to a word upon the subject." Dr Williams comments severely, as well he may, upon the tone adopted by Sir Henry Pottinger, and his really untruthful statement that there was anything unconstitutional in prohibiting the growth of the poppy, which had already been prohibited in a large area of British India, and upon the melancholy picture of British statesman saying to Chinese statesmen, "Your people must become virtuous and your officers incorruptible, and then you can stop opium coming into your borders." I think it must have been about that time, though I have never been able exactly to ascertain the date, that the Emperor of China used some very memorable words which are reported by Mr Montgomery Martin. When approached with a view of legalising the trade, the Emperor replied, "It is true that I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison, gam-seeking and corrupt men will, for profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people." Sir Edward Fry has pointed out that whilst nothing was said about this opium trade in the treaty, we almost immediately afterwards concluded a treaty with China in which we agreed to put down smuggling. That was really never carried out. A proclamation was issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, which was entirely futile, telling the traders in opium that they carried on the trade at their own cost. Dr Williams says, "All this was done chiefly to throw dust in their eyes and put the onus of the contraband traffic on the Chinese Government, and the violation of law on those who came off to the smuggling vessels, and these proclamations and orders, like their edicts, were to be put 'on record'." This was shown when Captain Hope of H M S *Thalia*, for stopping two or three of the opium vessels proceeding above Shanghai, was recalled from his station and ordered to India, where he could not 'interfere in such a manner with the undertakings of British subjects,' to quote Lord Palmerston's Despatch to Captain Ellhott. This effectually deterred other British officers from meddling with it."

Once more Dr. Williams gives this final summary of the war:—"Public opinion will ever characterise the contest thus brought to an end as an opium war, entered into and carried on to obtain indemnity for

opium seized, and setting aside the niceties of western international law, which the Chinese Government knew nothing of, most justly seized The British and American merchants, who voluntarily subscribed one thousand and thirty-seven chests to Commissioner Lin, acknowledged themselves to be transgressors by this very act " He refers to Mr. Justin MacCarthy's chapter X of the "History of our own Times," and says that his "short and pithy digest brings out the leading features in a fairly candid manner "

#### SMUGGLING CONTINUES

Well, the trade went on as an illegal trade Further on, there is a mention of Sir John Davis' attempt to obtain its legalisation and to his conversation with Ki-yug, to which I think I need not refer Then we come to the second China War As Mr Pease stated in London, neither Mr Turner, my predecessor, nor I have used the expression "the Second Opium War " It has been sometimes so called by advocates on our side, and they have the justification of a letter by Li Hung Chung, in which he speaks of two Opium wars, and which form the second of the documents in the publication I handed in "A Chinese Statesman on the Opium traffic " At the same time it did not directly arise out of the opium traffic, it was only indirectly connected with it Dr Williams has a statement of the position of affairs which I need not read, showing how these lorchas, of which the lorch "Arrow" was one, were all engaged in this smuggling trade, and that it was in that way the difficulty arose that led to the second war

#### LORD ELGIN'S VIEWS

Here I turn to another authority, "The Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin," the Ambassador employed to negotiate peace and to settle the difficulties with China His letters are full of allusions to the strong feeling he has that war was an altogether unjustifiable and unjust war, and brought about by the misconduct of English subjects in the East Here is one of them under the date of December the 9th, 1837, "I have hardly alluded in my ultimatum to that wretched question of the 'Arrow,' which is a scandal to us, and is so considered, I have reason to know, by all except the few who are personally compromised " In another place he says, "I thought bitterly of those who for the most selfish objects are trampling under foot this ancient civilisation " Again he says, "Two months I have been there engaged in this painful service, checking as I have been best able to do the disposition to maltreat this unfortunate people " Again, there is a reference to a Blue Book issued

by the British Government in order to justify itself, detailing a series of insults to British subjects by Chinese authorities. He met with Mr. Burns, a missionary, a man whose name is very distinguished in missionary records, and he says, "Hearing that Mr Burns, a missionary, whose case is narrated in the series of 'Insults by the Chinese Authorities' submitted to Parliament (he having been in fact very kindly treated, as he himself acknowledges), was at the island, I invited him to breakfast." That document is referred to by Mr Lay as one of those which support his view. Then he sums up, "No doubt, as you say, one cannot help sometimes regretting that one is mixed up with so bad a business as this in China, but then in some respects it is a great opportunity for doing good or at least for mitigating evil." May I be permitted, though it is perhaps irrelevant, to say that those extracts and others which I could have read show how great and noble was the character of Lord Elgin, how supremely he desired that justice should be done to races which had been proved to be weaker in war than the English race, and how one cannot help rejoicing in the confident hope that his son who is so shortly to arrive in India will prove to be a man imbued with similar sentiments. Lord Elgin, went from China to Japan. There he signed the treaty which first opened Japan to our commerce, a treaty which had not been forced by war, and a treaty which absolutely prohibited the opium trade, a prohibition which has been strictly enforced by the Japanese ever since. The Japanese are well aware of the vice which is bringing such terrible evils upon their neighbours in China; therefore they have always shown themselves on the alert to prevent its introduction into their own country. I heard a missionary who had resided some years in Japan tell how very severely some men were treated who were once caught attempting to smuggle opium into Japan.

#### THE TREATY OF TIENTSIN

In the peace Lord Elgin did not deem it consistent with his duty to make the legalisation of the opium traffic one of the terms of treaty. I have dealt with that subject in a letter to the *Times* a few years ago, and if I read it, it will perhaps be better than attempting to go over the ground afresh—

"It may be well in the first place to observe that our present agitation is merely based, not on the assumption that China is being still forced to admit Indian opium, but on what appears to us to be the immorality of the Indian Government in producing, for the purpose of sale to China, a drug which causes such widespread demoralisation in the

latter country. The question raised by Mr Lay is, therefore more a historical than a practical one. At the same time it undoubtedly adds immensely to the responsibility of Great Britain if, as we are convinced, the action of our Government in the past has been such to as overbear the genuine objection formerly entertained by the Chinese Government to the admission of opium, and has brought about her present apparent acquiescence in its import. If Mr Lay simply means that China has never been compelled, as the condition *sine qua non* of a cessation from armed force, to place opium in the category of imports permitted to be brought into the treaty ports, we must admit his correctness. But we maintain that the legalisation of the opium trade was really and truly the result of the cruel and unjust wars of 1840 and 1856, and of the powerful moral support continuously given to opium-smugglers by the British Government before the first war and in the interval between it and the second. As to the Opium War of 1840, it is needless to defend, even against Mr Lay, the general verdict of history. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. It was unquestionably one of the conditions of the treaty of Nanking, which brought the war to a close, that compensation should be made by China for the value of the opium destroyed by Commissioner Lin, and this fact speaks for itself. As regards the tariff supplement to the treaty of Tientsin, with which Mr Lay was personally connected, and by which opium was first recognised as a lawful article of commerce, it is to be remembered that the treaty itself was the result of violent coercion. Lord Elgin says of the negotiations (‘Letters and Journals’ page 253,) ‘We went on fighting and bullying and getting the poor Commissioners to concede one point after another.’ One of the ‘chief articles’ of the treaty thus concluded was, as stated by his biographer, ‘the tariff fixed by the Treaty of Nanking to be revised.’ If the treaty itself was obtained by force, how can it be said that the insertion of a fresh item in the revised tariff for which that treaty provided was purely voluntary?

“With regard to the circumstances under which opium was inserted in the tariff supplement, they are fully stated in the ‘Report on the Revision of Tariff,’ etc., furnished by Messrs Olphant and Wade, the deputies appointed by Lord Elgin to act on his behalf, which is annexed to Lord Elgin’s despatch to the Earl of Malmesbury, dated Shanghai, October 22, 1858. They show that on October 12th the deputies (with whom Mr Lay was associated by Lord Elgin’s request) had a preliminary conference with the Chinese Commissioners, at which, by request of the latter, they furnished the Chinese with a list of subjects for discussion.,

No 7 being 'legalisation of opium under duties' It appears further that on this occasion it was urged by the British deputies that opium was an article which 'no laws were found to exclude, and the irregularity of the present trade in which was highly objectionable.' The following day another conference was held, when, for reasons not necessary to be here stated, the British deputies desired, and the Chinese Commissioners consented, to proceed with opium as the very first subject of discussion. One of the Chinese Commissioners, 'whose position as Superintendent of Customs at Shanghai,' says the report, 'naturally gives him a chief voice in such matters, admitted the necessity of a change. China still retains her objection to the use of a drug on moral grounds, but the present generation of smokers, at all events, must and will have opium. China would propose a very high duty, but, as opposition was naturally to be expected from us in that case, it should be as moderate as possible.' He proceeded to urge that opium should be treated quite differently from other articles of import, and, 'after much discussion' as to the rate of duty, the British first naming fifteen to twenty taels and the Chinese sixty taels per chest, it was finally fixed at thirty taels. Reviewing the whole transaction, it appears clear that Sir Rutherford Alcock was substantially justified in telling the East India Finance Committee of 1871 'We have forced the Chinese Government to enter into a treaty to allow their subjects to take opium.'"

Dr Legge, who gave evidence before the Commission in London and who is one of the greatest authorities in England or Europe on Chinese questions, in a letter to the *Times*, which was not published in that paper, but appeared in the *Friend of China*, wrote, "The instructions issued to Lord Elgin from the Foreign Office (April 20th, 1857) directed him when discussing commercial arrangements with any Chinese plenipotentiaries to ascertain whether the Government of China would revoke its prohibition of the opium trade, for there would be obvious advantages in placing the trade on a legal footing by the imposition of a duty instead of its being carried on in the present irregular manner. Various expressions in Lord Elgin's diary show that, as a whole, his mission was not very agreeable to him; to procure the legalisation of the opium trade was especially disagreeable. How he got over the feeling, and yet we find no reference to opium in the articles of the Treaty, appears in a letter of the 19th October, written to Mr. Reed, the American plenipotentiary 'When I resolved,' he says, 'not to press the matter on the Chinese Commissioners at Tientsin, I did so, not because I questioned the advantages that would arise from

the legalisation of the traffic, but because I could not reconcile it to my sense of right to urge the Imperial Government to abandon its traditional policy in this respect under the kind of pressure which we were bringing to bear upon it at Tientsin. He then speaks of the circumstances under which the question was to come up for discussion in the approaching Conference on the subject of the tariff being 'happily different'. So he was able to satisfy his 'sense of right', in fulfilling his mission by a delusion of the mind. The Conference on the tariff was a natural sequence to the discussions with the Commissioners at Tientsin. And the officers appointed by them to conclude the arrangements must have well known that they dared only to discuss and accede to the wishes of *his* officers, with any slight modification favourable to themselves which they might well be able to secure." Further down Dr Legge says "In this way the import of opium at the ports of China opened to foreign commerce was legalised. To say the legalisation was not 'in opposition to the will and in defiance to the remonstrances of the Chinese Imperial Government,' is not, to use your own language, 'according to the real facts of the case.' It was compulsion, the consequence of coercion, of which no one has written so strongly as Lord Elgin himself did. Some of his expressions about it cannot be read without extreme pain. I do not think it material to refer at length to the subsequent war of 1860. It will be remembered that the Chinese Government did not ratify that treaty, under circumstances which laid them open to the imputation of bad faith. That is a question the rights and wrongs of which Dr Williams fully discusses. The consequence was that we went to war again. Lord Elgin was sent to China a second time. It was after the burning of the Summer Palace that the Chinese finally gave way, and the treaty was ultimately ratified.

Q.—Does that conclude what you have to say with reference to the war?

A.—I will quote three opinions on the matter from very high authorities, and that will conclude what I have to say on that point. The first is the evidence of Sir Rutherford Alcock (Sir Thomas Wade's predecessor as British Ambassador in China) before the Indian Finance Committee in 1871.

"Q.—Now, is there anything in our treaties to force them to take our opium?

"A.—Yes, it is put in the tariff of articles of import.

"Q.—Then they are bound to allow the free import of opium?"

" A —That was the condition introduced into the treaty which Lord Elgin made.

" Q.—But we do not enforce the purchase ?

" A —Not the purchase , but they cannot prohibit the import of opium , it is amongst the admitted articles on the tariff

" Q —Then, notwithstanding the Chinese Government are so sensible of the demoralization of their people caused by the import of opium, they cannot prevent our sending it there we force them by treaty to take it from us ?

" A —That is so in effect

" Q —We have forced the Government to enter into a treaty to allow their subjects to take it

" A —Yes, precisely

" Q —Is it any wonder that the Chinese Government complain of our conduct in that respect ?

" A —No, I do not think it is any wonder

" Q —What should we say if these Chinese imposed the like restrictions upon us ?

" A —I think that our answer to them for putting it into the treaty is ' You cannot prevent it being smuggled, and the lesser evil is to admit it as a legitimate article of trade '

" Q —But is it not for them to judge of that, and not for us ?

" A —No doubt, if two nations are negotiating together on equal terms, each should have a voice

" Q —But suppose the Chinese Government were to say, ' We decline to admit opium , we will not renew the treaty except on the condition of excluding opium altogether ' .

" A —I think they could only do that on the same principle as that on which Prince Gortschakoff declared that Russia would not submit to the continued neutralisation of the Black Sea,—they must be prepared to fight for it.

" Q —As I understand you, you say that the Chinese have made a treaty from which it is not possible for them to escape ?

" A —It is not possible for them to escape from it, except by a declaration that they will not submit to what they conceive to be injurious terms.

" Q —The only way that they can escape from it is by a war ?

"A — A war, or a declaration that they are ready to go to war rather than submit any longer "

Sir Thomas Wade, speaking about all that we have obtained from China, said " Nothing that has been gained, it must be remembered, was received from the free will of the Chinese , more, the concessions made to us have been, from first to last, extorted against the conscience of the nation, in defiance, that is to say, of the moral convictions of its educated men, not merely of the office-holders, whom we call mandarins, and who are numerically but a small proportion of the educated class, but of the nucleus who are saturated with a knowledge of the history and philosophy of that country " That was written by Sir Thomas Wade in a memorandum by him contained in a Blue Book presented to Parliament in 1871 Once more, here are the words of Lord Elgin himself in a despatch printed in a Blue Book of 1871 " The concessions obtained in the treaty from the Chinese Government are not in themselves extravagant, but in the eyes of the Chinese Government they amount to a revolution They have been extorted therefore from its fears "

Q — That concludes the statement you wish to make with reference to the wars in China ?

A — Yes

#### THE EFFECTS OF THE OPIUM TRADE ON CHINA

Q.—Before we adjourn, it will be well to complete your examination with reference to the second paragraph of your memorial It is alleged in the paragraph that the opium traffic brings misery to countless myriads in China Have you anything to say in support of that view ?

A — I have prepared an abstract of evidence in support of that statement , but I will simply go over a few heads First we have the evidence of

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES, of whom seventeen appeared before the Commission in London—I include Dr Lockhart, who concurred with our witnesses as to the evil effects on China You had also the Secretaries of two important Missionary Societies, who personally had no experience in China, but who represented two large bodies of Missionaries, those of the Church Missionary Society and the China Inland Mission To which I may add that all the English societies labouring in China and one or two Scotch societies joined in a deputation to Lord Kimberley a year ago in support of our views There was also a practically unanimous missionary petition presented to the House of Commons in 1868, and there have been on two or three occasions unanimous resolu-



tions by Missionary Conferences in China representing the whole Protestant Missionary body. So that we have before the Commission the unanimous testimony of the whole Protestant Missionary body, including the medical missionaries, labouring in China.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES are no less unanimous on this point. I have an official document from the Court of Rome on the question. The Bishop and Vicars-Apostolic of Western China met in 1880, and there was some difference among them as to whether the use of opium in any form was to be absolutely prohibitory to reception into the Roman Catholic Church by baptism. The answer, of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith with which I have been favoured by Cardinal Vaughan, bears date last year only. Referring to previous papal decrees on the subject, it lays down the absolute rule that with the exception of such necessary indulgence as there may be for those who need medical treatment, that the use of opium in any form is to be considered absolutely prohibited to Roman Catholics in China, its growth, and any share whatever in the traffic. So that the Roman Catholic Church, owing to the representations of its missionaries in China, is just as clear on the subject as the Protestant missionaries are. Then we have

SOME BRITISH MERCHANTS in China, Mr Donald Matheson, who appeared before the Commission in London, and Mr Hanbury, who was with us at the deputation to Lord Kimberley, and who has traded many years in China. He has always refused to have anything to do with the opium trade. He has given strict orders that no portion of his large property at Shanghai is to be let to opium dealers. Then we have a considerable number of

BRITISH OFFICIALS connected with China. I have already referred to Sir George Staunton. I have also quotations from Mr Montgomery Martin, who was Treasurer of Hong Kong, 'Mr Lay, British Consul at Amoy, (who used a very strong expression, speaking of it as "hamstringing the nation"), Mr Majoribanks, Sir John Pope Hennessy, Governor of Hongkong (who spoke in the strongest words of the way in which the Chinese authorities had constantly remonstrated with him against the trade, not so much on physical grounds as on account of the moral effects of opium-taking), Sir Rutherford Alcock, and Sir Thomas Wade himself. Then I ought perhaps also to refer to an interesting and curious book, which has lately come out, by an opium-smuggler, in which, although he was engaged in the smuggling of opium, he admits the great evil it is. As to

THE CHINESE, Mr Hanbury, at the deputation to Lord Kimberley, said —“Produce to me ten or even five Chinamen who will say that opium smoking is innocuous” No Chinaman has ever come forward publicly to declare that he defends the trade We have seen that some of them were in favour of legalisation as being a better thing than smuggling, but so far as I know, no Chinaman has ever said that the trade did not do a great evil in his country There are a great many statements of Chinese statesmen and others to be referred to on that head

THE COUNTER-EVIDENCE is only that of some merchants, some travellers and some officials

#### THE VALUE OF OFFICIAL OPIUM

With regard to officials, some important words were pronounced by Mr Gladstone in his speech in the recent debate “I do not think that in this matter we ought to be guided exclusively, perhaps even principally, by those who may consider themselves experts It is a very sad thing to say, but unquestionably it happens not infrequently in human affairs, that those who ought, from their situation to know the most and best, yet from prejudice and prepossessions know the least and the worst Emminently it was the case in the great question of West Indian slavery, when this House and the country for a long time were discouraged and abashed by the assurance that those who were in favour of that great and radical change were in favour of it only because they did not understand the Negro character There may be something of that element in this case I certainly, for my part, do not propose to abide finally and decisively by official opinion Independent opinion,—independent, but responsible—is what the House wants, in my opinion, in order to enable it to proceed safely in the career upon which I admit, that it has definitely entered” That seems to me to be a very strong case, and bearing a remarkable analogy to the present case My acquaintance with the anti-slavery literature of the past generation leads me to believe that the West Indian officials were unanimous in the view that the institution of slavery was desirable, but they have been proved by the public conscience of Great Britain and the experience of mankind since to have been wrong

#### PUBLIC OPINION AT HOME

Q.—Referring to the evidence that you have with regard to public opinion at home, is there anything you wish to bring before us in support of your statement that the resolutions you propose are received with almost absolute unanimity at hundreds of meetings, and have you anything to say with reference to the number and influential position of those who sign the numerous petitions that are presented to Parliament?

A—I have taken a considerable share in the public meetings that have been held on this question since I became Secretary, rather more than four years ago,—latterly not so much as during the first year or two. One thing that has struck me very much is the way in which at these meetings different classes of opinion have been represented. One of the most important meetings that I attended shortly after becoming Secretary was a breakfast meeting held at Leeds. The remark was made to me afterwards by a gentleman long acquainted with Leeds that he did not believe that on any other subject such a meeting could have been gathered. We had representatives of all the different classes of thought into which English opinion is divided. Religiously we had Church of England people and Nonconformists, High Church and Low Church, politically we had Tories and Radicals, and altogether it was a meeting that I was told was probably in Leeds unprecedented. What I have said of that meeting applies generally and to a very large degree to a great many other meetings that we have held throughout the country. Where the unanimity has been broken, it has I think, always been only by those directly connected with India and with the services in India. We have always been accustomed to give the fullest opportunity to gentlemen who wished to oppose the views we put forward. They have, no doubt, sometimes been listened to with impatience by the audience opposed to them. But at all events they have been fully and fairly heard on many occasions, and they have never succeeded in turning any votes. The largest minority that I am aware of anywhere was a minority of 3, all directly connected with Indian official life. Petitions to Parliament have been very much to the same effect. According to the latest return I have, up to the 10th July last, 2,470 petitions were presented during the session, including 329 officially signed, the total signatures being 205,563.

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part III. 21st November, 1893.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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## Mr. J. G. Alexander's Evidence, Continued.

Q.—*Chairman*—After your examination yesterday the subject was discussed by the members of the Commission, and it was decided that it was not necessary to take any detailed evidence with reference to matters so long since passed as these to which your statements chiefly referred. We therefore do not propose to cross-examine you upon the history of our wars and conflicts with China. In the third paragraph of your memorial presented to Lord Kimberley you express the desire that the area under poppy cultivation in the Behar and Benares Agency should at once be restricted, and you urge in support of that prayer that declarations in that sense had been made in Parliament by Sir James Fergusson and the late Right Hon'ble W. H. Smith?

A.—I think it is hardly correct to say that it is our prayer that they should be restricted. This paragraph refers to the measures that were actually taken, or that we understood to have been taken, by the late Government. The credit given to the late Government for what had been done must be modified in view of Sir David Barbour's statement the other day, that the Indian Government has not yet adopted any new policy in the sense we had understood. But with regard to that I have further to call attention to an express statement by Mr. George Curzon, in reply to a question from Sir Joseph Pease, on the 25th February 1892, founded upon those statements of Sir James Fergusson and Mr. Smith a year before. Mr. Curzon in his reply stated—"The figures for 1891-92 have not yet been received, but in order to restrict the area of cultivation the Government of India reduced the number of chests for sale in the year from 57,000 to 54,000." We took that as an express declaration that the Government of India were acting upon the policy that had been announced in the House of Commons in 1891.

Q.—Do you desire to express yourself as satisfied with the declarations that have been made by the representatives of the Government so far as they went?

A.—We considered those declarations to mark decided progress from our point of view.

Q.—Do you now desire to say that the indications that have been given in Sir David Barbour's evidence have been received by you with a certain amount of regret ?

A.—Regret and surprise, because we had been given to understand that the Government of India was carrying out the views expressed by Sir James Ferguson and Mr Smith

Q.—Have you anything further to say with reference to this question of acreage under poppy cultivation ?

A.—Perhaps this will be the best place for me to say that, from our point of view, a gradual diminution of this kind cannot really be satisfactory, it does not meet our main objection which is, that the trade is altogether an immoral one; and if it is an immoral trade obviously it ought to be stopped at once, and no question of gradual diminution can arise. But there is another point of view, apart from what I may call the moral point, from which we may look at the question—that is, the point of view of practical philanthropy—the practical wish to put a stop to the consumption of opium in the East, and especially in China. For myself,—I do not venture here to speak as representing all the members of our society, I do not know whether they would all follow me, but for myself I should be willing somewhat to lay aside the urgency of the high moral point of view, namely, that the trade is immoral, and should therefore at once and altogether be suppressed, if I could feel sure that by another course we should more speedily arrive at the real practical philanthropic object that we have in the stoppage of the consumption of opium in China. I think Sir George Staunton in the debate in 1840 made the declaration that this trade could never be stopped except by a consensus of the Chinese and British Governments, and, holding that he was right in that view, I should be satisfied to waive something of our claim that the trade must be immediately and absolutely suppressed, in order to obtain, from the Chinese Government some concurrent action which would promise a more speedy end of this great evil. My objection to gradual diminution on the lines laid down by the Government in 1891 and which we supposed the Indian Government had been adopting, is that practically it makes no difference to China. So long as there is no agreement with the Chinese Government that it will reciprocate those measures the practical effect simply is that so many thousand chests are produced in China instead of in India. I believe that the Indian opium is more injurious and deleterious than native grown opium, and from that point of view there perhaps may be some improvement, but otherwise, as long as the British Government has

no agreement with the Chinese Government that it will carry out the same policy in China, a gradual diminution does nothing whatever to put an end to the great evil that we are combating. That is why we consider any policy of gradual diminution without a distinct agreement with the Chinese Government to be a wholly unsatisfactory one.

Q.—Have you any reason to suppose that the Chinese Government is at the present time anxious to come to an agreement with the Government of India for the total prohibition of the use of opium? Has it not been represented to those who have recently been negotiating on the part of the British Government, that the Chinese Government are of opinion that if they were to totally prohibit importation, the demand could be met by a local supply, and that having that in view, they thought it would rather be a question of checking the consumption of opium by taxation, and that it was impossible to entertain at present a policy of total prohibition. Was not that represented by Sir Thomas Wade in his evidence in London, and is not that view confirmed in the course of negotiation in which the Marquis Tseng was engaged first with Lord Granville and afterwards with Lord Salisbury for modifications of the Chefoo Convention?

A.—In 1869 the Tsung-Li-Yamen (Foreign Board) of China addressed to the British Government through Sir Rutherford Alcock a memorial in which they said “The writers hope that His Excellency will memorialize his Government to give orders in India and elsewhere to substitute the cultivation of cereals or cotton. Were both nations to rigorously prohibit the growth of the poppy, both the traffic in and the consumption of opium might alike be put an end to.” Within the last few years, shortly before the signing of the Additional Article of 1885, a special mission was again sent from China to Calcutta, to propose to the Indian Government a scheme for the gradual suppression of the poppy cultivation in both countries.

Q.—I suppose you mean on the part of the Chinese Government?

A.—On the part of the Chinese Government. Of that mission so far as I am aware no official account has ever been published. Information has reached me through private sources that there was such a mission. I believe that a gentleman employed in the Chinese Customs service came to Calcutta in order to ascertain whether it would not be possible to come to some such arrangement with the Indian Government.

Q.—For total prohibition?

A.—For gradual suppression in both countries concurrently.



Q—What year was that ?

A—I do not know the exact year. As far as I know it has never been published. Perhaps the Commission will be able to get information in regard to it which is not at present before the public. I presume the Calcutta Government will have some record of the proceedings.

Q—*Mr. Pease*—Is there any evidence that he was authorised by the Chinese Government ?

A—I understood he came with the approval of the Chinese Government.

Q—*Chairman*—Was he a properly accredited representative of the Chinese Government ?

A—I am not sure how far he was officially accredited. He must have received some introduction.

Q—You have no direct knowledge ?

A.—No, it has simply reached me unofficially. The Marquis Tseng in 1886 in a letter addressed to our Secretary said—This treaty I admit does not accomplish the desired result, but it would prove nevertheless the first important step towards checking the use and abuse of opium. The British Government as well as my own will enjoy greater facilities in future for re-opening negotiation on the opium question with a view of agreeing to measures that would reduce each year the quantity of importation and consumption. "The British Government may in the meantime see its way clear to place restrictions upon the present cultivation, in which case my Government would surely lose no time in following the example and put an effectual check upon the growth of opium in China." Since then the only evidence that I think I can bring before the Commission as to the willingness of the Chinese Government still, and its desire, to concur in such an arrangement, is that derived from the interviews which His Excellency Li Hung Chang, the Great Chinese Viceroy, has accorded to some of our friends: to Mr Dyer of Bombay in 1890, and more recently to the Revd. Dr Glover and Mr Morris a deputation from the Baptist Missionary Society, who were visiting China. In those interviews Li Hung Chang expresses the great desire of the Chinese Government to put down the trade. I do not remember that in either of these interviews this special proposal was again put forward. Li Hung Chang at all events recognised that this is a great evil, and expressed himself in the strongest terms as to the impossibility of the Chinese Government taking any practical

step to deal with that evil, except by some agreement with the British Government which would aim at the suppression of the import from India.

Q.—Was Li Hung Chang on the occasions to which you are referring expressing his own individual views, or was he putting forward the opinion of his Government?

A.—I think he was speaking his own individual views, but the Commission has already had some evidence on that question. The Revd J S Adams put before the Commission his very strong view that that opinion is almost universally held amongst the higher statesmen of China. I have had similar very strong opinions from Dr Dudgeon of Peking, who was Private Secretary to the Marquis Tseng, and who knows a great deal of many of the higher officials in Peking. I may remind the Commission, too, that Sir Thomas Wade in his evidence said he would not undertake to say whether the majority of Chinese statesmen are or are not strongly opposed to the opium traffic. In particular Tso Tsung Tang, whose position and influence, as I understand, are only second to those of Li Hung Chang himself, is known as a strong and determined opponent of the opium traffic.

Q.—Sir Thomas Wade placed before us in London, a report entitled Conferences on the Opium Question, which had taken place between himself and the Ministers of the Tsung-Li-Yamen in 1881-82. To the best of my recollection he called our attention to a declaration made by the Yamen to this effect that, while desiring to see the abuse of opium repressed in China, the Yamen held the view that the habit was now so widely spread in China that any reform must be the result of a general moral improvement among the people, that they recognise that the growth of opium in China had become so extensive that it would be impossible by merely putting an end to the trade in India to put an end to the supply of opium, and that for the moment they held the view that there were many questions of greater urgency than the decisive step of absolutely prohibiting the importation of opium. I believe that was the effect of the conversations to which Sir Thomas Wade called our attention in London.

A.—I should say with regard to that conversation referred to by Sir Thomas Wade that we only have his account of it, which of course rests chiefly on his own private memoranda. We know how, when a man has strong views, he is apt to take others as agreeing with them perhaps more than they really do, and no official or public statement of that kind has ever been made by Chinese statesmen.

**Q.**—In the concluding part of the third paragraph of your memorial you refer to the abolition of what are described as licensed smoking dens throughout India. Have you anything more to say upon that subject ?

**A.**—On that point we rejoice in the action of the Government of India as a very decided step in the right direction, but it seems to us to require supplementing by further measures in the same direction. That has been suggested in a correspondence presented to Parliament this year at the instance of Mr. Caine—a correspondence arising out of a confidential circular issued by the Board of Revenue of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. In his despatch closing that correspondence, Lord Kimberley says, under date 16th of March 1893.—“The question arises whether the law ought not to be strengthened, so as to enable your officers to take legal steps for suppressing private opium saloons, otherwise, if unlicensed saloons for opium-smoking can be established without hindrance, the object which was thought to be attained by prohibiting opium-smoking on the premises of licensed opium vendors may be practically defeated. I shall be glad to learn the views of your Government on this point.” I am not aware whether the Indian Government has replied to that enquiry of Lord Kimberley. We strongly hold the view expressed by Lord Kimberley that it is desirable to prevent private and unlicensed opium dens or opium clubs being established so as to provide facilities within the law for this practice of opium-smoking which the Indian Government has by its action and its minute recognized as being undoubtedly a very great evil.

**Q.**—You refer to the removal of the Minimum Guarantee Clause from the agreement made with those who hold opium licenses in Bombay. Have you anything to say on that ?

**A.**—I can only say that we also rejoice in that as a step in the right direction. I may be allowed to add one point. In going through India with Mr. Wilson, I have had my attention called to the fact that this measure of the suppression of opium dens has not been fully carried out. We visited a town, which I think it better not to name because I do not want to bring special officials before the Commission. In that town we were taken to three opium dens on the premises of licensed opium vendors, where we saw in three of them chandu smoking and in one muddak smoking going on just as if no order had been issued by the Government of India. I think it desirable to call the attention of the Commission to the fact that, although those orders have been put into the licenses in every province prohibiting the sale of opium for smoking on the premises,

those orders have not been fully carried out, as I have seen with my own eyes

Q.—*Mr. Fanshawe* —Were those public shops ?

A —Yes

Q.—Licensed public shops ?

A —We were told that they were licensed Our gharry driver was a Mahommedan, and we were told that he would be able to take us to the places He took us, and we found them open, with no attempt at concealment

Q —Where were they ?

A —I would rather not mention the town , but I will send the name up to the Chairman

Q —*Chairman*—You had better mention it

A —It was in the town of Gya We were told that there were some others also in the same town

Q —*Sir James Lyall* —In the third paragraph of your memorial you speak of “the extremely objectionable ‘minimum guarantee’ clause contained in the opium licenses used in the Presidency of Bombay” Do you not think that that is a very strong term to use ?

A —It seemed to me that it was extremely objectionable in the natural operation I am aware of the object which was intended in the insertion of that clause, that is, to prevent smuggling , but it seems to me that the necessary operation of such a clause would be that there would be great pressure put upon the licensee to extend his sales so as not to incur the risk of a fine

Q —I think you are aware that before that system was invented there was most extensive smuggling The licensed vendors in Bombay, though they paid heavily for their licenses and sold a good deal of opium, yet took hardly any of the high-priced Government opium for their shop and relied entirely upon the smuggling trade ?

A.—I have been so informed

Q —So that there were strong reasons for it ?

A —I do not impute bad motives to the Government in adopting that clause, nevertheless I think that the clause as adopted was “extremely objectionable,” as the memorial says, and I am glad that it has been done away with.

Q.—A man could only have one shop, he could not establish branch shops ; the license only allowed him to establish a certain shop and sell to anybody who came ?

A.—Except with permission of the Government official

Q.—If that permission was not given as a rule, he had only one shop ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—It would make a great difference to him in the amount he sold whether he had to pay the maximum amount or not ?

A.—The ordinary motives of self-interest would make a man sell as much as he could You may strengthen those motives by telling him that he is under a fine if he does not sell a certain quantity

Q.—Under that strong motive how would he increase the sale ?

A.—I have heard since I have been in India of a licensee sending round to his customers, if they did not turn up at the accustomed period in the evening, to ask them why they did not come, in that way trying to induce a man who was perhaps making some struggle to free himself.

Q.—*Mr Fanshawe* — With regard to Gya, I understand that your statement depends on information given you by a gharry driver Did you notice if there was a licensed board up at the shop

A.—The information was not given by the driver, but it was given me by the Baptist Pastor of the place He referred to, our driver as being a man who would know where the shops were It was he who made the statement to us that the shops were Government licensed shops

Q.—Was any licensed board up in front of the shops ?

A.—I did not observe any board

Q.—*Mr Moubray* — You are quite aware that similar difficulties have arisen in England with regard to clubs and public houses ?

A.—Yes

Q.—You are aware that there was a Committee of the House of Commons sitting on that subject last year ?

A.—I did not remember that ; I take it from you, and I have no doubt it is so.

Q.—And so far as I know, Government have not taken any steps to put down these clubs in England ?

A.—I do not think they have, but I think the Temperance party, if I may speak as a humble member of that party, is very desirous indeed

and is endeavouring to put pressure upon the Government, to introduce a measure dealing with clubs

Q.—*Mr Wilson*.—Upon that point about the bogus clubs in England, I suppose you are also aware that the members of the licensed trade are equally anxious to get them put down

A—I believe it is so

Q.—*Chauhan*—Returning to your General Memorial, in the fourth paragraph you say that you accept those measures of reform which have already been adopted as steps in the right direction, but in your view those measures fall short of carrying out the resolution which the House of Commons had approved. You then proceed to make a reference to the observations of Mr Gladstone to the Electors of Midlothian, and you hold that those observations imply a sympathy with the cause which you have taken up. You then refer to the specific measures which you would recommend for adoption with a view to the repression of the opium trade. You also refer to the Bengal opium monopoly, to the Malwa transit duty system, and to the excise system. Then in your seventh paragraph you proceed to deal somewhat more in detail with Bengal opium monopoly. You recommend that there should be an immediate reduction in the area of poppy cultivation with a view to limiting the production of opium to that which medical use requires, and you complain that opium is not prepared in India for medical use, but solely for sensual indulgence. Have you anything further to say upon that subject?

A—I should like to point out under this paragraph the great distinction between opium prepared for medical use and opium prepared for smoking or opium-eating, which is what we mean by sensual indulgence. The British Pharmacopœia does not admit of the use of Indian opium in the preparation of medicines in England. In Flückiger and Hanbury's Pharmacographia it is shown that Indian opium, though very potent for intoxicating purposes, does not contain a sufficient proportion of those ingredients which are specially useful for medical purposes. In this paragraph we point out that a specially prepared article is issued from the Government Agencies to the Medical Department in India. No doubt a good deal of opium prepared, for the Excise Department, and prepared, as I should say, for intoxicating use, is in fact used by doctors in India for medical purposes. And Dr Maxwell, who gave evidence with regard to China, told me that when he was practising in Formosa, having run out of medical opium, he had used the Indian smoking opium.

Q.—*Sir William Roberts*.—I think he said Indian crude opium?

A.—That is what I mean, crude opium intended to be prepared for smoking purposes

Q.—He added that it answered just as well?

A.—I did not remember that I suppose he must have used it in some different proportions

Q.—The differences are really very slight

A.—Fluckiger and Hanbury, I think, speak of the difference as being considerable

Q.—The analysis can be had, the differences are very slight.

A.—Dr Fluckiger has suggested that the Indian Government would do well to pay attention to the demand for good opium for medical use, and prepare opium with a view of competing with the Turkey drug which at present has a monopoly for medical use in Great Britain and Europe generally I have various authorities that I can refer to on the question of its being prepared for sensual indulgence That largely rests upon a statement made by Julius Jeffreys, F R S, formerly Staff Surgeon of Cawnpore, and Civil Surgeon at Fategarh, published in 1858 in an appendix to a book on the British Army in India,—"My own acquaintance with the subject dates from the year 1831, when, in passing by water the chief opium magazine of the East India Company at Patna, I paid a visit to a friend who had charge of the scientific department of it After he had led me through story after story and gallery after gallery of the factory, with opium balls right and left tiered in shelves to the ceiling, upon my expressing amazement at an exhibition of opium enough to supply the medical wants of the world for years, he replied, nearly in these words. 'I see you are very innocent, these stores of opium have no such beneficent destination It is all going to debauch the Chinese, and my duty is to maintain its smack as attractive to them, as possible Come to my laboratory' There I saw broken balls of opium procured, I understood, from China, by the Bengal Government, as approved musters (samples) for imitation by the cultivators" Mr Jeffreys adds "Upon looking around for information, I heard that the natives, where they ventured an opinion, the Mahommedans especially, were equally scandalized at the engagement of the Company in such a traffic"

Q.—What year was that?

A.—The visit was in 1831

Q.—I presume you are aware that very little was then known about opium smoking?

A.—Not very much in 1831. It was about 1840 that the first pamphlets came out attacking the opium trade. Bishop Thoburn referred to the fact that it was condemned in very strong terms in the Impeachment of Warren Hastings more than 100 years ago. And the East Indian Company's despatch of 1817, sanctioning the establishment of the excise system of selling opium in India, spoke in the strongest terms of condemnation of the habit. The Directors said that in compassion to mankind they would gladly stop the traffic altogether were it possible.

Q.—Do you draw any distinction in point of moral responsibility between the working of a system such as the Bengal opium monopoly and the position taken by the Government in other parts of India where it is not a manufacturer or producer, and interposes only to levy export duties and to enforce the payment of licenses. I believe that has been done in some pamphlets issued by your Association?

A.—Yes, I was intending to deal with that under paragraph thirteen, but I may as well take it here. I may say that the opinions expressed in that pamphlet dealing with Sir William Muir's minute are not the opinions held by our Society now.

Q.—When was that pamphlet published?

A.—Very early in the history of the Society—in 1875.

Q.—You were not connected with the society at that time?

A.—I was not.

Q.—Was Sir Joseph Pease connected with it?

A.—Yes, he was not President then. Lord Shaftesbury was President until his death. There was some difference of view, as I explained in London. In starting the Society it was not committed to any very definite policy. That came out in a meeting at the Mansion House held in 1883, when three different speakers suggested three different lines. One speaker advocated a policy of gradual suppression. I think it was Lord Shaftesbury himself. Another speaker, who I think was Sir Robert Fowler, our late Treasurer, advocated that the change of policy should be on the line of Sir William Muir's minute. Cardinal Manning who was a subsequent speaker, quoted the old story about the king who wished that all his nobles had but one neck so that he might strike them all off at a blow, and he applied that to the opium traffic. He very strongly objected to the suggestion that the opium traffic should be handed over to private capitalists, because he pointed out that if that were the case, you would at once have a number



of vested interests like those that we have in England in connection with the liquor traffic. He would rather have the one neck of the Government of India to deal with than have the vested rights of a number of private capitalists. Since that time that view has been completely accepted by our Society, and in the Statement of Facts and Principles which I put in, and which was adopted by us at the beginning of 1886, the suppression of the cultivation of the poppy in Bengal was for the first time I think distinctly laid down as the programme of the Society, and it is embodied in paragraph 13 of the memorial to Lord Kimberley.

Q—*Sir James Lyall* —Suppression not merely of the monopoly but of the cultivation ?

A —Not merely of the monopoly, but of the cultivation

Q —*Chairman* —You put that forward now as the view held unanimously by the members of your Society ?

A —Unanimously by the active members of our Society

Q —What interpretation do you put upon the passage in Sir Joseph Pease's speech last session which I quoted in my question to Sir David Barbour ?

A —I think Sir Joseph Pease only meant to say what we have said in paragraph thirteen, that is, that the Calcutta sales are the most prominent and the most obviously indefensible part of the system from our point of view, that the Malwa system has more analogy to the drink traffic repressed by taxation with which we are familiar in our own country, and that the fact that the Government holds this position under the monopoly brings out in a more glaring light the evils of the system

Q.—You have nothing further to say on the Bengal monopoly ?

A —It is sometimes said that there are 'no precedents for the prohibition of a trade in this way by a Government. I venture to put before the Commission two precedents both relating to the liquor traffic. One is under the North Sea Convention for the protection of sailors in the North Sea against the liquor traffic that used to be carried on by what were called copers

Q —You would not draw any parallel between the North Sea liquor traffic and the opium traffic of India in point of magnitude ?

A.—No, not in point of magnitude certainly. I refer to it simply as answering the objection that has been raised against our proposal that it is altogether unprecedented. That is a precedent, I think, for the absolute prohibition of traffic of a similar character. The second

is that of the Brussels Anti-Slavery Convention, under which a large zone of Central Africa is absolutely protected from the liquor traffic. The provision is that where the liquor traffic has not yet been carried on in Africa, it is totally prohibited. This Convention also provides, by taxation for the limitation of the local traffic in those districts where it already exists.

Q —In the case of Africa, "I apprehend there is no difference of opinion among professional experts as to the effect of indulgence in liquor by the African tribes ;—they are unanimous that it is a bad thing ?

A —That is so, and I think there is practical unanimity in regard to the effects of opium in China

Q —With regard to the Malwa system, you deal with that in the eighth paragraph, and you say that, with a view to preventing the cultivation of opium beyond what is required for medical use, it is desirable that there should be a mutual prohibition enforced alike in British India and in the Malwa States, and you say that if such an arrangement were made, the objection which has been urged on the part of the Government of India to the proposals on the ground of smuggling would be to a large extent removed Have you anything to say in development of these views ?

A —I would simply more clearly bring out our view that the Bengal trade ought first to be stopped The Government of India ought first to cease itself from deriving on revenue from carrying on this trade Having stopped the Bengal system and having given up its own revenue, it would then be in a position to go to the Chiefs of the Native States and say "We on moral grounds have abandoned this trade, feeling that it is indefensible and ask you to follow our example"

Q —How long would you concede to the Government of India for the purpose of dealing with the case in Bengal?

A —I would say that it should be done as quickly as possible, and would say, Stop the trade immediately and convert the stocks you have in hand to medical use at once

Q —You recognise the financial difficulty ?

A —Yes I do, but I am unable to put a financial difficulty on the same line with a moral objection I think England should help in regard to the financial difficulty I should like to add another point on the eighth paragraph. I think that pressure upon the Native States would be justifiable, should it become necessary, on the ground that in the past we have forced the trade upon the Chinese, that if the Chinese Gov-

ernment had succeeded in its effort in 1840 to put down the trade, the Native States would have lost the whole of their trade. It is the force of the British arms that established the trade and has kept it open ever since, and on that ground we should be entitled to exercise pressure upon the Native States if necessary; though I would only advocate that in the last resort.

The difficulty as to the smuggling of opium would be met, as far as regards the States of Central India, which produce opium by an arrangement of that kind with the Native States. That is my answer to those who say that smuggling would be an insuperable difficulty. Some little difficulty might no doubt arise as regards smuggling over the North West Frontier and perhaps Bhopal, but I do not think that it is so formidable as is often stated. Sir Charles Aitchison, in a memorandum in 1880 with regard to opium in Burma, says—"As regards smuggling, I do not believe that, even with our open seaboard of 1,000 miles and our long and unguarded frontier with Upper Burma, the Shan States and Siam, there would be a very great increase in illicit traffic, either from Bengal or from China, if the importation of opium were altogether forbidden and the possession of opium were made illegal. Already the price of opium is artificially forced up to a maximum, presenting the very strongest temptation to the smuggler, while the fact that possession of the drug is not unlawful increases the difficulty of detection. The pecuniary temptation cannot become very much greater than it is if opium were altogether forbidden, the drug wherever found would be contraband without question, and we should have the sympathies of the people with us in the suppression of smuggling. One fact is worth a bushel of argument, we have succeeded in almost stamping out ganja, although the plant from which it is made grows wild in Burma. The difficulties we have in any case to contend with, in preventing smuggling are so great that an addition to them would not be a very appreciable burden. Anyhow, smuggling, even on a considerable scale, would never lead to the universal consumption of the drug; and the extension of the revenue is not to be compared to the gradual demoralization of the people."

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*—With reference to the Bengal opium monopoly I understand that your Society admits that the Bengal monopoly system is preferable to the Malwa or export duty system as the most powerful engine for restricting and regulating internal consumption; and the preference is not based simply upon the fact that it is easier to attack, but it is also admitted that, if the prohibition of cultivation is not to be enforced, the Bengal monopoly system is the most powerful engine possible for restricting and regulating the internal consumption?

A.—I do not think we have ever admitted that. We recognise that there will be a risk in changing the system—that if we really changed the system, we might find ourselves worse off. My own private opinion is that we in all probability should not find ourselves worse off.

Q.—Not worse off in what way?

A.—I mean there might be a greater consumption—it might possibly lead to a greater trade.

Q.—If you free the trade?

A.—And simply placed it under a system of excise similar to that which we have at home in regard to the manufacture of beer.

Q.—You do not think that your Society admitted that, but you yourself are inclined to think so?

A.—I beg your pardon, I am inclined to think otherwise.

Q.—What, that the free trade system is better for internal consumption than the Bengal system?

A.—I do not suppose that anybody contemplated free trade.

Q.—Free growth and an excise and export duty?

A.—Excise and export duty, a system such as that sketched out by Sir William Muir, which is one of licensing the growth.

Q.—Do you think that would be better for regulating and restricting internal consumption than the Bengal monopoly system?

A.—Yes. My personal opinion is that probably there would be less grown and less trade altogether under such a system than under the present system.

Q.—I am speaking of internal consumption?

A.—I have not formed an opinion about that. I recognise that there are risks, and that we might possibly find ourselves worse off. The Society has recognized those risks, and does not wish to make the experiment.

Q.—Are you aware that poppy cultivation once extended throughout India in all parts where the soil and the climate were suitable, and, except in certain favorable tracts, it was mainly or entirely for consumption, not an export trade, and are you aware that the operation of the Bengal opium monopoly and the policy of the Government of India in connection with it since its first establishment, more than a hundred years ago, have had the effect of putting an end to poppy cultivation in much the greater part of British India and in the greater part of the territory held by the Native States—are you aware of that?

A.—I could not say that I was aware of it as regards the Native States. As regards British India, I am aware that poppy cultivation existed here and there over a large part of it until the measures were taken at the end of the last century to which we have referred to in paragraph eleven.

Q.—In Mysore and Hyderabad by agreement with the Government, poppy cultivation was prohibited. There are two instances; and all the Native States under the control of Bombay are also other instances?

A.—I cannot say I was aware of it. I have no doubt you are correct.

Q.—Then but for the monopoly and the policy in connection with it, not the cultivation of the poppy and the consumption and export of opium have been in all probability much greater than they are under the present system?

A.—It is quite possible. I cannot form a definite opinion as to what would have been.

Q.—I ask the question because in the anti-opium literature these facts are altogether ignored and it might be thought that we had introduced the cultivation of the poppy and entirely created the export trade?

A.—I think we have frequently used the fact that the Government of India prohibit and put down the opium growth in many parts of India as an argument why it should and could do the same in the remainder of India. We have used that as an argument in paragraph eleven and often refer to it in our publications.

Q.—In paragraph seven you speak of limiting the production of opium to that which medical use requires. That means, does it not, that it must only be supplied on medical advice?

A.—That is our view.

Q.—But the mass of natives of India prefer their own system of medicine to ours, they may admit the superiority of our surgery, but they prefer their own system of medicine. Our doctors on the contrary say that their ideas of medicine are all wrong. Is not that a difficulty in laying down a rule that opium should only be supplied on medical advice of some kind?

A.—I should not have thought so. I include in medical advice Native as well as European doctors, advice according to the native system as well as according to the European.

Q.—You are aware that the medical system of the village doctors is of a most primitive kind possible?

A.—I was not aware of that

Q.—That people administer medicine for themselves, a man advising for his own family or for his neighbour ?

A.—We attempt to deal with that in England, where people also medicate themselves to a great extent, by directing that no medicine of a poisonous character shall be sold except by druggists

Q.—Do you think from what you know or of what you have heard of India that the native practitioners, the hakims and vaidas, can be trusted with the power of prescribing opium and saying whether it shall be used for medical purposes or not, there being great inducements for them to misuse their power owing to the large demand for opium as a stimulant ?

A.—My answer is that you must work with such tools as you have. Although it may be true that the medical profession in India (using the word in the large sense of all who practise medicine) is not in a very satisfactory state, and that there would be some temptations of the kind you have suggested, yet it is far better that a general restriction should be applied than that the sale should be perfectly public and open, and every man allowed to get poisonous drugs exactly as he pleased

Q.—You know that opium is a stimulant, as alcohol is, would it not be very difficult to draw a line between the use of such a thing for medical requirements and its use for other purposes ? If you asked most people who took opium moderately why they took it at all, they would nearly all answer that they took it because they thought it did them good, how can you possibly draw a line and say that in this case it is for medical use and in that case it is not ?

A.—I cannot admit the suggestion that most people in India who use opium even, as you say, moderately would say that it was doing them good. It may be so, and my limited knowledge of India does not entitle me to say that it is not, but I cannot be taken to admit that it is. I have heard a good deal in India to the contrary,—that those who take opium even in comparatively small doses admit that it does not do them good

Q.—*Sir William Roberts* —Do you not recognize the analogy between the use of brandy in our country, partly as an intoxicant and largely as a domestic remedy, and the use of opium ? Is not the parallel pretty even ?

A.—No, I should have thought not

Q.—Why not ?

A.—There is this broad distinction, at all events, that opium has been recognized by medical science as a poison and that at home we do attempt to protect our people from its indiscriminate use in that way. We have not yet given that protection at home against alcohol, and if it were to be extended to India it would be something beyond what we have at home.

Q.—Is not that begging the question that India and home are identical in regard to opium?

A.—It is assuming that opium being a poison in England is also a poison in India. We certainly do assume that

Q.—Sir James Lyall—Are you aware that the English system which you recommend to be introduced is not sufficient for preventing any person who wants to get opium for excessive indulgence?

A.—We have admitted in our ninth paragraph that the provisions of the present law as regards opium are too lax. I may explain briefly what the provisions are in the Pharmacy Act. The Act divides poisons into two categories—violent poisons, amongst which strychnine and arsenic are included, and milder poisons, amongst which opium and all the preparations of opium are included. With regard to the more violent poisons, the provisions are exceedingly strict; they can only be sold by certified druggists, who must make entries and have a knowledge of the person, to whom they are selling. With regard to opium, as one of the milder drugs, the provisions are only that it must be sold by a registered druggist and that it must be labelled "poison". There is a considerable amount of medical opinion at home in favour of taking opium out of the milder category and putting it in the stricter

Q.—You are aware that under the present system in the Fens and other parts of England where opium is freely taken as it is in India the druggists have it prepared on market days on their counters?

A.—Yes

Q.—People come in and take the opium without question?

A.—I am aware that that is so, and that medical men and other observers in those districts speak of it as a very great evil, and greatly deplore that such a state of things exists.

Q.—Some do and some do not, some medical men justify the system?

A.—I think I have seen one opinion of that kind, but I have heard a good many to the contrary

**Q.**—Has your society ever thought out any system for India by which opium would be available for medical use and yet not available as a stimulant ?

**A.**—We have taken the view that that was a question upon which we at home could not work out the details, that we could only lay down principles and leave the Indian Government, which knows India and has its officials to consult, to ascertain the best way of applying those principles.

**Q.**—In paragraph eight you say .—“As regards Malwa opium we would point out that the present wide extension of poppy cultivation in the Native States is due to the policy of the British Government itself ” Then you go on to quote as an authority the statement made by Mr St George Tucker Has your society made any further enquiry to test the correctness of Mr Tucker's statement ? Does it still adhere to the statement as true in fact that the present wide extension of poppy cultivation is due to the policy of the British Government itself ?

**A.**—I do not think the society can be said to have made any further enquiry. I have received from yourself information, which you were good enough to furnish me with on the voyage out, which I admit tends to show that Mr Tucker probably somewhat inaccurately represented the state of the case. We naturally took his statement as being that of a very great authority, and we were not aware of any facts which would displace the statement.

**Q.**—*Sir James Lyall* —You have not seen the memorandum as to the arrangement with the Native States which the Government of India prepared ?

**A.**—No I only received it yesterday and I have not been able to look through it.

**Q.**—Have you looked at the subject in *Sir Charles Aitchison's* work ?

**A.**—I looked up the book and I was unsuccessful, I may almost say, in finding any trace of the opium question. Perhaps there was a foot-note somewhere.

**Q.**—There is a copy of the Treaty made in 1820 with Holkar and a similar treaty with nine other States. In his philanthropic zeal Mr. Tucker mistook the facts and misrepresented them. You will find the treaty given there ?

**A.**—I did so, but I did not read it in such a way as to contradict Mr. Tucker's statement I think *Sir Charles Aitchison's* object was to



show that the new arrangement was better than the old, and that it seems to me from every point of view it undoubtedly is

Q—You mean better than that made by treaty ?

A—Yes

Q.—Better for the Native States They objected strongly to the old arrangement and so did the natives. The object of the treaties was to bring poppy cultivation into control and reduce it for the benefit of the Bengal opium ?

A.—It led to a system of espionage which was unendurable We mention that the treaties were repealed in paragraph eight

Q—Mr Tucker stated that we contracted burdensome treaties with the Rajput States to introduce and to extend the cultivation of the poppy There he was entirely wrong, as any reference to the authorities will show ?

A—I am glad to know that it is so I take it from you

Q—When you say “at the present time the Native States engage so to manage their opium cultivation and production as to safeguard the British revenue, and in exchange for this service they receive either money compensation or other concessions,—” did you imagine that the Native States there referred to were the same Native States—the Rajput Native States or Rajputana or Central India ?

A—Yes

Q—As a matter of fact they are not the same Native States ?

A—We have given a reference to the passage It is not our statement, but the statement of the Government of India in the Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1887-88

Q—Those States are Bombay Native States ?

A—Yes

Q—The Native States under the Bombay Government, it may be that other Native States are included like Hyderabad and Mysore, but in all cases when money compensation or other concessions are given they are given with a restrictive object ?

A—All I can say is that that did not appear to us to be the meaning of the paragraph If you tell me it is so, I will accept it on your statement. In my examination-in-chief, I have endeavoured to put our case as regards the Malwa opium on quite different and broader grounds

Q.—Would it not have been better to enquire of some person in authority before making a statement of that sort in a letter like this ?

A —I think we were surely justified in taking these statements from two such high authorities and putting them down in their plain and obvious meaning. Of course we labour under great difficulties in England. Not nearly all the papers of the Government of India are published in England

Q —You piece the two things together—Mr Tucker's statement of 1881 and something that is said in the Moral and Material Progress in 1887—six years after Surely you might have enquired of some person in authority ?

A —Those two statements seemed to justify the statement we made

Q —*Mr Fanshawe* —Your Society has recommended that opium should only be purchasable in Chemists shops ?

A —It has never made that recommendation, so far as I know

Q —It is in a pamphlet addressed by the President of your Society to Lord Cross, and it is also made by some medical men at home, and quoted with approval I think it is distinctly stated by your Society ?

A —It has not been made by the Society, it certainly has not come before me as an official publication

Q —Does not this letter from the President represent the Society ?

A —The Society is not committed to every statement in that letter

Q —Does it not represent the views of the Society ?

A.—Will you read the words ?

Q —At page twenty-three he says "With regard to No. 2, dealing with old established habits I would submit for Your Lordship's consideration that in substituting the Chemist's shop for the opium market, etc,"—putting that forward as a recommendation of the Society Then he says — "I believe Your Lordship is already aware that upwards of 5,000 medical men, some of them knowing India thoroughly, have signed the following declaration." one of the paragraphs being, "That the drug opium ought in India as in England to be classed and sold as a poison and be purchasable from Chemists only" I should like to know what your Society contemplates in speaking of the Chemists' shops as applied to a large part of India ?

A.—Our Society has not made that proposal Our proposals will be found in paragraph nine

Q —What proposals ?

A —"We would urge upon Your Lordship to request the Indian Government without delay to prepare and adopt such regulations under the Indian Opium and Excise Acts as may be found best suited to adapt to the

requirements of British India the fundamental principles that the sale of poisonous drugs is to be restricted to medical and scientific use, and that discretionary powers for such sale should be entrusted only to responsible and carefully selected persons, who possess adequate knowledge of the deleterious properties of these drugs, who can readily be called to account for any improper use of the discretion conferred upon them, and whose remuneration in no degree depends on the amount of their sales "

Q.—Then I may take it that your answer is that you have not thought out for yourselves the means by which the opium could be supplied even for medical purposes throughout the country ?

A.—I did not say we had not thought it out, but that we had left it to the Indian Government to apply the principles laid down in the way that the circumstances of India might require—the principles which underlie our home legislation.

Q.—You do not see the difficulty ?

A.—No doubt there are difficulties, but I do not know what Governments and Statesmen are for, if it is not to deal with difficulties and overcome them

Q.—With regard to the limitation to medical use only, I will ask you to take the case of the Central Provinces, where Dr Rice told us that many persons living in malarial conditions, the causes being constant and the effects constant, take opium in very moderate doses. Would you cut off that whole class of Indian society from the possibility of obtaining opium ?

A.—I spent some days in the Central Provinces, and I was informed that a measure of this kind would be generally welcomed

Q.—How would you arrange to provide those men with that kind of dose, so small that it was described as almost a medical use, or do you intend that they should be cut off from the possibility of obtaining it ?

A.—I think it is quite necessary, as part of the policy of prohibition. I have been everywhere told in India that those moderate doses almost invariably lead to greater doses—that those who begin go on.

Q.—Are you aware that in many parts of India very great changes in temperature, especially during the cold seasons, take place, and that generally malarial conditions prevail ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—If it was shown that the use of opium is a comfort in the way of enabling men to withstand that cold—ill-clad men as most of them are—would you still propose that they should be entirely deprived ?

A.—I apprehend that if the Commission is satisfied on that point, it will not report in favour of prohibition

Q.—You wish to confine it to medical purposes?

A.—Of course, to begin with, our Society has a conviction that it is not necessary. But even if it were established that there are some districts in India where there is a moderate use which is perhaps not injurious but even slightly beneficial, we might still think that the evils produced by opium are so great that any deprivation to small classes of that kind would be greatly overbalanced by the benefit to the people of India as a whole from the prohibitive policy

Q.—But if it could be shown that they are not small classes, but to some extent large classes?

A.—It must be simply a question of a balance of considerations

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*—You said you would be prepared to cut off those classes of moderate consumers from the use of opium, but in answer to my question you said you would entrust the discretion of prescribing opium for medical use to all the *Vaidas* and *hakims*, Native medical practitioners in India. Would not these medical practitioners prescribe opium in those cases?

A.—That seems to me a very hypothetical question. Perhaps I made rather too large an admission when I assumed that medical advice would include such practitioners as you have spoken of. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the classes of which you speak. It may be that some of them are what in England we should call quacks, whom the law does not recognize as entitled to give medical advice

Q.—*Mr. Mowbray*—Did I understand you to say that your society contemplated in the last resort, compulsion in the case of these Native States if the cultivation of the poppy in British India were abandoned?

A.—Yes, I think so. These Native States are entirely dependent for their export trade upon the permission of the British Government that the drug should pass through its States, and if the Government has stopped its own trade purely on moral grounds, I think it would in the last resort be justified in refusing that permission to the Native States.

Q.—I suppose your society contemplated the alternative method of compensation?

A.—I do not think I can say officially that the Society has done so. No doubt that might come into operation. I do not think the Society would have any objection of principle, if it can be shown that

there is a real hardship in cutting off some of the revenue from the Native States, to their receiving compensation.

Q.—I should have thought that before contemplating compulsion you would have contemplated the necessity of compensation ?

A.—We have been unable to ascertain exactly how far the Native States derive any substantial revenue from this system, and until one has the facts as to the profits derived from the Native States it seems premature to go into the question of compensation. I hope the Commission will obtain full evidence on that point.

Q.—With regard to the statement put forward by your Society with regard to the Indian Government as to the readiness of the English people to provide money in substitution of the opium revenue, that item has not been taken into consideration ?

A.—It has not.

Q.—*Mr. Wilson*—You have referred to the Bombay system. I think it is unfortunate that the Commission has not had some official witnesses to describe to us exactly what the existing system is in different parts of India ?

*Chairman*.—You will have them.

Q.—*Mr. Wilson*—It is like putting the cart before the horse. I am therefore obliged to ask you to tell the Commission what you understand to be the Bombay system ?

A.—I cannot do so better than by reading paragraph 6, sub-section 2 of the memorial, "The Malwa transit duty system, under which by arrangement of the Indian Government, opium grown and prepared in some of the Native States of Central India pays to the Government of India, on its passage to Bombay for export, a heavy transit duty, equal to nearly two-thirds of the present wholesale price at Bombay, the revenue obtained from it by the Native Princes being only a small percentage of that received by the Government of India."

Q.—With reference to the use of opium by certain persons or classes, have you ever contemplated the possibility of a system of registration such as already prevails in part of Burma ?

A.—It has recently been introduced in Lower Burma, and it is a suggestion that we have considered, but on which we have not finally pronounced an opinion that possibly some system of that kind might be devised to meet the case of habitual consumers, so that you might allow them to continue to obtain the drug in doses to which they are accus-

tomed, whilst stopping the spread of the habit by making it impossible for fresh individuals to obtain the drug in the same way.

Q.—Has the possibility of any system of local option been at all considered?

A.—I do not think I can say that our Society has considered that The Anglo-Indian Temperance Society, of which Mr Came is Honorary Secretary, and which on this opium question in India works concurrently with our own, has considered it, and I believe it has pronounced in favour of local option as applied to opium as well as hemp drugs. But our Society has never officially pronounced an opinion on the question of local option.

Q.—May we take it that the Society has never considered it a part of its duty to work out an elaborate system adapted to every part of India and to the varying circumstances, but that you would be quite prepared dispassionately to consider any proposals that might be made for meeting the various difficulties?

A.—I am sure the Society would gladly consider any proposal of that kind which might be made by the Commission, after obtaining fuller evidence than it has been possible for us to obtain in England.

Q.—You consider that the elaborate details of any system ought to be worked out by the responsible Government and not by a voluntary Society?

A.—That is my view.

Q.—*Mr. Pease*.—Is it not a fact that at one time the duty from Native States was Rs 700 per chest?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And that duty was reduced to encourage the Native States to increase the quantity of opium produced?

A.—I think that would be overstating the case. It was reduced, because, as I understand, it was found that the duty of Rs 700 was likely to kill out the trade. It was only at Rs 700 for a short time, it was then reduced to Rs 650, because Government found that Rs 700 was more than the trade would bear. Two or three years ago on the petition of the Bombay merchants it was reduced to Rs 600, because the merchants stated that it was no longer a remunerative trade.

Q.—*Chairman*.—With reference to the ninth paragraph, in which you deal with the excise system, you express a belief that "there is evidence that grave dissatisfaction is felt in India at the facilities offered"

by the existing system for the sale of these drugs " You cite the practice at home under our latest legislation, and you propose that the fundamental and underlying principles which have been accepted in England should be extended to British India I think in cross-examination you have already made a very full statement upon that subject, and perhaps you have nothing more to say with reference to the excise system in India ?

A.—As regards other narcotic drugs, I should like to explain how we were led to take up this question in India Our Society was formed for the purpose of putting a stop to the opium trade between India and China, and if you refer to Mr Storis Turner's Prize Essay, you will see that he speaks with satisfaction with regard to the measures adopted by the Indian Government to protect its own subjects against the evils of opium In a note subsequently written he refers to facts which had just come under his observation with regard to Burma, as showing that that satisfaction could not be extended to Burma, though he thought it applied to India generally. It is only within the last four or five years that our attention has been called to a number of statements which seemed to us to deserve consideration and enquiry, to the effect that in several parts of India the use of opium was greatly extending, and that serious evils were arising from it It was on that ground that we for the first time took up the question, as regards India, in our memorial to Lord Cross, which is printed in the Blue Book "Consumption of Opium in India" In that memorial we included other narcotic drugs, owing to what we heard of the evils arising from the sale of hemp drugs That branch of the question has since been dealt with by the Society I just now referred to,—the Anglo-Indian Temperance Society so that it has passed out of our hands With regard to India, we have had evidence from India that there is a desire on the part of at least a very considerable section of the Indian people that protection such as is given to our own people at home by our Pharmacy Act should be extended to India. We have had during the last two winters visits from India. Miss Soonderbai Powar has addressed a large number of meetings, and has represented a very strong feeling on the part of the women in her part of India, desiring suppression You will, I hope, hear her evidence at Bombay or Poona. Then Mr Raju Naidu came from Madras, representing a similar feeling there I have a brief list of public meetings held in India. A great representative public meeting was held at Bombay in April, 1891, on the eve of Sir Joseph Pease's motion, presided over by the Bishop of Bombay It was an enthusiastic gathering, and they adopted a memorial in support of his

motion, the result of which was telegraphed to him in time for him to read it to the House of Commons. A few days after, a great public meeting was held, at Dacca, which also was a most enthusiastic meeting, where all classes of native opinion were represented. At Madras, Bombay, and Poona great public meetings were held, which were attended by the leading Native gentlemen of the place. There was a remarkable petition from 227 opium drunkards at Bombay, begging that the dens might be closed, and that they might be protected from the habit.

Q—*Sir William Roberts*—Was the object of these meetings with reference to opium-smoking or with reference to opium-eating?

A—I do not know that the distinction was clearly made. It may have been in some cases, but I think not generally. I think one may say generally at all these meetings, and in the petitions from India, that opium-smoking has been put to the front as being the most serious form of the vice, but that opium-eating has also been included in the condemnation and in the prayer for protection. Then there were two memorials—one signed by twenty thousand persons in India, and another later on, in January, 1892, with twenty-two thousand signatures, and there was a great Tamil petition in March, 1892, with forty thousand signatures. Some of these, I am afraid, do not appear in the Parliamentary Records simply because the signatures have been in Tamil, or some other language, and I understand the practice in the Petitions Office in the House of Commons is that they pass over signatures which they are unable to read, because they are not written in English. There have also been meetings at Jubbulpore, Agra, Sholapore, and at Igatpuri and at Tanna, both near Bombay. Then there was another meeting at Madras, and one or two other meetings in different parts of Bombay. Besides these, there have been a considerable number of meetings connected with Missionary Conferences, meetings of the Missionaries and the Native Christians, which have unanimously adopted resolutions. Some were large meetings, and others were meetings of the particular bodies only.

Q—Were those resolutions which were passed resolutions directed against the use of opium or against the public houses, or divans or dens, in which opium is used?

A—I think against the sale of opium, that was always the objective of the petitions.

Q—*Chairman*—Have you anything further to say upon paragraph nine?



A.—I should like to refer to the closing words of the paragraph : “whose remuneration in no degree depends on the amount of their sales.” In that item I admit that we go beyond the principles which are in force under the Pharmacy Act in England, but then the conditions of India and England are very different. No one would suppose that chemists in England would be likely to be tempted to betray their trust by reason of the profit they would make on the sale of poison. Public opinion is too strong, and that is, after all, the real sanction of our law in England. A chemist who carelessly sold a large dose of opium with the result that fatal consequences ensued, would be brought before a Coroner’s inquest and would be gravely reprimanded.

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*.—Fatal consequences do not occur every day?

A.—No, but a case of that kind would bring a druggist in England under the censure of public opinion. That, I think, is the real sanction of the law at home. But in India it seems to me to be a very important principle to lay down that those who sell should not be remunerated in proportion to the amount of their sales. I look upon it as the essential vice of the licensing system in force in India, with regard to opium, to hemp drugs, and to alcohol, that it so strongly gives to the licensee a direct interest in his increasing sales. The Indian farming system is based upon the old system familiar to readers of the New Testament as that of the Publicans in the Roman Empire. The tax-gatherers gathered the taxes on their own account, and were responsible to the Government for paying in a certain quota. That is still the principle of the farming out of licenses in India. It seems to me that that principle is radically objectionable, and that, whatever means are adopted for the repression of the use of opium and these other dangerous articles, we should altogether steer clear of that wrong principle.

Q.—What wrong principle?

A.—The principle of farming out the licenses.

Q.—*Sir William Roberts*.—I should like to ask you whether that does not include the condemnation of the Gothenburg system which is in favour in England?

A.—On the contrary, under the Gothenburg system in Norway and Sweden the licensees have no interest in promoting the sale of spirituous liquors, and that is exactly what the supporters of that system urge as being the basis of its success.

Q.—I suppose you are aware that the municipalities get the profits to the business?

A.—Yes, but not the vendors. That is the point. that the vendor has no interest in extending the sales.

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*.—You object very strongly to the farming system, that is the system of giving the shop in which to sell opium, or anything else, to the man who bids highest for it ?

A.—Yes

Q.—The other system is to make over the opium at a very high price to the man who pays a mere licensing fee for it. Say, you make over the crude opium to a licensed vendor, and you charge, perhaps, twenty rupees a seer, a very high price you make it over to the licensed vendor, who only pays, perhaps, a fixed fee for it, and he has to sell it. You are aware that the great objection to that system, as compared with the other system of giving him opium at a low price and making him pay a high fee for his license?

A.—That is not the alternative I had in my mind, or the alternative I should suggest

Q.—Are you aware of the reason why it is done in India ?

A.—I suppose it is the same reason which I think you have already stated for the minimum guarantee clause.

Q.—That is, if you depend upon giving Government opium to a man, at a high price, it becomes at once his interest not to take the Government opium, but, wherever possible, to take smuggled opium in preference. The evil of that is not only that the Government loses revenue, but that we have to rely generally in India to a large extent for checking smuggling, and therefore for checking excessive consumption of cheaper opium, upon the self-interest of the contractors. The contractor being a monopolist for a certain town or certain tract of country, it is to his interest to stop smuggling and inform against smuggling as much as possible, if he is dealing with Government opium, but if he himself is dealing with illicit opium, or smuggled opium, he cannot afford to inform against other people, for the people of the country would soon know that he is doing it, and if he informs against the smugglers they will inform against him. That is the difficulty. It is easy, of course, for people in England to find fault with a system, but the officials out here know the Natives and know the country and know the position of things. They have for generations been working up these things, and they know the balance of good and evil of the different methods, and that has led them to decide upon what they think best. May I ask what is the system you propose ?

A.—I think you are putting to me, if I may say so, two vicious systems—two systems which I should characterise as both intrinsically bad.

Q.—Give me your reasons why you think one of these systems is better than the other ?

A.—I think one of the reasons why Government officials are apt to go wrong is that it is so difficult for them to go far enough back to root principles. You discuss two methods which have been applied, to both of which the same objection of principle applies, that you are giving an interest in some form or another to the vendor.

Q.—How would you avoid giving an interest to the vendor ?

A.—I should say by selling entirely for Government profit.

Q.—That is, you would give the man a salary and put him in a shop, and say, “you must sell this opium and account to Government for the whole profit.” Is that it ?

A.—I think so.

Q.—*Chairman*—You utterly dislike the sale of opium under any system ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—But if any other system had been adopted you probably would have attacked it ?

A.—Probably, any system that does not aim at restricting opium to medical use.

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*—At present you are putting forward an objection to an existing system and a preference for another system which you describe to be practically this, that you give a man opium, put him in a shop, or whatever you choose to call it, and tell him to sell on behalf of the Government, and account for the Government money ?

*Chairman*—I think the witness would not like to make himself responsible for recommending such a course. He wishes to recommend nothing but prohibition.

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*—He was taking the farming. You would not recommend that system ? Do you think it workable ?

A.—No, I was going to say that I have been told by natives of India that there are already Government officials, employed in connection with Government dispensaries and other places of that kind, established about India, amply sufficient to supply the demand for opium for medical purposes, and that nothing would be easier than to make use of those

existing facilities for this purpose. That is what I have been informed, both before I came to India and since I have been in India

Q—You mentioned in your evidence a Miss Soonderbai Powar. Can you tell me if she is a Christian or a Hindu?

A—A Christian

Q—Educated by Missionaries?

A—Yes, her parents were Christians, she was born in a Christian family

Q—I do not know whether you would take her evidence seriously as a matter of importance, do you put any serious weight upon her evidence?

A—Before she took part in any meetings I had informed myself about her from the best qualified person I knew, a Missionary, who had resided for many years in Bombay, and whose judgment I could thoroughly rely upon, and he told me that I might certainly accept her evidence as genuine

Q—Genuine no doubt, but is she not a young girl?

A—Certainly not

Q—*Chairman*—Is she coming before us as a witness?

A—Yes, certainly, at Bombay or at Poona

Q—We now pass from India to Burma. In your tenth paragraph you urge that there should be no further delay in sanctioning throughout Burma the measures which have been so carefully elaborated by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Have you anything to say upon the case of Burma in addition to what is contained in your general memorial?

A—I think I may very briefly say that there are just two points which we have further to urge with regard to Burma. In Lower Burma there has been established a Register for opium consumers, and as regards the Natives of the Burmese race no additions are to be made in future to that Register. That provision does not apply to the Chinese and other non-Burmese inhabitants of Burma. We advocate the extension of that rule to the Chinese and non-Burmese. Then, secondly, that Register is not in force in Upper Burma, and the Excise Report for Upper Burma two or three years ago stated that the nominal prohibition that exists of sale to Burmans is absolutely inoperative, because the Burmans can always obtain as much of the drug as they require under cover of the sale to non-Burmese. We therefore urge that the Register already in force in Lower Burma should be extended to Upper Burma as well.

Q.—Is that all you wish to say as regards Burma?

A.—Perhaps I ought to add a reference to our last memorial to Lord Kimberley. It was based on a telegram which appeared in the *Times* to the effect that the Chinese and other non-Burmans were not to be registered at all. That was not in accordance with the original rules as drafted by the Burmese Government; and we very strongly objected to the change. The *Times* telegram said, "This alteration will materially increase the difficulty of the policy of suppression, which are already almost insuperable." We memorialised Lord Kimberley in the hope that that modification, which the *Times* telegrams stated to have been introduced by the Government of India, should not be insisted upon. I do not know what the present position of the matter is. No doubt the Commission will have before it distinct evidence as to the rules which have been finally approved and passed.

Q.—Now we come to the Punjab. In paragraph eleven you urge that the Punjab system of licensing the cultivation of the poppy should be at once put an end to, and you further urge in support of that recommendation that "the prohibition of poppy culture has been already enforced by the Indian Government in 1879 as regards Lower Bengal and Orissa, as well as throughout Southern India, about 1860 in Assam, and at other dates elsewhere." You further say, "we are assured by competent witnesses that the Sikh people would generally welcome the adoption by Government of measures which would enable them to rid themselves of a habit which they recognize to be a debasing and injurious one." Have you anything to put before us in support of that prayer, and those references to the opinion and feeling of the Sikh people?

A.—I have nothing special to say on that, in view of the fact that the Commission will no doubt visit the Punjab and inquire for itself the opinion of the Sikh people. The Commission will get very much better information there than we were able to obtain in London.

Q.—That is no doubt the case. Now we turn to the twelfth paragraph. In that paragraph you refer to the possible financial objections to the policy of prohibition which you recommend, and you state as a matter of opinion that the people of England would be ready to make up any deficiency which might arise from the prohibition of the export trade in opium. At the same time you urge that much can be done to meet the loss from the opium revenue by greater economy and by the development of Indian resources, and you are also of opinion that if there were ~~loss~~ from the abolition of the cultivation of the poppy, there would be a

gain to the people of India from the cultivation of other productions and the general development of the soil Have you anything to say upon that?

A—I do not think I need occupy the time of the Commission on this paragraph because my views are so fully embodied in the little pamphlet I have already laid before the Commission entitled “Substitutes for the Opium Revenue”

Q—*Chairman*—We have carefully read it, and we recognise the ability with which the pamphlet has been prepared

Q—*Mr. Mowbray*—You state here that you believe the people of England will be ready to make up the deficiencies Would you mind telling us exactly what Lord Kimberley said to the deputation in reply to that paragraph?

A—After quoting that passage of our memorial, Lord Kimberley said “That you regard as a very important declaration, but I am bound to say that I have not the slightest reason to suppose that there will be any disposition on the part of the Treasury to place a heavy burden upon the tax-payers of this country for the purpose indicated I do not think that there is any warrant for that” I am speaking as the Minister responsible for India now, and I do not think that such a proposition to the Treasury, no matter what the Government in power, would be likely to meet with a favourable response The sum will be very large, not only to compensate the Indian Treasury but also to compensate those who produce the opium, and also the Native princes, who derive considerable sums from the growth of opium”

Q—I also notice that the only one of your Vice-President who is in the House of Commons, who signs this memorial to Lord Kimberley, distinctly declines to pledge himself to that particular paragraph of the memorial?

A—That is so Sir Mark Stewart frankly said he could not agree with that statement

Q—Can you tell us upon what that particular paragraph in the memorial was based?

A—First of all let me speak as regards our own Society We have made this a part of our programme definitely ever since the year 1886 I put before the Commission the Statement of Facts and Principles adopted at the beginning of that year I was at that time a member of the Executive Committee, and I took part in the Conference at which that statement was drawn up We had a debate upon this particular point The late Mr Chesson very strongly urged that it was right and reasonable towards

India that we should express ourselves distinctly on the question. I supported him, and the paragraph to that effect was carried. I have mentioned in the preface of "*Substitutes for the Opium Revenue*" that the same view was even more solemnly reaffirmed in 1891, shortly after the debate in Parliament, at our annual meeting, when a Conference of members and friends of the society was held. In the evening a public meeting was held which confirmed the decision of that Conference. I will read that resolution.

"This Conference of members and supporters of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade hereby declares that, in advocating the abolition of the Indian opium trade as a measure of national morality, it is strongly opposed to the imposition on the people of India of any oppressive taxation. Whilst urging upon the Government of India its obligation to effect such retrenchment of needless expenditure and to carry out such measures for the development of Indian resources as may enable it to govern India efficiently without imposing any permanent or long-continued burden on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom, this meeting is in favour of such temporary pecuniary assistance being given by this country to the Indian Government as may be found requisite to enable India to bear the loss of the opium revenue, without adding to the burdens at present resting upon the people of that country."

The phrase "temporary pecuniary assistance" was commented upon by Mr. Gladstone in the late debate as being somewhat ambiguous. Our meaning was very clear. Certainly we have always attached to it the meaning of a grant and not a loan. Mr. Gladstone seemed to think that it might be a temporary loan to be repaid.

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*.—You mean a temporary grant.

A.—What I mean is explained later on: a grant spreading over a period of years; but a grant, not a loan.

Q.—*Chairman*.—Mr. Gladstone contemplated the contingency that that loan might not be repaid. That made the material for his speech?

A.—Yes; I wished to clear that up.

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*.—In any case a grant would be temporary. The less would be permanent, and the grant would be temporary, would it not?

A.—Yes. We take the view that India ought to be able to pay for its own government without reliance upon an immoral trade, and

that therefore it is only a question of a few years to adjust the Government of India to the exigencies of morality

**Q.—Mr. Mowbray** —I am sure you will understand that I do not doubt for a moment that the Anti-Opium Society had expressed that wish. But I wish to illustrate that it had not been endorsed by the responsible Minister?

**A.**—I quite understand your object. That part of our programme has very frequently been put before the public in England. I have already spoken of enthusiastic public meetings which we have held during the last three or four years especially. Almost always when I have taken part in those meetings I have made this one of the special points,—that India could not reasonably be expected to bear the loss of giving up the China trade. Over and over again I have found that that sentiment was most cordially taken up by the meeting, that England, which two generations ago paid twenty millions sterling for the emancipation of the slaves, should not hesitate to come to the help of India, and make a grant of some kind for the purpose of putting an end to this immoral trade, without undue pressure on the taxpayers of India. I should like to narrate what occurred at one particular meeting at which I was not present, but of which I read the reports and had them supplemented by those who were present. It was a meeting held at Norwich. One of the members for Norwich, Mr Colman, has for many years been a staunch supporter of our Society. The other member, Mr Hoare, who had been asked to take part in the meeting, wrote a letter to the Chairman in which he drew attention to this phase of the question, expressing a doubt whether the British people would be willing to have an addition to the income-tax or in some other way to bear additional taxation in order to get rid of the trade. The point was taken up in speeches by two of Mr Hoare's strongest supporters, I believe, two clergymen of the Church of England, who expressed themselves in very strong terms upon it. It was put into the resolution of the meeting, and, I was told, was most enthusiastically adopted. In face of this letter from Mr Hoare, the meeting expressed its conviction that the British people would not hesitate to incur such a sacrifice in order to put down the opium traffic with China. I give that as one particular instance of a great many meetings at which the same point has been raised.

**Q.—Mr. Wilson** —You have given us cases of these meetings which, of course, would usually be attended by those who were more or



less predisposed to favour anti-opium views? Have you any means of suggesting anything to us, as to how it would be received by the general bulk of the voters and tax-payers, of any tendency in English public opinion that would lead you to believe that it would be so accepted?

A.—These meetings are by no means exclusively composed of those who already have an interest in the opium question. During the last two years we have had the presence at our meetings of these deputations from India. The winter before last we had also a Chinese gentleman from Australia. The presence of these people has attracted a very large number of persons who were not previously informed on the question, but who came to listen to what was said, and they have been very enthusiastic in supporting us.

Q.—Would the general tendency of English people with reference to the moral and social questions lead you to take a hopeful view of what the average voters and tax-payers would say upon this question?

A.—Certainly. Of course, very great power now rests with the working classes, and it has been especially amongst the working classes that we have received responses to that sentiment. It is the rich people, who can afford it better, who have been more inclined to demur to the idea of increased taxation.

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*—You say at the end of the paragraph that “stoppage of the trade in opium with China would probably give a powerful stimulus to the export of other Indian produce to that country.” I want to ask whether you do not think it is the case, that if China took other exports in the place of opium, it would, as Mr. David McLaren, ex-President of the Chamber of Commerce in Edinburgh, seems to hope rather take them from England than from India?

A.—I think it would benefit both countries in that way. I think that probably the Indian trade with China would be increased, and that the British trade with China would probably be still more increased.

Q.—At the end of the paragraph you refer to the loss of India by exchange, and you say you think that the stoppage of the trade in opium with China would be likely to diminish that loss. Do you still adhere to that opinion?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Can you explain on what ground?

A.—On the ground that the opium trade with China causes a very abnormal state of things, viz, that the balance of trade between India and China is very largely adjusted by means of actual specie payments. At page 25 of *Substitutes for the Opium Revenue* will be seen the figures showing the net importation of silver,—putting aside gold. The net imports of silver from China (Hong-Kong and Treaty Ports) to India, after deducting exports to China from India, amount to an average of over one and-half millions a year. In 1890-91, the net imports from China to India amounted to Rs 3,545,518 in silver in order to adjust the trade. Mr Hanbury obtained specific information from a banker in London, engaged in the Eastern trade, that the heavy drain of Silver in that year very materially and manifestly affected the value of the rupee sending it down considerably. In that year there had to be such a large import of silver from China and from the Straits in order to pay for the Indian opium that the Government, I feel no doubt lost by the depreciation of the rupee from that cause at least half its real net gain from opium.

Q.—You know that India annually owes a balance to England?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And she meets that balance in large part by transferring the debt which China owes to her for opium?

A.—Yes.

Q.—That being the case, how could the stoppage of that trade improve the difficulty of exchange between England and India, which is the difficulty we are talking about?

A.—It would minimize this drain of silver. The drain of silver would have to be very much greater than it in fact is if it were not for that circumstance.

Q.—We are talking of loss to India by exchange. How can the change of a method by which India settles part of her debt to England get rid of the difficulty of the loss by exchange?

A.—It may be that there would be some counteracting influence of the kind in connection with the balance of exchange, but I do not think that that can counterbalance the depression of the exchange which must result from this great inflow of silver from China to India.

*Sir James Lyall* —I am not an expert like Sir David Barbour but I agree with him in not being able to understand your argument.

Q.—*Chairman* —In so far as the balance of trade between India and China fails to be adjusted by bills of exchange, and is adjusted by exports-

tion of silver from China to India, to what extent you say there is an influence tending to depreciate the value of silver in India?

A — Yes, and I would point out further in reference to what Sir James Lyall put to me, that if the poppy were not grown, there would be a greater cultivation of cereals and other products. You must not assume that the whole value of the opium crop would disappear. There would be some considerable value to be put in its place by some substituted crop. With regard to the estimate of the total value to India of the poppy crop which was put before the Commission by Sir John Strachey, and which is embodied in Mr Batten's paper in the Society of Arts Journal, I think it was suggested to him at the time that that is obviously a grossly exaggerated statement, because it proceeds on the assumption that if there were no poppy crop the land would be absolutely unproductive.

Q — *Mr Perce* — And the labour?

A — And the labour.

Q — *Chairman* — You would, of course, admit that if the export of opium to China from India ceased, and India failed to create another export trade with China of equal value, that India's position as regards the rate of exchange would be prejudicially affected?

A — I suppose it would to some extent.

Q — Now we turn to the last point with which I think you wish to deal *sic*, the monthly auction sales of opium in Calcutta. In your 13th paragraph you cite some eminent names of Indian Administrators, who have expressed their objection to the system of the monthly auction sales. You refer to Lord Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Donald Macleod, and Sir William Muir. At the same time, you fairly admit that most of these eminent men, while expressing their objection to the monthly auction sales at Calcutta, were favourable to the substitution of a system in Bengal, similar to that which exists in Bombay. Your Association, as you have repeatedly told us, condemns both systems alike, but you seem, in reviewing these opinions to which you refer, to recognise that there is some ground for saying that the system which obtains in Bengal, the auction sales in Calcutta, do more particularly and strikingly identify the Indian Government with what you describe as an immoral traffic; and you urge that the total cessation of the sales which are now taking place in Calcutta could not fail to have the happiest results. Is there anything you would like to say in development of the views put forward in the paragraph to which I have referred?

A. — I should like to read to the Commission the statement of Sir Herbert Edwardes on that point as putting very strongly and clearly our

moral objections to the trade and summing up the whole case: I am now quoting from *The Friend of China*, June, 1886 —

"In the 'memorials of Sir Herbert Edwardes,' just published, there is given a paper, written by him after the great Mutiny of 1857, in which he points out what he believes to have been the national sins that drew down that national chastisement. After naming our withholding the Bible from the Natives, and other failures in Christian principle, he writes, — 'Ninthly, I would name the connection of the Indian Government with the opium trade. This connection is fenced round with arguments nominally drawn from political economy, such as that the monopoly causes increase of price to the vicious consumer, and obtains the largest returns with smallest outlay of capital. But no theories can get rid of the following serious facts: that India grows opium for China, that opium is ruining the Chinese people, that wherever grown in India, Government is an interested party in it, that in Bengal it is actually grown for Government and for no one else, that Government advances immense sums of money yearly to enable the cultivators to grow it, and maintains a large staff of officials to collect the produce, that Government sells it to those who import it into China, that the vice of opium-smoking is so fatal to the vital and moral powers of individuals, and therefore to the prosperity of a nation, and has spread such heart-rending misery in China, that the Chinese laws forbid its importation, that English merchants nevertheless force and smuggle it into China,'" (this was written before the legalization) "'and are not prevented from so doing by the Government of England, which has formally engaged by treaty to prevent it,'" (I think, perhaps, there he has somewhat overstated the case) "'that all this was known to the Indian Government while growing opium or organizing its cultivation, and selling it to merchants who cannot legally get rid of it, that the very Chinese people, maddened with their laws and our own treaties, curse us openly for bringing this destroying poison to their shores, and, lastly, that exactly in proportion as opium-ruin spreads in China, so the opium-revenue of the Indian Government is increased. An honest, manly conscience cannot get over these facts. It will not be misled by a phrase chipped off from the only sound political economy, the common benefit of the human race, no matter in what country scattered. It will fasten instinctively on the truth that with the Indian Government this is a question of revenue, and in presence of the calamities of 1857, it will conclude that revenue such as this does not come to much good in the end. It will remember all the plausible excuses that were made for Negro slavery, and it will urge the nation which abolished man-selling in the West Indies

to abolish man-poisoning in the East, let the cost be what it will." Taking that as a true description of the trade, and of our objections to it, I think it will be seen that a proposal merely to put that trade into private hands, and whilst still continuing it, to derive a revenue from it, by means of an excise or license duty instead of by means of monopoly, is a wholly inadequate remedy, and does not meet the true moral objections to the trade.

Q.—*Mr Wilson*.—Can you tell me who Sir Herbert Edwardes is, and what he knows about it?

A.—He was a distinguished Indian soldier and administrator.

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*.—With reference to your quotation from Sir Herbert Edwardes, writing about national sins, are you aware that at that time Sir Herbert Edwardes was inclined to be, what most people would think, a bit of a fanatic that he included in national sins our toleration of the old endowments of Hindoo temples and Mahomedan mosques. he wanted to sweep them all away?

A.—I am aware that moral reformers, in advance of their age are generally considered fanatics.

Q.—*Chairman*.—The concluding paragraph of your memorial deals with China. I understand that you wish to call particular attention to the observations which you quote of Dr Griffith John of the London Missionary Society?

A.—I will read the latter part of our quotation from Dr John, who is very well known in the missionary world, as one of the most experienced and able of all the missionaries labouring in China. He says—"But have the Chinese ability to put down the vice? As long as the Indian trade in opium exists, the hands of the Chinese Government are tied and paralyzed. They can simply do nothing but allow things to go on from bad to worse. Their best efforts, however sincere and energetic, would prove abortive. If the Indian trade in the drug were abandoned, the Chinese would, I firmly believe, make an honest effort to stop the native growth, and the attempt would eventuate at once in a diminution of the evil. It might eventuate ultimately in its complete suppression." In expressing those views in a careful, guarded form Dr John agrees with some of the most weighty evidence given before the Commission in London by other experienced Chinese missionaries. Mr Hudson Taylor spoke to the same effect—that he did not feel able absolutely to prophesy what the Chinese Government would do, but that he was clear that as long as the import from India goes on under sanction of the Treaty of 1858, so long the Chinese Government is helpless to deal with what it certainly recognizes as being a great national evil. Dr Griffith John concludes with these

words—"But whether the Chinese Government can put down the native growth or not, our path as a Christian nation is plain enough. It is for us to wash our hands clean of the iniquity. The trade is immoral, and a foul blot on England's escutcheon. It is a disgrace to ourselves as a people, and unworthy of the place which we hold among the nations of the earth." I do not wish myself to speak too confidently of what will happen in China, and of how soon, or how quickly, or how effectually the Chinese Government may be able to put down this vice, which has obtained so great a hold of its people. The position of our Society is thus, that however that may be, it is not for us to wait for the Chinese Government, hampered and fettered as it is, to take action, but that we ourselves should recognise that the trade is an immoral one, and that we should begin by wiping our hands of it. Then we should be free to exercise all the right diplomatic pressure that we could to help China to free herself from that evil. I have been longer a Member of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society than of the Anti-Opium Society, and it seems to me that there is a very clear precedent for British action, *viz*, the part we took with regard to the slave trade. When we had abolished the slave trade ourselves, we proceeded to use all our influence diplomatically with the other nations of Europe, in order to get the trade put down in other countries as well. I hope we shall do the same with regard to the opium trade. When we have washed our own hands of it, we can rightly and properly help China to deal with this great evil which has grown up in her midst, and for the growth of which we nationally have so grave and serious a responsibility.

Q.—*Sir James Lyall*—Have you considered the fact that the monopoly, and trade and revenue derived from it is all Indian, and that Indian people are primarily interested in it, and that the sentiments to which you appeal are English. I mean that the object of putting the English name right in the eyes of the Chinese, and facilitating the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity is an English object—have you considered that?

A.—Yes, I have. I think I cannot answer that better than in the words of Sir Edward Fry. Sir Edward Fry wrote three Essays on the opium question which appeared originally in the *Contemporary Review*, 1876-7-8. The first and, perhaps, the second were written when he was Mr Fry, Q. C., and the last after he had been made a Judge. He deals with that argument thus—"An argument against interfering with the opium revenue, somewhat to the following effect, is often urged

or suggested 'It is very well,' it is said, 'for you to assume this high-moral tone about the opium revenue, the revenue is not yours, but belongs to India, and with it England has nothing to do. To abolish the traffic is to throw some nine millions' (the amount was much greater than it is now) "more of annual taxation on the already over-taxed population of India, and that for a scruple of some weak-minded philanthropists in England. Pray pay for your own philanthropy, and do not make another country pay for it' Let us consider this objection a little, and let us note, in the first place, that it may be taken to concede the justness of the objection to the revenue, it only objects to the person of the objector." Then there is a passage which I need not read. Here is the answer—"India is as it were, a minor, under the guardianship of England, and England is a trustee for India in the administration of Indian affairs. But in taking upon ourselves that burden and that duty, we have incurred no obligation to do for India what we might not lawfully do for ourselves. If in the course of our trusteeship we have sold a poison wickedly for the gain of a minor, are we bound to continue so to do? Have we lost the right of repentance because our sin is to some one else's benefit? India cannot change the policy, for she is in tutelage, England cannot change the policy, for she is a trustee, therefore the sin must go on for ever. Is that sound reasoning?"

*Q—Sir William Roberts*—May I ask if your Society takes the same attitude with regard to alcohol as it does with regard to opium?

*A*—A good many members of our Society are active prohibitionists, but the Society as a whole consists of men who unite on this opium question, although they differ upon all sorts of other questions in politics, in religion, and in regard to temperance question. I think all would be in favour in some degree of prohibition, but I doubt whether all the members of our Society would support the policy of the United Kingdom Alliance.

*Chairman*—That I believe concludes your evidence. We have to thank you for the clear manner in which you have put us in possession of the views of the Association which you represent, and we recognise the efforts that you have personally made in the cause which has commended itself to you. Naturally, it has been your duty, entertaining the views that you do, to say many things which are not accepted, at any rate by some members of this Commission, but I am sure that we shall all feel that what you have put before us has been put before us with the utmost

sincerity of purpose, and we all appreciate that in the encounter in which you are engaged with the Government of India upon its own ground, you are placed in circumstances of no ordinary difficulty.

*Witness.*—There is one point that we did not deal with in our memorial and which has come under my notice since I came to India. It is with regard to the system under which the poppy is grown in the Behar district.

*Q —Chairman.*—I think it would be appropriate to deal with that when we get to that district.

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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## Rev. W. B. Phillips' Evidence.

I am a missionary of the London Missionary Society. I have had experience both among Hindoos and Mahommedans of all grades and castes. I have been in Bengal eighteen years. Of these I have been fifteen years in Moorshedabad, formerly the head-quarters of the Mahomedan Government of Bengal, for the last three years I have been in Calcutta. For fifteen years I was continually mixing with all classes of Hindoo and Mahommedans, and for about twelve years of these was itinerating during ten months of the year among other towns and villages. I was conversing freely with them in their own language in their shops and houses, and gathering them in crowds for the purposes of preaching and discussion. During that time I was president of a society composed of Hindoos, Mahommedans, and Christians, having for its sole object the promotion of abstinence from intoxicating drugs and drinks. The society to which I refer still continues its work with its head-quarters at Berhampore, which is the civil station of Moorshedabad. I have visited opium dens where both *chandu* and *madak* are smoked. I was associated for fifteen years with the Rev S. J. Hill, who was for thirty-seven years a missionary in Moorshedabad, and who knew the habits and customs of the people intimately. We often conversed about the opium habits of the people.

By the President —Q—Will you tell us what you discovered among the parts of the population in India where you have been with reference to the habit of opium eating and smoking, and with reference to the degree in which that habit is prevalent among various parts of the population, men, women and children, and with reference to the age at which the habit is contracted, and will you generally tell us what your experience has been with reference to the opium habit and its results?

A.—Opium-eating is very prevalent among a large number of Mahomedans in the city of Moorshedabad, it is, in fact, almost universal among them, probably, as many as ninety per cent eat opium. Many Hindoos and others also have the habit. Mr Hill told me of a Hindoo who used to boast of being the first of his class in Berhampore to eat opium, and of having persuaded 300 persons to follow his example.

Q.—Can you tell us something as to the causes which induce people to form the habit of smoking or eating opium, and what your view is as to the power of the people to relinquish the habit when it is once contracted, also anything with regard to the general tendency to gradually increase the dose, and what you consider to be the evil results of the habit, whether physically, mentally, or morally ?

A —Before doing that I would wish to say another word as to opium smoking, which is carried on to a considerable extent. One form is *chandu* smoking, and another what is called *goolee* smoking, the latter being more popular. *Chandu* is smoked through a brass tube fifteen inches long. *Goolee* means a pill or ball, a term which arises from the form in which the preparation is used. I have watched both processes of manufacture. Guava leaves are fried until they become black, and liquid opium is heated, the two substances are then mixed together and form a mass which is light in weight, but almost black. It is then made up into pills. Usually along with smoking a kind of sweetmeat is used, which is said to add to the intoxication. *Chandu* is largely smoked in opium dens, *goolee* is smoked at home as well. While I was watching the preparation many people came to buy it and carry it away, either to smoke at one of the dens or at their houses. Concerning the motive which induces people to form the habit, I may say that at first probably the majority contract the habit from association with opium-eaters and smokers, and without any deliberate intention, some contract the habit from using it medicinally for the cure of rheumatism, lumbago, diarrhoea, dysentery, and the like. a third class, and this is a very prevalent and most common one, use it as an aphrodisiac. Both men and women among Mahomedans use it very commonly for this purpose. It is especially recommended to those who have reached the age of forty, or who have married wives much younger than themselves, and as a Hindoo cannot get a wife above ten or twelve years of age, the use of opium as an aphrodisiac is resorted to. As to whether the habit can be relinquished, I may say that to relinquish it is extremely difficult. One point has impressed me very greatly—that I have not yet found any exception amongst the people to the confirmed opinion that a consumer of opium can never give up the habit. The way in which people spoke led me make much use of this illustration in addressing an audience. I was always sure that the audience admitted it as an axiomatic truth. I tried it recently with a Calcutta audience, who markedly and emphatically assented to the proposition. A man who brought himself and his family to poverty through the opium habit came to live on his relatives ;

he asked for a pice to buy opium, but, knowing his opium habit, they refused it to him, and, preferring death to the misery of living, he hanged himself. In another case, a man who had owned property adjoining our mission house after bringing the members of his family to degradation and death, used to frequent opium dens, and scraped the leavings of opium in the pipes. It seems indisputable that the opium habit gains a terribly powerful hold on its victims. Then, as to the general tendency to increase the dose, I am strongly of opinion that there is such a tendency. It needs a larger quantity from time to time to give an equal effect, and the result is that not unfrequently opium-eaters take just a little too much and lose their lives. This tendency was brought to my notice some years ago. A member of the Nawab of Moorsshedabad's band, a Eurasian, had a wife and two children attending our Hindustani service in Berhampore. The man took an overdose of opium and died, and his wife and family became a burden for years on the European community. I have often heard of such cases, one or two cases appear almost monthly in the Calcutta papers. There was one in September, and two in October, and there are many unreported cases through Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Then as to the results of the habit, physically, mentally and morally. Scientific evidence on the physical and mental results will be given by medical men. I will speak as an unscientific observer, and one who has closely watched the people and worked with them for years. The first effect is that it renders many of them particularly miserable objects to look at, this refers to those who smoke opium in excess. There is one exception which should be made in the districts in which I have worked. There is a wealthy Jain community in the city of Azimganj and Jauganj, they are a vegetarian community, and take largely to milk and ghee and sweets, and these seem to counteract the effects of opium very considerably. In the city of Moorsshedabad this effect is very marked, because such a large percentage of the people are opium-eaters. The second effect is that it causes indolence. Without knowing, I employed a Hindoo in the mission as a carpenter, he was a young man and knew his work, but the work did not progress, and I got rid of him. After that I saw him in an opium den, and the whole thing was explained. Another man of a respectable class and good education I watched for years, he grew thinner and thinner, but would smile incredulously at the idea of giving up the habit, he used to ask why the Government did not give up tempting the people to become opium consumers. In Moorsshedabad, where nearly ninety per cent use opium, the results are very marked; hundreds of times I have come across th

most miserable specimens of humanity In no other city has the superficial aspect of the people struck me so forcibly, and it is just in such a city that the general effects of opium can best be discerned Some years ago I found that, in consequence of that and the expense of the habit, nearly all the property in Moorshedabad is drifting from the Mahommedan to the Hindu. There are other physical effects of a serious nature from the excessive use of opium as an aphrodisiac It is only too well known how dangerous are the physical consequences of opium taking As regards the mental effects, the loss of memory seems one of the most common With regard to the moral effects, the indirect effects from the strong craving for the drug and its heavy expense are well-established facts, they must get the drug, and, except as regards the wealthy, they must get it by any means The result is, the non-payment of debts, lying, thieving, and stealing are the natural out-come of the immense strength of this temptation. Nearly three years ago I sold something to an opium-eater, and up to the present time I have not been paid for it I entrusted an opium-eater to collect some rents, I believe he did so, but I have not seen any of those rents And it is commonly understood by the people, particularly in the time of *pujas*, that they must be always on the watch against those who smoke opium, because they are particularly liable to take away *lotas* and other things on which they can lay their hands But the most serious point is the one connected with the sexual passions Anything which stimulates the sexual passions of men and women must have a disastrous moral effect The natural strength of those passions lies at the bottom of the immorality in the world, and any unnatural stimulant must prove a source of the greatest danger and the curse of society

Q.—Have you anything to say with reference to opium in its medical use as a preventive against fever, or as a protection against the debilitating influence of malaria?

A.—I have never heard of opium being used in our district as a preventive against fever, and I do not believe it is Moorshedabad is supposed to be a malarial district, but I never heard people speak of opium as a protection They speak of quinine, which is largely used, but not opium

Q.—Do you think that the taking of opium enables a working man to get through a greater amount of bodily toil?

A.—I have heard people say that they cannot work without taking the opium to which they are accustomed, but there is no such general belief It is a capital thing to make them go to sleep.

Q.—Have you anything to say as to the view generally taken by the native community with reference to the opium habit as being immoral or in any sense disgraceful?

A—Opium smoking is almost universally regarded as a disgraceful habit, but opium-eating does not seem to arouse this general censure. An opium-eater does not make himself such an object of public condemnation, nor does he indulge his habit in such filthy dens as an opium-smoker

Q—Turning to the action of the Government in relation to opium, have you any observations to offer with reference to the licensing system? Do you consider that the existing system tends to the discredit of the Government, or have you any criticism to offer on the point?

A—I believe that the existing system of licensing is inherently and hopelessly vicious and tends decidedly to spread the habit of opium consumption. The sale of licenses at auction to the highest bidder must necessarily tend to make the purchasers of these licenses push the sale of opium as much as possible. In some cases that is the only chance of making a profit, seeing that competition has driven them to the verge of ruin. It is the best system for getting the Government revenue without much trouble. It is the same as the taxation in Rome, where they cared not what happened to the people so long as the treasury was filled easily. The higher officials feel hurt because the people do not believe their professed intention to restrict the sale of opium. Without reflecting on the honesty of the Government officers, I have used the term "vicious habit." I have for the last eighteen years watched the steady increase of the excise revenue. I take a great and active interest in trying to check the growing influence of the opium habit among people. I have watched the auction sales, and have reflected much on the inevitable tendency of the system of giving licenses by competition.

Q—Do you see any analogy between the granting of licenses for the sale of opium by the Government of India, and the granting of licenses for the sale of liquor by the Government at home?

A—The Government at home is not responsible for the production of alcohol in the way that the Government of India is responsible for the production of opium. But I hold that the Government of England, in dealing with the licensing of the sale of alcohol, is also at present in a very guilty position with regard to the welfare of its subjects. I do not care to distinguish very seriously between the position of the two Governments.

Q—Do you think both Governments, from the point of view you take, have deserved condemnation?



A —Yes, I do.

Q —Do you think it desirable to prohibit the sale of opium in this country, except for medical purposes, and do you think that the public opinion of the people of India will favour the adoption of such a course?

A —I do think it is most desirable that the sale of opium should be prohibited in India, except for medical purposes. As to whether public opinion will favour the adoption of such a measure, a certain class of superficial patriots have already claimed to represent public opinion, and, being alarmed about the loss of revenue, they have lost sight almost entirely of the moral aspect of the question, but, leaving aside this class and another class which is committed to the existing order of things, I believe the sound sense of the people would largely and heartily support the Government in limiting the sale of opium to medical purposes, and would gratefully welcome this action of the Government.

Q —Can you offer any suggestion as to the mode in which the loss of revenue to the Indian Government resulting from such a course of policy as you recommend can by any probability be met?

A —I would join in supporting Bishop Thoburn's suggestion of a small tax upon tobacco. It is so extensively used and comparatively harmless that the increase of consumption is not seriously to be dreaded. The *Indian Daily News* of this morning in an article on Dr. Thoburn's evidence has this sentence: "Of course if the Indian revenue continues to be inadequate, and there is no other resource, it may be necessary one day to put a tax on tobacco, but to gratuitously fling away the opium revenue for no reason whatever that any sane man could accept, in order to put a tax on so innocent a luxury, we had almost written necessary, as tobacco would be monstrous." Now the very argument which this writer puts forth as a reason why a tax should not be put upon tobacco is one of the strongest reasons in my own mind for recommending the tax. After a good deal of reflection on this subject I am coming more and more to this conviction that the Government of India must tax innocent commodities, and that in time they will be forced to it even in England. The next move in local opinion is likely to be that they should get local option. Even the working classes are coming to see that local option would mean to them that they should give up a large number of the public houses and with it lose the license revenue from alcohol and I believe the time is coming when England shall put its foot down and say we shall no longer have any thing to do with this most dangerous thing. It is therefore my strong conviction that the Government will look for its revenue to a tax upon innocent and necessary substances. As things

are now, the virtuous part of the public is compelled to live on the vices of the vicious, and the time will come when they will say. I am not willing to eat my bread and butter at the expense of families who are ruined and degraded through the use of alcohol, I protest against it

Q—You express yourself with great intensity of feeling with reference to the abuse of alcohol at home. It is the case, is it not, that at home the most earnest men in the movement for the suppression of the opium traffic in India are connected with the temperance movement?

A—I believe so. The two movements are interdependent.

Q—Have you anything further to say?

A—I would like to say a word on the sale of opium as encouraging suicide. In 1876 whilst I was engaged in teaching in our English school at Berhampore a student of the entrance class rushed in greatly excited and asked for leave to go home as his mother had taken opium. Naturally at the outset of my career such an event shocked me very much, but I have never till recently directed my attention to the subject. In the present year, I began to collect statistics of opium poisoning that appeared in the Calcutta papers, and I would recommend that a return for the current year should be prepared. On the sixth of September last I commenced noting such cases until the twenty-third of the same month when I was interrupted. During those seventeen days there were five clear cases of suicide and three of deaths from overdoses of opium in which the suicidal tendency was not clear. Amongst these were three women, and two young men under twenty-two who were students of colleges. If any poison should be guarded strictly against by the Government because of its dangerous facility it offers to suicides, opium is preeminently that poison. It is of all poisons the one which must appear the most seductive, because it presents death in its easiest and most attractive form to one who has reached that state of mind. I believe the free sale of opium does encourage suicide.

By Sir William Roberts. —Q—You speak about opium being used as an aphrodisiac, do you know that there are other aphrodisiacs used?

A—I believe there are a great number of them.

Q—Do you think a Hindoo or a Mahomedan would consider himself to act immorally in taking an aphrodisiac?

A—I doubt it.

Q.—What is your opinion in regard to the use of opium medically ?

A.—I scarcely feel myself in a position rightly to speak on that point.

Q.—I understand that the position you take is to abandon the use of all alcohol and opium, but not tobacco ?

A.—I cannot say I am in favour of tobacco, but it seems to me about as innocent a thing as you can have of that kind

Q.—Have you ever tried to explain why the Western nations generally, notwithstanding the use of alcohol, are so prosperous as compared with other nations by whom liquor is not used ?

A.—I believe that the secret of the prosperity of the Western nations is their higher moral standard, derived from the religion of Christ

Q.—So that alcohol does not prevent it from operating in a favourable sense ?

A.—I think there may be so much good in a nation as to enable it to throw off even a great deal of evil without interfering with the general progress of the nation, particularly as compared with other nations who have like evils with very little to counteract them

Q.—It never struck you that, though alcohol may do harm to the individual who indulges in it immoderately, it may do much good to people who use it moderately ?

A.—I am not able to take that view, although if it were universally moderately used I should never have been a total abstainer, but I feel that the evils are so many and so serious that it cannot be thus treated.

By Mr Pease —Q.—You say that the result of the opium habit is to transfer property in Moorshedabad from the Mahommedans to the Hindoos ?

A.—It happens in this way Hindoos are less under the power of the opium habit, they have, therefore, more money The Mahommedans to whom I have referred expend so much upon opium and suffer so much from its degrading influence that they give the chance to men of means to buy up their property.

Q.—Is it a more prevalent vice with Mahommedans than with Hindoos ?

A.—Yes.

By Mr Wilson —Q—You told us that you had a great deal of experience until recently in Moorshedabad, may we take it generally that your evidence relates specially to the Moorshedabad district, and that you confine yourself to that district

A—Yes

Q—Will you tell us what the word “Puja” which you used, means ?

A—It means the religious worship of the Hindoos, and it also means worship on special occasions. The special occasions are those to which I have alluded, when large crowds gather together, when they know they must guard against thefts from opium-eaters

Q—You spoke of two kinds of opium—*chandu* and *goolee*—*madak* the same thing as *goolee*

A—*Madak* is a synonymous term for *goolee*,

Q—Speaking of the use of opium medically, is your knowledge derived from conversation with native doctors ?

A—Not with native doctors. My opinion is derived from what I have seen myself

By Mr Mowbray —Q—What is the proportion of the population of Moorshedabad, Hindoos and Mahomedans

A—In Moorshedabad they are nearly half and half

Q—What is the total population ?

A—1,250,000 by the last census

Q—I take it that half a million are Mahomedans

A—About that

Q—You say that about ninety per cent are consumers of opium ?

A—No, I have not made that statement, I have confined it to the City of Moorshedabad. Moorshedabad District is distinct from the city, which was the former capital of Bengal

Q.—The population of the city is not a million ?

A—When I stated that ninety per cent were consumers of opium, I was referring to the city

Q—What is its population ?

A—I believe 56,000

Q—Is the half of that Mahomedan ?

A—I should say much more than half

Q.—Is your experience limited to the city or district ?

A.—It is spread over the district also

Q.—Is what you have told us about the city good of the district too ?

A.—No, it is not

Q.—Then, taking ninety per cent or something more than half the population, do you think it would be possible, with due regard to public opinion in that city, to entirely prohibit opium indulged in by such a large proportion of the population ?

A.—Certainly, with the provision similar to that which Government is adopting in Burma, making allowances for present consumers

Q.—You would have a register made of present consumers

A.—I suppose it would be a method of registration.

Q.—Do you think that it would be practical ?

A.—I feel this is a question for Government officials more than for myself to settle

Q.—I am asking your opinion, you have given your opinion that public opinion would support prohibition. What are your grounds for saying that any such large proportion would support prohibition ?

A.—I am not depending upon the public opinion of the city itself, but the public opinion of India, that is, the public opinion of 250 millions of people contrasted with the public opinion of 56,000, and I believe that if the Government had at its back the public opinion of 250 millions, it could afford to deal strongly with the public opinion of some 56,000

Q.—You are speaking with confidence of the public opinion of these 250 millions, with whom you have not been brought into direct contact, and you are not speaking with confidence as to the smaller number with whom you have been brought in to direct contact ?

A.—I feel confident that the public opinion of these opium smokers would not be in favour of prohibition, and I think you will agree with that, in that case the analogy breaks down. But in regard to \* the whole population's opinion, I may express my belief generalising from particulars. Of course, I can scarcely be reasonably expected to offer anything like a guarantee that this opinion is absolutely correct. It is mine.

Q.—You also said that opium-eaters say they could not work without it ?

A —Opium-smokers say that they cannot work without it, but there is another class who would say that they could work without it I don't think I went further than this

Q —Your opinion was that that was not correct

A —No, as far as they are concerned, they believe they could not work without it It may be it is true, although I have heard conflicting evidence from one who called anti-opiumists mad fanatics He said they could work without it, because they were obliged to do without it when in jail

Q —Is there a widespread idea among these men that they cannot work without it ?

A —That I think, certainly

Q —Therefore I presume, they would object to be interfered with

A —Oh ' undoubtedly

By Mr Fanshawe —Q —You have described the effect of opium-smoking upon the urban Mahomedan population of Moorshedabad ?

A —I don't wish to confine my remarks to these, because in my own dwelling, miles away, we saw the evil effects of opium

Q —Outside the city, can you tell us what the proportion of opium-eaters would be to opium-smokers ?

A —I cannot

Q —You have been in the habit of visiting a great number of villages, has it come within your experience that opium is not resorted to at all by those in the malarial parts of Moorshedabad ?

A —No, it has not

Q —Amongst the Jain community of Azimganj, is the habit there of smoking or eating ?

A —Mostly eating

Q —The members of that community are good business men

A —They are

Q —And the remarks you have made generally would not apply to that community ?

A.—No, they have not the temptations, they are wealthy men.

Q.—You said it is common to recommend the use of opium as an aphrodisiac, by whom do you mean it is recommended ?

A.—I wish to consider that remark as having force far beyond Moorshedabad It would be a remark which would apply not only to Mahomedans and Hindoos, but very largely to Indian Society.

Q.—Is it recommended by the doctors?

A.—No, by their friends. It is recommended amongst themselves.

Q.—You recommend that the use of opium should be prohibited except for medical purposes, what do you include under the term medical purposes?

A.—I should say under medical prescription of qualified medical men.

Q.—Throughout these districts?

A.—There is a system now in India of qualified practitioners, both English and Koirajes.

Q.—Then you mean it should only be supplied upon certificates of qualified practitioners, European and native?

A.—Yes.

Q.—From your knowledge, is not opium used as what I may call a domestic remedy for rheumatism and other diseases, quite apart from what doctors recommend?

A.—I believe it is used, particularly for bodily pains. I should like to say I have never attempted, nor do I pretend to have any scheme in my mind, but I believe a scheme could be easily devised, and medical practitioners could give certificates or prescriptions by which medicines of that kind could be readily got.

Q.—In reference to suicide, you must be well aware there are many vegetable poisons to be found in every village?

A.—That is so.

Q.—You wish us to understand that your experience is that poisoning by opium is much more common than by other poisons?

A.—I believe it is so much more largely used, that comparison with any other poison is reduced almost to an absurdity.

Q.—If you had not opium there, do you think that nobody would commit suicide with doses of other convenient poisons?

A.—My impression is, that in most cases of suicide a little difficulty goes a long way, and that they should be protected to the utmost extent to which Government can protect, because very often the human mind will get so under the influence of depression, that if there is an easy way to free themselves from the burden, they will take it, but if the way was not easy, it would probably be a sufficient deterrent, their good sense would return, and they would not wish to commit suicide.

Q.—Would they not substitute one form of poison for another?

A —No, I do not think they would , the sale of all poisons should be suppressed

Q —Are you aware of the great number of suicides, especially amongst native females, by throwing themselves down wells ?

A —Yes, but it has not come under my personal knowledge

By Sir James Lyall —Q —You attribute the wretched appearance of the Mahommedans to the opium habit , is it not a fact that in many decaying Mahommedan cities, especially those which were once capitals, the population is now very weak and degraded ?

A —My experience of Mahommedan cities is limited to Moorshedabad, therefore, I am not in a position to answer that question

Q —You refer to the use of opium as an aphrodisiac , is it not generally understood to be the case, that, from the effects of early sexual intercourse and other habits, impotence often comes early among men in India, and that it is the usual thing amongst natives who wish to have offspring to have recourse to opium and many other drugs ?

A —That may be a fact , but I do not believe, as far as my information goes, that opium is taken with the intention of procuring offspring It is taken more for increasing sexual enjoyment I think this is almost universal

Q —You say that the existing system of licensing is vicious, putting pressure on the vendor to spread consumption Is that theory, or have you any personal knowledge or experience of the special method by which vendors spread the sale ?

A —I know such vendors I know a vendor who used to be a student in one of our schools, and I know their object is to increase the number of shops

Q —The number of shops is fixed and no vendor can establish more, and they know how many are going to be allowed ?

A —I have in my mind the fact, that, in Sir Rivers Thompson's time, I made a very strong point of getting one of these shops closed, and succeeded. Our Temperance Society took it up, and I know that very strong opposition was made, and I know, from conversations with the people, that the vendors try to tempt as many as they can into these places, particularly in the days of the outstill system

Q.—The vendor does not advertise in the papers , he sits in his shop and I should like to know whether he has any special way of increasing his sales.



A.—The shop-keeper is not usually the man who buys the license. In my district there are only five spirit licenses, and all the shops throughout the district are under these licenses

Q.—Have you any knowledge of the way in which they increase sales ?

A —I have no knowledge of how it is specially done

Q —You say that the Government of India is specially responsible for the production of opium , is not the Government also to be credited with restricting the production of opium in India, on the whole, by placing a high tax upon what is consumed or exported ?

A —I think the Government is to be credited with that intention in late years, but I heard an admission from Sir David Barbour that, practically, the Government production has remained the same for a number of years.

Q—Over nearly the whole of British India and a very large part of the Native States opium production has been stopped

A —Yes, that I understand

Q —You also know that what opium is produced is very heavily taxed ?

A —That I know

By Mr Fanshawe —Q —In reference to this memorial from the Calcutta Missionary Conference, dated 21st September last, praying, that the use of opium should be prohibited except for medicinal purposes may I ask whether you were concerned directly in the preparation of that memorial ?

A —I was

Q —You signed it ?

A —It is signed by the Chairman of the Conference, but I hold myself responsible as much as any one

Q —In this memorial a number of medical authorities are quoted ; may I ask you whether you consider the extract in each case fairly representative of the whole opinion of the medical authority as to the effects of opium consumption ?

A.—Yes.

Q —Are the extracts fairly representative of the whole of the opinions of those medical authorities ?

A.—I believe so.

Q.—Had the signatories the original authorities before them? Had they written authorities or merely extracts given in the appendices?

A —The best way to reply would be to say, that a sub-committee, appointed for drafting the memorial, of which I was a member, appointed some of their number to verify or to give the medical extracts which were to be sent in. Of course this was only comparatively a small part of our memorial, from the fact that we knew that the medical authorities were easily get-at-able. We had men of knowledge and integrity, who were above all suspicion, and we appointed a number of them to do this part of the business.

[In consequence of a protest by Mr Wilson against the suggestion implied in Mr Fanshawe's questions that the medical quotations in the Calcutta Missionary Conference's memorial did not fairly represent the opinions of authorities cited, it was agreed that a statement on the subject should be put in, which the Conference should have the opportunity of considering and answering.]

The President —You recognise that there is a wide divergence of opinion on the subject amongst medical authorities?

A —I do recognise that

**Babu Sitanath Roy's (Hon. Secretary of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce) Evidence.**

It is a well known fact that the consumption of opium in this Presidency is not restricted to particular classes or districts. Nor does caste impose any restriction on the consumption of opium. It is more or less taken by all classes from the highest Brahminical caste downwards, but it is more generally consumed in the central and western than in the eastern parts of Bengal.

It would not be going too far to affirm that a considerable portion of the population of central and western Bengal take opium, while its consumption in eastern Bengal is much more restricted.

This disparity in the use of opium by people of different parts of the Presidency is mostly due to the great prevalence of malarial fevers in central and western Bengal, eastern Bengal being less subject to these afflictions. There is a deep-rooted belief that opium is a prophylactic in malarious diseases.

The consumption of opium is largely confined to adults above forty years of age, for it is in advanced life, when the meridian of life has passed, that opium is deemed a necessity as a means to ward off the many ills which flesh is heir to. People living in low and marshy lands and those who have to undergo severe physical labour and fatigue, and to sub-

mit to night exposure, deem it a necessity to take opium in moderate doses, as it is supposed to prevent chill and cold, and to give sustained energy and vigour. Young men seldom, or only under medical advice, indulge in the use of opium.

With reference to the effect of the consumption of opium on the moral and physical condition of the people, my views are that those who use opium moderately do not suffer any ill-effects. on the contrary, the general impression, bordering on conviction, is that the moderate use of opium is beneficial, it is a panacea for many diseases, and that its tendency is to prolong life.

Native physicians concur in holding that opium is a reliable prophylactic against malaria and chill. It brings certain relief to those who are suffering from wasting diseases. In diabetes, consumption, rheumatism, gout and bowel complaints, patients, when other treatment fails, are invariably recommended the use of opium.

The consumption of narcotics in some form has been in use in this country from time immemorial. The Rajputs and Sikhs, the two most martial races of India, are said to be the largest consumers of opium, and yet they are not only the most prolific and vigorous, but the sturdiest of the people of this country.

As regards the evils attending the use, or rather, abuse of opium they are as nothing in comparison with those caused by alcohol. Not a single crime can be ascribed to the use of opium. Who ever met with an opium eater beating his wife and children, quarreling with his neighbours and creating public disturbance? We daily meet with the sad spectacle of people dead drunk from the use of alcohol, reeling in the streets of our large cities in a disorderly and unconscious state and incapable of taking care of themselves. But who ever met with an eater behaving in this fashion? At least the uproarousness and wildness caused by the use of alcohol are not visible in the case of opium. A man under the influence of opium is less harmful and less dangerous than one excited by the use of alcohol or of other native drugs.

As a rule, there is no disposition among the people, especially the higher classes of the Presidency, to use opium for any but medical purposes. The rich and the poor alike do not hesitate to take opium when occasion arises, but they do so under medical advice.

I should be wanting in candour, if I were not to state here that some (though the number is very small,) among the lower classes in our large cities, do take opium as a means of pleasurable excitement. There are opium dens visible here and there in our large cities, where

*chandu* and *madak*, different preparations of opium, are smoked by a few who may be designated the scum of society, but this is a vice which cannot be charged against the higher classes

It is superfluous to ask the people of this country whether they are disposed to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures. Can it be supposed that while the masses of the people of this country are proverbially poor, mostly living on one meal a day, and that while they are literally groining under numerous direct and indirect taxes, they should be disposed to pay additional taxation to recoup the heavy loss that must inevitably follow the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of opium in British India ?

As to the financial aspect of the question, is it reasonable to throw to the winds a magnificent revenue of about six millions in tens of rupees at present derived from an unobjectionable trade, in deference to the well-meaning but mistaken views of moralists and irresponsible persons, and then to ask the people of this country to recoup the deficiency by the payment of additional taxation ?

No one knows better than the gentleman in charge of the financial portfolio of the Government of India, how difficult it is to raise money in this country from taxation, and due weight should be given to his representations

Lands in this country, besides bearing the weight of a heavy revenue payable of Government, have, in infringement of the Permanent Settlement, in violation of the solemn compact entered into with the landholders, of late been saddled with the payment of two different cesses, namely, Road and Public Works cesses, while trade, commerce and the different professions have been taxed to the uttermost by the imposition of an obnoxious income tax. Other sources of revenue are hardly available, and any attempt at fresh taxation would arouse the greatest indignation and discontent everywhere throughout the length and breadth of India

Indeed the imposition of further burdens would be a cruel injustice and on financial grounds it would be highly impolitic to abandon the revenue derived from opium for which there seems no practicable substitute

There does not seem to be the slightest justification for prohibiting the growth of poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India

While other stimulants of a far more objectionable character are available, while drunkenness reigns rampant here, and especially in

Europe, and while the country is being deluged with the spirits manufactured here and the imported brandy, gin and rum, or noxious liquors under those names, it is absurd to talk of abolishing the manufacture and sale of such an innocuous article of commerce as opium, which certainly is not so harmful to society as alcohol. Should opium be abolished, people will have recourse to narcotic drugs and to alcohol. And an unlooked for market of large dimensions for European spurious liquors would be opened here. So long as the philanthropists and moralists in England cannot persuade the British Parliament to surrender the large revenue amounting to about twenty-eight millions of pounds, realised from liquor traffic at home, and adopt strong legislative measures for repressing the use of intoxicating liquor, it is a mere mockery to ask the Government of this country to prohibit the manufacture and sale of opium. But what would be gained by such prohibition ?

China has long cultivated the poppy, and the opium manufactured there is much larger than that imported from this country, and in the absence of that pure product, the Chinese would themselves supply an article far more obnoxious. While the Indian opium, being very superior and considered a great luxury, is confined to the well-to-do people, the home-grown opium, which is not so refined and is much cheaper, is consumed by millions of people. The only consequence of abolishing Government trade in opium would be either to throw the drug open to free trade or to hold out an incentive to the Chinese for the much larger manufacture of less pure opium in their own country. While the Chinese would go on smoking their pipes with home-grown opium, the Government of India, which can hardly make two ends meet, would for nothing be sacrificing a revenue of six million tens of rupees at the bidding of a number of well-meaning but mistaken philanthropists, who perceive not the beam in the eyes of their own people.

It does not seem possible to effectually prohibit the manufacture and especially the sale of opium in this country. Government may prohibit the growth of poppy in British India, but it cannot, and should not, consistently with justice, and without giving rise to serious unpleasantness, prohibit the growth of poppy in the States of the independent Chiefs of Central India. With the abolition of the opium trade in British India, a greater stimulus would be given to the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in Native States, and opium would continue to be imported and smuggled into British territory, China, and elsewhere, and it would be costly and extremely difficult if not unpleasant and unsafe, to prevent it by a system of excise which would be intolerable.

The revenue derived from opium is one of the principal sources of income in the Native States of Central India, and to ask them, without any reason, to forego it, would be asking too much of them, nor can the payment of adequate compensation induce the Central Indian Chiefs to prohibit the manufacture of opium in their territories, for their subjects have been accustomed to the use of opium from time immemorial and a habit so deep-rooted cannot be easily abandoned. The fact is, the prohibition of the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in this country would not only throw the Government into extreme difficulty, but bring serious loss to ryots and landlords alike, and to many thousands of people engaged in opium factories.

The present system of Government monopoly seems to work admirably, and I cannot suggest any change in it. It imposes a great restriction on the consumption of opium. With the abandonment and withdrawal of the Government monopoly, several powerful joint-stock companies would be floated for the manufacture and sale of opium, and some of the very gentlemen who are now loudest in their declamations against opium, might be shareholders in such a thriving and lucrative business.

Our last prayer is "save us from our friends." For God's sake do not take our opium and deluge the country with spirituous liquors which will be the inevitable alternative. Surely, this is not an attempt to supersede opium by alcohol, as has been the attempt of another set of philanthropists to handicap and destroy the mill industry of this country by imposing the stringent provisions of the Factory Act here, and thus paving the way for the larger importation of Manchester and Dundee manufactured goods.

I should like to add something in reference to the wretched condition of the Mahommedan population of Murshidabad. My belief is that their wretched condition is due to the prevalent malarial conditions with which they are surrounded, while a large proportion of the population do take opium on account of their malarial conditions, I have known a considerable portion of the people in Calcutta, where there is considerable malaria, take opium. My belief is that it is not on account of taking opium but on account of the prevalence of malaria that that sad spectacle is due.

Q—By Mr. Pease.—Will you kindly repeat your last remark in reference to the results which would follow from the abolition of the opium monopoly?

Witness repeated his answer.

Q—What are your grounds for such an assertion?

A —That is my belief

Q —You believe that the gentlemen who are at present denouncing the opium trade are so inconsistent that they would take a part in a business having for its object the consumption and sale of opium ?

A —I mean, to say this, that though I might not take alcohol I might take a share in a wine business

Q.—By the Chairman —It is a hypothesis of yours ?

A —It is hypothetical

Q —What special opportunities have you had for forming an opinion upon the use of opium ?

A —As a Merchant and Zemindar I have had experience of all classes in Calcutta and the Mofussil, I know a very large number who are old consumers of opium . and I do not find that any ill effects follow its use.

Q —Have you any personal interest in the opium trade ?

A —None, either directly or indirectly

Q —Is opium largely used in the district from which you have come for fevers instead of quinine ?

A —In our part of the country, at Dacca, there is no such thing as malarial fever, consequently the consumption is very limited It is in western Bengal that the consumption is large

Q —By Mr Wilson —Will you tell us whether the general remarks you have made with reference to its medicinal use are based upon personal knowledge, or from what has been communicated to you ?

A —Not upon personal knowledge, but what I have seen and heard from my friends I myself do not take opium

Q —Do you represent the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce

A —I do, it is the Native Chamber of Commerce

Q —Can you tell us in what way if the opium sales were largely reduced or abolished, it would affect the chamber as a mercantile body.

A.—In this way,—if in consequence of restriction upon sales the exports to China would decrease, then the Government revenue from opium would decrease in proportion, and in order to meet any deficiency the Government may impose a wholesale burden of taxation upon the people, which merchants and Zemindars would not like The people also would not like it, because in several instances they are obliged to take it, and if it could not be had, they would be dissatisfied

Q —This is a matter of social reform of the people I am speaking particularly from a mercantile point of view Have you anything more to say except that there is a fear of additional taxation ?

A —There are many big gentlemen, Marwaris and others, who deal in opium, who would be affected, and they would not like the prohibition of this trade Some land holders too are members of my association

Q —I think you said you regarded opium as a panacea for many diseases, particularly malaria

A —In malaria, rheumatism, gout and bowel complaints, opium is largely taken, and koberajes and hakims recommend it

Q —Are not children liable to malaria ?

A —People in this part of the country are liable to malaria—not necessarily children

Q —Are children specially liable to malaria ?

A —I am not aware of it

Q —Can you tell us as a matter of fact whether opium is given to children or whether it is used in later life ?

A —I don't know whether it is given to children, I know it is taken by grown men and they derive great benefit from it

Q —Many people are extremely poor and only get one meal a day ?

A —Yes

Q —But although they have only one meal they get money for opium ?

A —Not necessarily, opium is taken by all classes Numbers who have to live upon one meal do not take opium

Q —I wish to ask you whether you are aware of the proposal of the Anti-opium Society of England, that if prohibition was resorted to the additional cost would not fall upon India

A —I was not aware of that until I read it in yesterday's papers

Q —You are now aware of it, does not it somewhat modify your opinion ?

A —I do not know whether they will indemnify the ryots and landholders in Central India It may be they may be disposed to give a large sum of money, but I don't know whether they will indemnify everybody

Q —Will the ryots suffer much ?

A —I believe so

Q —Is it one of their most valuable crops ?

A —Yes



Q—Are you aware that some of the officials of the Government talk of the difficulty of getting it cultivated ?

A—I am not aware

Q—If you saw such a statement, would it modify your opinion ?

A—I believe advances of money made by the Government are an inducement to ryots to cultivate land for opium

Q—Do you think it is a profitable crop ?

A—Yes one of the most profitable

Q—You refer to the question of Native States, is it not a fact that the growth of opium is prohibited in many of these States ?

A—I am not aware

Q—Are you aware that the revenue from opium has been diminishing a good deal of late years ?

A—Yes

Q—And that with the increasing growth of the poppy in China, there are fears that it will further diminish ?

A—Yes, but that is no reason why it should be forcibly suppressed here

Q—And if it goes on diminishing, some means will have to be found to meet the deficiency ?

A—It will be many years before it is stopped completely

Q—Supposing England was willing to make a substantial contribution now in order to get rid of what many people think a bad traffic, do you think it might be possibly a good bargain to India to get English money now and not wait and see this money dwindle away to nothing ?

A—If the English Government would guarantee six millions a year and compensate ryots and landholders and the States in Central India, and at the same time allow opium to be used for medicinal purposes, I think we should not have the least objection

Q—You referred to the drink traffic in England, and the revenue derived from it, if there was any material alteration made in a few years in our liquor laws in England, if we showed our anxiety to get rid of that traffic, that would destroy the force of your arguments about the opium traffic ?

A—Still I would not like to abandon the opium traffic, because opium is not so harmful and dangerous as alcohol

Q—You introduced the question of the liquor trade in England, and said that the Society is inconsistent in reference to that trade if

England were to make definite advance in reference to its own liquor laws it would destroy the force of your argument ?

A —In that case they could consistently ask the British Government to place restrictions upon the opium trade

Q —By Mr Mowbray—You saw that on certain conditions as to payment by England, it would be possible to restrict the use of opium to medicinal purposes, have you formed any plan as to how that could be carried out ?

A —Not at all

Q —By Mr Haridas —You say that eating opium in moderation does good ?

A —As far as I know it is used mostly for medicinal purposes, if it was not, still it would do no harm

Q —You think it is not a vice ?

A —Of course the immoderate use of it in the course of a debauch is deplorable, but the moderate use, especially if our countrymen use it for medicinal purposes is not indefensible

Q —By Mr Fan-hawe—Two of the missionaries who gave evidence stated that a tax upon tobacco would make good the revenue lost by prohibition, what are the views of the Natives of India as to a tax upon tobacco ?

A —To this there can be only one answer, the whole of India as a man would protest. The lower classes of the people cannot do without tobacco, and any tax upon it would be strongly resented by the people and would produce a great amount of discontent and indignation. It is the last thing the Government should do

#### Rev. Thomas Evans' Evidence.

By the Chairman —Q —Will you state shortly the length of time you have been in this country, and the nature of the work on which you were engaged, and generally describe to us your position and your occupation ?

A —I have been in India thirty-eight years, and was engaged in Mission work until lately, when I retired from the Mission. For the last few years I have been more specially engaged in the promotion of temperance work among the natives of India

Q —Will you state what opportunities you have had of ascertaining the social habits of the people regarding the use of opium ?

A —I must say at the outset that my chief attention has been directed, not so much to the opium question, as to the working of the

Abkari Department and the habit of drinking. At the same time, I have not mixed with the people for the last thirty-eight years without having had numerous opportunities of discovering that the use of opium, more or less, is prevalent among the people of India, if not more so than their indulgence in alcohol. Indeed, in many cases it finds its way into wealthy families where strong drinks would not be allowed. Both the Shastras and the Koran strongly prohibit the use of alcohol, while as far as I am aware, the use of opium has not been forbidden. We heard yesterday a native gentleman of high caste say that it is in use among all classes of the people in India. The simple fact of the amount of revenue derived from the sale of opium is proof of its being in general use among the people. In the N-W P, Rs 7,48,270 was realised in the year 1892, while in Oudh the sum of Rs 1,08,753 was collected, and in both cases there was an increase over the previous year. The revenue from opium and hemp drugs in the Punjab amounted to Rs 6,18,595 in 1891-92, and in 1892 it increased to Rs 6,49,330. Similar increases of revenue are noticeable in other parts of India. While no doubt many use it medicinally, yet that is not the general use for which it is taken. It is common to hear of poor mothers giving it to their children in order to put them to sleep while they themselves are at work, and in late years this practice has greatly increased in the case of women employed in factories. Only the other day I was told that great havoc was made among children in such cases by over-doses being given, no doubt by mistake. Then, if a wife is jealous of her husband it is a common practice for her to resort to opium to put an end to her life. But I find that it is chiefly used on account of its aphrodisiacal property, to fire into activity the exhausted powers of nature, and stimulate and excite lust. Before I was six months in the country I was told by a missionary that it was a common thing for beggars to ask for opium to promote sexual intercourse, and that it was used for the same purpose by the wealthy. I have been told by a native doctor that it is commonly used for that degrading object.

Q—Will you give us any special cases of the effects that have come to your notice from the opium habit as it is generally followed?

A—As to special cases which came under my immediate notice, I can call to mind a few instances. One case was that of a pundit who was teaching me the Hindi language, he was a Christian convert at Agra, and during the Mutiny, was killed at Muttra. For years he had been a Hindoo devotee and had contracted the habit of eating opium. I have often seen him walking with his eyes closed, and had the greatest diffi-

culty to keep him awake while he was teaching me, he felt the disgrace of such a condition, but he could not possibly live without his daily dose. Another case was that of a young Brahmin who was a fine Sanscrit scholar; he became a convert in 1870, and often preached with me in different places. I was not at first aware of his opium propensities, although there was a strange restlessness in his eyes, but I found out that some years previously an old woman had induced him to take opium as a preventive to cold, and he thereafter became a slave to the habit. I did all in my power to break him of the habit, but failed, and I was compelled to give him up as a hopeless case, and turn him out of the mission. Another instance was that of a tinman in Allahabad, he looked so emaciated that I asked him if he was ill, he said "Yes I cannot be cured, as I am a *kardee* (prisoner) shut up in the prison of *apheem*, and cannot possibly find my way out." I pitied the poor fellow, and, to induce him to make a strong effort to conquer the habit, I offered him Rs five if he would abstain from taking opium for five days. A watch was set upon him, but he only held out for three days and then broke down, saying that no amount of money would compensate him for the dreadful craving for the drug which made his life a burden. The common expression is *sub buddun phut jata hai*, that is, the whole body is going to pieces. Such is the terrible hold of the opium habit upon its poor victims that they will beg, borrow, or steal in order to get money to secure a fresh supply of the drug. Such, in brief, is my experience. Though the instances I have given are extreme cases, yet I may say generally that opium, like alcohol, is wonderful in its insidiousness, and, like a dying hydra, holds its victim in its embrace, and with its last gasp crushes its victim to death.

Q.—Can you give any instance in your experience of a man who has contracted the opium habit relinquishing it?

A.—As far as my knowledge goes, they do not give up the habit. During my travels in India from north to south—from Rawal Pindi to Madura, engaged in temperance work, while I was able, in connection with the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association in London, to organise 130 Indian Temperance Societies with a large number of members, I have been unable to find a single person who was willing to give up the use of opium. I do not think that five per cent of confirmed opium-eaters, and not one in 1,000 *chandu* smokers, ever relinquish the habit till death sets them free from the terrible bondage.

Q.—Which do you consider most injurious, smoking or eating opium?

A —It would appear to me that smoking opium is much more dangerous than eating or drinking it. The fumes of the poison seem to affect the lungs, and through them the blood, with far greater power than eating or drinking opium. We know that the smoking of *chandu* or clarified opium is most deleterious. The Sikhs in the Punjab, who use opium as a drink, do not seem to suffer so much as others who smoke it.

Sir William Roberts :—Q —Does that apply to eating and smoking in India only, and not to China ?

A —India only. I know nothing about China. As to the question whether opium is a preventive from the effects of malaria or not, I am not competent to say, but if it be so, it is strange that the Government which supplies cholera pills free of charge should not be equally liberal in supplying opium pills to their poor subjects in malarial districts. I have never heard that it is a preventive, and, further, if opium is such a powerful prophylactic, why is it strictly forbidden to the Burmese to possess or to purchase it ? Another matter is that, while it is supposed to be good for those in British territory, the subjects of native States are forbidden to increase their revenue by the cultivation of the poppy in their own native country. The Government has made a treaty with Mysore, by which the cultivation of the poppy is strictly prohibited, and the same restriction is enforced upon other native princes in India.

Q —Have you any remarks to offer as to the result of closing the licensed opium smoking shops in India ?

A —With regard to the closing of *chandu* smoking dens by order of Government, I am sorry to have to say that that order of Government has so far had only a negative effect, and my chief reason for saying so is founded on the issue of a confidential circular under the orders of the Commissioner of Excise in the N W P in July, 1892, which was addressed to all Commissioners and Collectors in the N W P and Oudh [Circular read] I presume no remarks of mine on that circular are necessary.

Q —What have you have found to be the results of indulgence in opium ?

A.—Little, I think, need be said, as it is a fact so well known that the results are and must be degrading, and the human frame with its complicated functions becomes disorganised, the brain is clouded over by the fumes of the deadly drug, and the moral sense becomes so disordered and corrupted that one's sense of right and wrong is in a large measure annihilated.

Q.—Turning to the cultivators, are you of opinion that they would be glad of the opportunity of using their fields to sow poppy ?

A—I have reason to know that they would rather not do it. During a residence of ten years in Monghyr, a place surrounded by poppy cultivation, I have often asked if it was their own wish to plant the poppy. The answer was, “No, *Sahib*, it gives us great trouble and expense; but what are we to do?”—it is the order of the Sircar, that is, the Government, and we are bound to obey.” Besides, is it not a fact that the Opium Department have a staff of highly-paid officers whose duty it is to visit the villages and to offer large advances of money to those who will consent to cultivate opium? This is the bait which hooks the cultivator, but without that, few, if any, of them would of their own free will give up their fields for poppy cultivation. I have also been told, but I have no proof of it, that it is very difficult to find evidence of this unwillingness on the part of cultivators, that the patwar is to look after the land and see what it produces, and they get presents (*buksheesh*) from the Sircar to induce the people to cultivate the poppy. I have every desire, as a loyal subject, which all Welshmen are, to give the Indian Government credit for its good intentions, and deeply sympathise with their financial pressure, but why not be consistent, and say that we need the revenue, and therefore cannot give up the opium trade or the liquor or hemp drug traffic? That would be straightforward, and if the Government will see its way to get its revenue from other sources, then it will act a noble part and command the approval of the Most High. Great Britain lost nothing, but gained, by the payment of twenty millions sterling for the emancipation of the Negroes in the West Indies, and if the Indian Government followed that noble example, why, God would more than supply the loss, and cause the financial as well as the political basis of the rulers of India to be established in righteousness, and to be fixed on a rock in the same way as is promised to those who put their trust in him who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

Q.—You have put in strong terms the objections you entertain to the sanction which is being given by the Government of India to the traffic in opium, would you entertain similar objections to the sanction being given by the Government, whether the Government of India or the Government at Home, to the traffic in strong drinks ?

A.—The English Government in England does not traffic directly in strong drink; it is not the proprietor of the concern. But the Indian Government is the proprietor and the promoter of the whole concern, and I think that that makes a great difference.

Q.—You are aware that witnesses who have appeared before us on behalf of the Anti-Opium Association do not concur in that view, they hold an equal objection to what is called the Bengal monopoly system, and to the Bombay system in which licenses and export duties are levied, but the Government is not directly concerned in the manufacture ?

A.—I don't think myself that if the Government simply levied a prohibitive taxation on opium cultivated by others, the Government would be so responsible for it as at present

By Sir J. Lyall.—Q.—Do you mean a tax that would amount to a prohibition ?

A.—Yes, in a large measure so

By the President.—Q.—If the tax is not sufficient to be prohibitory, would you entertain the same objection to it as to the monopoly system ?

A.—If the Government confined its action to levying the duty and did not hold itself responsible for the production of the opium, they would relieve themselves in a great measure of their moral responsibility

By Sir J. Lyall.—Q.—You say that the order to close the *chandu* smoking shops has been sadly neglected, and you apprehend that this was due to the confidential circular ?

A.—Yes, partly

Q.—What meaning do you attach to the circular what results do you attribute to it ?

A.—The meaning I attach to it is this, that it encouraged those who manufactured *chandu* for smoking to carry on the trade

Q.—How did you hear of this circular when it was a confidential one ?

A.—These confidential things very often leak out, and people who are financially interested in the matter find them out very quickly

Q.—Is it not correct, as stated in the Circular, that these shops cannot be suppressed by the law as it is at present ?

A.—The Government may not be able to suppress them at present, but I think that efforts should be made to suppress them, all the *chandu* dens should be closed.

Q.—The law provides that no shop should be licensed in which opium smoking should be allowed ?

A.—The shop-keepers are still allowed to sell *chandu*, but they are not licensed to allow smoking therein.

Q.—But if the law does not prevent men from opening saloons in which people can smoke, as long as smoking is not carried on in the shop

in which the *chandu* is sold, how can the Magistrate prevent smoking saloons from being opened? The circular states the law.

A —I am not sure that that is the spirit of the law. If it is, it is wrong, imperfect law

The witness here read an extract from his diary dated Dacca, January 13, 1893, as follows —“ We now went down a most filthy narrow lane, and there saw a shop for selling *chundu*. The owners are Jhanquo Khaleb and Syed Abdul Janur. The licence fee per month is Rs 125. There is a second *chundu* shop in Begum Bazar belonging to the same people. Close by the first shop is the *smoking den*, they rent these places. Pay Rs three for the *chundu* shop, and Rs four for the big *den*, about forty feet long and twenty broad. We went there about 9 A M, and the place had then thirty smokers inside, most of them lying down, some asleep. In the evening they told us that some fifty or sixty come, and among them one woman of a bad character. The *chandu* is prepared in the shop the other side of the road, and is sold at about Rs fifty per seer to the smokers, most of whom can only afford to get one or two annas' worth per day. Some smoke as much as four annas' worth daily.

“*Mr Evans* —Has not the Government issued an order to close all opium smoking dens. How then do you keep this?

“*Shopman* —That I don't know and don't care. I was told when I took my licence to sell *chundu*, that I could have a smoking den if I only put it twenty-two feet apart from the *chandu* shop. I have done that, and now I can have as many smokers as I like in my den.

“*Mr E* —Who told you you could do this?

“*S* —The excise officer, Baboo Hari Mohun. So I am quite safe, as the den is twenty-two feet away from the selling shop; you may measure it if you like.”

Q —When the order was passed, it was well known that it would be evaded?

A —I am happy to be able to state that that confidential circular was condemned and cancelled by order of the Secretary of State.

Q —What do you mean when you recommend that the Government should give up all revenue derived from the vices of its subjects? Do you mean that poppy cultivation, liquor distilleries, and hemp cultivation should be prohibited, or that they should be left alone?

A —It would never do to leave them alone. They should be prohibited. By all means I would allow a sufficient quantity of opium to



be prepared for medical purposes, by setting apart a certain portion of land for the cultivation of a certain amount of poppy for medical purposes, which would be very easy to do

Q.—How would you distribute the opium among the people, so that they should get it for medical purposes ?

A.—I would supply all the hospitals and dispensaries, and give it on the certificate of medical men

Q.—You mean medical men according to the European method ?

A.—Yes, whether Native or European,

Q.—Do you think they could be relied upon ?

A.—I am afraid all the Native medical men could not be relied upon.

A.—Don't you think that the certificates of hakeems and baidis would often be untrustworthy ?

A.—That would be very possible. But there are difficulties in every reform. It would not be so bad as the present system, in my opinion

By Mr Fanshawe —Q.—In what provinces has your experience been gained ?

A.—I have lived in Agra, Delhi, one year in Calcutta, ten years in Monghyr and Allahabad

Q.—Have you had any direct experience of the Rajputs and the Sikhs ?

A.—I have had no personal experience. My information is from what I have heard with regard to them

Q.—You know the practical conditions of native life pretty well. Has it been your experience that there is an old habit of eating opium among people in malarial districts ?

A.—I have not observed such a practice myself as far as my experience goes

Q.—Do you know the Central Provinces at all ?

A.—Very little

Q.—Surgeon-General Rice, speaking from an experience of thirty years in the Central Provinces, told us that there is a habit of eating opium in moderate doses, and that the habit grew out of an impression that it counteracted the effects of malaria ?

A.—I have had no experience of that

Q.—You have stated that the habit was taken to in early life that it grew up from boyhood ?

A.—I meant to say that, as a rule, opium was administered by poor women to their children to keep them quiet, and put them to sleep while they themselves are at work, and they grew up inoculated with this opium trait.

Q.—Do they give it up altogether and take to it as men?

A.—I believe they go on with it in their boyhood.

Q.—You said that Native opinion is opposed to the use of opium generally?

A.—I don't think I did. What I think is this, that Natives who are given to the opium habit will be against giving it up, but those not given to that habit will be very glad to see the preparation of opium abolished.

Q.—Would you say there is a general feeling against it among Mahommedans?

A.—There are more given to the opium habit than Hindoos. The general feeling among them will not be in favour of giving it up.

Q.—What would you say as to the cultivators in general?

A.—I think they would be in favour of abolishing it.

Q.—You spoke of the use of opium as an aphrodisiac. Would you imply that it is in use among the cultivators?

A.—Not as a rule.

Q.—Could you distinguish, from your experience, between opium consumption in towns and the country outside towns?

A.—I could.

Q.—You would say that the evil effects of opium is larger in cities?

A.—Much larger.

Q.—As regards Native opinion as to opium eating and smoking, what would it be?

A.—I cannot tell. I know this, that there is much more opium eating and drinking in the interior than opium smoking. I do not know what native opinion is on the two points.

By Mr. Mowbray. Q.—With regard to the confidential circular, are you aware that it was moved for and presented to the House of Commons?

A.—I was not aware, but I take it from you as a fact.

Q.—Then you are not aware either that the subsequent correspondence between the Indian Government and the Secretary of State with regard to that circular was also laid before Parliament?

A.—No, I was not.

Q.—You have referred to a despatch from the Government of India in somewhat strong language ?

A.—No, I have not

Q.—I think that you will agree that it is necessary that the story of the confidential circular should be completed ?

A.—By all means

Q.—With regard to your own personal experience, do you say that you have found it more easy to induce people in India to join anti-alcohol societies rather than anti-opium societies ?

A.—Far more easy

Q.—And would you draw the inference that there is a strong feeling in favour of opium ?

A.—The conclusion I draw is that it is a greater hardship to give up opium habits than drinking habits

Q.—And that would increase the difficulty of passing any general prohibition of the use of opium ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Have you ever tried to form an idea of how you would prevent the use of opium by those who were accustomed to use it before ?

A.—I have no doubt it would be very difficult work, and that it would take years to accomplish

Q.—You referred to Burma. Have you any personal knowledge of that province ?

A.—I was there for three months three years ago, and the law there was then what I stated it to be.

Q.—With regard to your statement that opium smoking is more common among Mahommedans than among Hindoos, do you attribute that to the fact that alcoholic drinks are forbidden to Mahommedans ?

A.—I am sorry to say that, though it is forbidden to Mahommedans, they go in as freely for alcoholic drinks as the Baboos of Calcutta.

Q.—If you prohibited Mahommedans from getting opium, would they take to alcohol ?

A.—It is possible they might

By Sir J Lyall —Q.—The Associations you formed for prohibiting the use of alcohol, were they composed of people who were previously addicted to alcohol?

A.—Many were not The principal members were high caste Brahmins and educated native gentlemen. About half of them were addicted to alcohol.

By Mr Wilson Q.—In the Associations you have been forming were the greater part of the members educated Hindus ?

A.—Chiefly so ; a great number of them had been addicted to alcohol in the sense that they took it to get intoxicated , some were not so

Q.—You spoke about opium being prohibited in Native States. You referred to cultivation ?

A.—I referred to cultivation

Q.—The consumption of opium is not prohibited ?

A.—Oh, dear, no , but it is British opium

Q.—You said that in Monghyr you thought the cultivation was not popular with the cultivators ?

A.—I did not find it so

Q.—Was there a concurrence of testimony ?

A.—There was In Gya I have heard the same thing from reliable authority

Q.—You said they could use their lands for the cultivation of better crops ?

A.—The Natives have found recently that the cultivation of sugarcane is far more profitable than that of opium, because the poppy cultivation is very uncertain. If a shower of hail falls at a certain time of the season the crop is destroyed. Then it requires the best land, manuring, and a great deal of labour in collecting from day to day. The cultivation of wheat also would be more reliable to the cultivator than opium. In the cultivation of opium it is not the ryots who get the profit, but the Government chiefly, and those who are between the Government and the cultivator—I mean the under native officials. The Government gets a large revenue from the sale of opium when they purchase it at Rs 4 or Rs 5 per seer, and sell it for Rs 16 to Rs 20 per seer

Q.—You spoke of some of the minor officials getting *bukhsheesh* ?

A.—I mean the Native underlings

Q.—Are you acquainted with the method in which the *bukhsheesh* is given ?

A —I cannot say in *what way it is given*, nor *who they are personally*. I only give my impression from what I have heard that they do get presents from the Opium Department to induce the cultivators to lay out their fields in poppy cultivation

Q —I have understood as a fact that those persons are paid partly by salary and partly by commission. In that case the commission would be what you call *bukheesh*?

A —It may be so

Q —Then you spoke of the advance being the bait, and that it was the order of the Sircar to cultivate the poppy?

A.—Yes, that is my impression

Q —An order implies compulsion, bait implies inducement.

A —Yes

Q —Do you think it is both?

A —I think it is both, but the money given in advance is the most potent factor

Q —Do you think any evil consequences would follow if the cultivators disobeyed the order?

A.—The tehsildars are under the Collectors, and the patwaris, the men who are paid by the zemindar and partly I think by the Government to look after the produce of the fields, would make the existence of the ryots unendurable if they did not obey the order

Q —If these minor officers are paid partly by commission, they have a direct pecuniary interest to induce the cultivators to cultivate the poppy. Have they such powers of annoyance that they can compel the cultivators to cultivate the poppy against their will?

A —Yes, I am sure of that

By Sir James Lyall —Q Do you know that the tehsildar has nothing to do with the cultivation of opium?

A —But he has to do with the collection of the revenue

Q —Is it probable that the tehsildar will take trouble to annoy the cultivators?

A.—I don't remember that I said that the tehsildars would take interest directly with opium affairs. I said they would have the power if they wished, of annoying them

By Mr Wilson —Q.—On that point, do I understand distinctly that you have yourself conversed with cultivators in Monghyr, and that you have formed your opinion from them ?

A —Yes , but the men I spoke to may be dead and gone, and I cannot produce them

Q —These tehsildars have no direct connection with the matter, but it is in the minds of the people that somehow or other they will suffer ?

A —Any request made by Government officials, whether European or Native, are to the ryots of India an order or *hukum* of the Sircar, and they are afraid to disobey

Q —What I want to know is if the tehsildar has any direct connection with opium Is it the impression of the people themselves that in some way or other the tehsildars can annoy them ?

A —He could if he wished I believe the people think so

Q —Now, about the opium-smoking dens, you read portions of your diary Can you give us the date ?

A —It is dated 13th January, 1893

Q —Do you happen to know whether that was before or after the cancellation of the circular ?

A —I think it was before the cancellation of the circular I am not quite decided

Q —Do you know whether the cancellation of the circular would be publicly notified ?

A —I cannot say It did not apply to Bengal It was a N-W P circular

Q —Do you understand why the distance of twenty-two feet was especially mentioned ?

A —I cannot say, but that was the measure given to me

Q —You don't know whether it is any particular Indian measure ?

A —I don't know that it is

Q —Do I understand that the place in which the men were smoking was on the opposite side of the road, as compared with the shop in which the *chundoo* was prepared and sold ?

A —The shop was on one side of the road, and the smoking den on the other They were both let to the same man.

Q —Do you know whether the smoking den was used previously for the same purpose ?

A —I cannot say

By Mr. Pease Q —Can you tell us whether there were women and children in the den ?

A —There were no women, there were some young men, and they said one bad woman came there in the evening

Q —You alluded to the pressure put upon the ryots by the Government Do the zemindars interfere with the cultivators, and put pressure upon them as to the crops they should cultivate

A —I have no doubt they do The land belongs to the zemindar, it is only sublet to the ryots The zemindar is all-powerful over his ryots

Q —What would be the zemindar's object ?

A —Perhaps he would have more profit by the cultivation of opium than from other crops

Q —Would he be able to make that a condition in tilling the land ?

A —I doubt it

By Sir William Roberts Q—I think you have been over thirty years in India ?

A —Yes

Q —What classes of society would you most mix with ?

A —I have mixed much more among Hindoos than Mahommedans, among the better classes as well as the poor and distressed

Q —What is your impression as to the distribution of the opium habit ? Is it very common among Mahommedans in India ?

A —It is more common among Mahommedans than Hindoos

Q —What proportion of the adult Mahommedan population do you imagine eat opium ?

A —I cannot give the precise proportion, but I think I would be safe in saying that twenty-five or thirty per cent do so

Q —Would it be more among the poorer and lower classes that opium eaters would be found ?

A —I think it is more among the upper classes, they can afford it better

Q.—Did it have evil effects upon them ?

A.—I did not see much of the evil effects on them.

Q—Then, in regard to the prevalence of opium-smoking as distinguished from eating, is opium-smoking more prevalent now than when you first came to this country ?

A—Recently opium-smoking has been put down by the order of the Government, and that has diminished it somewhat, but before, the habit was increasing

Q—But when you first came to India and mixed with the people you did not find opium-smoking so common ?

A—No, I am very clear on that point But opium-eating and drinking was much more prevalent in India than smoking

Q—Your impression is clear as to the smoking of *chundoo* Do they make *chundoo* in India ?

A—Yes, the opium is simply boiled with a little of the ashes of the opium scraped from pipes I have seen the whole process They use it fresh from the pot in which it it boiled, they use it right off

**Evidence of Mr. G. H. Rivett-Carnac, C. I. E., F. S. A.,**

Of the Indian Civil Service, Opium Agent of Benares, thirty-five years in the Indian Civil Service, from which he will retire immediately, and for the last eighteen and three-quarter years in charge of the Benares Opium Agency

By the President —Have you any observations to make on the effects of the opium habit upon those who are referred to ?

A—No cases of the demoralising effect of the opium habit have come under my personal notice The opium cultivators, so far as my observations go, do not indulge as a class I may say, in explanation, that one has not many opportunities of ascertaining when one is on tour, and unless one is a medical man, one cannot say from the look of a man whether he is an opium-eater or not I am not an expert on the subject, and cannot speak with any authority as to the proportion of those who do and those who do not take the drug The factory establishment is generally presided over by a medical man I have made enquiries from him as to whether men upon the establishment use opium, and I have verified the point that they do not. There are cases, undoubtedly, but the number is few

Q—What is your observation with regard to the population of large cities ?



A —I know and believe that opium-eating does exist in large cities, and my opinion has always been that it is an accompaniment and general consequence of vice

Q —You have had experience on the management of the transport-train whilst Special Commissioner on the Bengal Famine Relief in 1875 what did you notice at that time?

A —In the case of my own servant who, I understand, is an opium-eater, I had occasion to go into camp in the N W P, under extraordinarily exceptional weather Both Europeans and natives in camp felt the effects of the change in the weather very severely, and this man was the only man who really stood the inconveniences and stress of the weather, while in charge of the transport train, there were a large number of coolies, mules, and ponies used for the despatch of grain During that time I constantly saw men who, I was told, took opium, and I was informed by the European officers under whom these men worked, that several took opium, and that the opium helped them over their troubles

Q —In that work, do you consider that the men who took opium seemed to be fortified for the work they had to do?

A —So far as my own opinion goes, it certainly helped some of them

Q —We have heard a good deal of the fact of the administration of opium to young children

A —My evidence cannot be worth very much on this point, I can merely say that the women of this country cannot believe that the use of opium can be bad, for those who administer opium to their young children, are as affectionate and devoted mothers as will be found in any country, and it would seem to indicate that the use of the drug is not believed to be injurious I have not been in the run of the regular administrative service, and, during the last eighteen and three-quarter years, my appointment has rather been that of a merchant, managing a large trading firm, paid by the Government, and I do not think anyone would accuse me of being over-official in my views As one who is just about to leave India, I have absolutely no personal interest in the matter, and I do not speak from the point of view of an interested official As a tax-payer, and as one having a stake in the solvency and tranquility of this country, I regret the enquiry by Commission in India at this stage, holding that no case has as yet been made out by exhaustive enquiry and convincing evidence in China that the results of the trade are as injurious and demoralising as represented by the Anti-Opium party The feeling of many is that to risk unsettling India now, and to incur expense by the presence of an influential Commis-

sion, which is popularly believed to threaten interference with a use of the drug in India, and to menace a valuable source of revenue, to which the people have been for ages accustomed, and which they regard with satisfaction, is unnecessary, unfair, and impolitic, if not indeed actually dangerous. It is not unlike placing a man on his defence for murder, and involving him in all the expense and anxiety of a criminal prosecution, even before the death of the supposed victim has been substantiated by the necessary evidence. And the sense of injustice is liable to be intensified by the possible feeling that the interests of India are being sacrificed to what many regard as a palpable Parliamentary manoeuvre. This opinion has been put before me by a large number of men with whom I have been in communication, and, to a large extent, I agree in these views.

Q —Supposing the present monopoly was abolished, do you think it would confer any benefit?

A —I believe that if the Anti-Opium party had carried the attack against the monopoly, I should, for the very first time in my life, have been within measurable distance of making a fortune. If the Anti-Opium party had persuaded the Government to do away with the monopoly, I believe there would be hundreds of opium companies formed at once, and I have no doubt I could realise a very large sum of money as a promoter and possibly managing director, as my experience would be of considerable value, and I should be able to select officers, Native and European, to work it.

Q —As to the monopoly system, have you anything to offer in defence of it?

A —As regards the monopoly, I consider that it is covered by the main question whether, according to the views of the Indian Government and the tax-payers who are directly interested, it has been fully established that the opium cultivation and trade are indefensible, and should therefore be prohibited. The main question indicated above regarding the effects of the trade should be fought out first. If the main position is carried, it will then be quite unnecessary to consider the question of the monopoly. I am in no way selfishly interested in defending the opium trade or the monopoly as against other schemes for raising a revenue from opium. As regards the latter point, too, the same remark applies to those employed on the monopoly staff who have long worked with me and whose interests I should naturally desire to protect. Were a change effected, these officials would either be pensioned, employed in other departments, or their services would command a high price in the trade, as hav-

ing special experience in all necessary details As interested in the country, and in the people with whom I have long worked, I am prepared to defend the monopoly I understand that the system and working of the monopoly are not so much assailed, as its principle Evidence as to the satisfactory working of the Department should, perhaps, come not from the Department itself, but from outside, and I believe that the whole body of officials and non-officials residing in the tracts to which the monopoly extends, the Government of the North-West Provinces, and the planters, merchants and the cultivators themselves would all bear witness to the careful, considerate, and successful working of the Department. Complaints have indeed been made by the cultivators to the highest authority against me personally But these have not been for attempting to force cultivation, but for restricting it I am prepared to advance unhesitatingly that official compulsion to cultivate the poppy is unheard of, and that the district administrative staff takes no part in the operations of the Opium Department The cultivator is undoubtedly encouraged to sow by the assistance of advances, but this system, save that the advance bears no interest, is identical with that which has been found necessary from time immemorial in indigo, and in almost every similar transaction with the Indian cultivator, or manufacturer, who has little or no capital at command

Q —As regards the economic arguments, have you anything to say?

A —I fully realise that the position is open to attack on economic grounds, that the monopoly is declared to be un-English and opposed to all the principles of free trade and that the tax is crushing in its incidence. There are also certain other economic objections to a revenue from opium, which do not directly affect the question of the monopoly, and which do not call for notice in this memorandum At the present moment I am speaking more as a defender of the outworks of monopoly, of which I am placed in command, and upon which the attack is directed by the Anti-Opium party One of these says it is not wise to depend upon the opium revenue, but this is no part of the opium argument

Taking briefly the economic objections, the speculator has undoubtedly the serious grievance that what he considers a mine of wealth is closed to him, whilst the merchant complains that the severest possible export duty is imposed, thus checking the development of the trade Many taxpayers hold that the Government does not make the most of the splendid capabilities of a prolific source of revenue, which could be largely increased without touching those resident here, and that thus the tax-payer is not

so much relieved as he might be, whilst the Government foregoes a revenue which might be utilised in much-needed developments to advance the material progress of the country. The cultivator, too, supposes that if the trade were thrown open, he might obtain a much higher price for his produce than he now receives.

Q—Do you consider that the monopoly system tends more to discourage the trade than the system of free trade?

A—In my opinion it does not, though so far as I can see, that view is now generally accepted by the Anti-Opium party. For a long time in their publications, the key of the position seems to have been the monopoly, there has been a sudden change in their position, and I am prepared to say so far as I can learn from what has passed lately, that that attack is perhaps likely to be diverted.

Q—It is publicly stated by those who represent the movement that they don't themselves distinguish from a moral point of view, between the Bengal monopoly and the other system which prevails in Malwa, but the Bengal system has been singled out for special criticism in England.

A—I understand from Mr Alexander's evidence that the attack has changed front. Some of those who oppose the monopoly on moral grounds hold, it is understood, the strongest objection to the direct connection of the Government with the trade, and, had as they consider the trade under any conditions, would much prefer what is known as the Malwa system to that now obtaining in these provinces. An examination of existing conditions will, it is hoped, establish the fact that the monopoly affords the most effective means of keeping the consumption in India and the foreign trade in check, and that the economic objections raised to the system are the strongest proof of the existence of well-considered restrictive measures. Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer) pointed out that in direct proportion as the economic objections to the monopoly might be removed, the moral objections would be intensified in degree. The Government has, during a long series of years, failed to remove these economic objections, and serious though they may be in the eyes of those interested, their maintenance protects the interests on the opposite side. The monopoly system is, in fact, a compromise between throwing open the trade to the public and prohibiting the trade altogether. If, then, the cultivation and trade in opium be not altogether prohibited, the monopoly should receive the strongest support of the Anti-Opium party.

By Sir James Lyall — You are merely giving your own evidence, not speaking on behalf of Government?

A.—I was ordered by the Government to come as a witness, but I do not represent the views of the Government

By the President —I understand that the monopoly is not a system of recent introduction, but that it is an inheritance from the distant past. It may be desirable to have upon record a concise statement of the history of the monopoly

A —With your permission, I will read out what I have drawn up upon the point —

In the note presented, under the orders of the Government of Bengal, to the Commission, it is indicated that full information regarding the history of the opium trade and of the monopoly will be found in the Dictionary of Economic Products of India, by Dr Watt, and in the 1st Vol of the Report by the Opium Commission. Although it is undesirable to burden this abstract with any detailed account of this history, it appears necessary, before explaining what are considered the merits of the monopoly now existing, to invite attention to the circumstances under which the present system in this country grew up under native rule, and was later admitted in a modified form as part of our revenue, and thus to attempt to dispel the prejudice against the system founded on certain incorrect notions of the supposed original invention by the Government of the monopoly. It is popularly supposed that the cultivation of, and trade in opium was introduced into India by the East India Company that these British traders first imposed the use of the drug on the many nations of this country, and afterwards upon the Chinese, and that the opium monopoly is one of the many sins to be debited to the commercial greed of the defunct East India Company. No views could be much further from the truth than these. The cultivation of the poppy and the trade in the drug are traceable to times far anterior to our connection with this country. The Portuguese found the Arabs and Hindoos trading in opium with the Chinese and Malays. The earliest British merchants, who were a hundred years after the Portuguese, found these, together with the Dutch and others, engaged in a remunerative commerce in opium with the Straits and further Asia. Under the Moguls, our predecessors in the Government, opium, like salt, was an Imperial monopoly. Although, as in the case of other valuable crops, such as sugar and tobacco, a special rate was generally levied on the fields, the poppy was cultivated everywhere in Bengal without restriction, as we

found it later in Assam, and as until recently was the case in the Punjab Bengal opium from the tracts to which the monopoly now extends had a high repute, and was a valuable article of commerce. The right to manufacture and sell the drug was farmed out to the highest bidder, when the East India Company took over the administration of Bengal, they took over with it the existing revenue system of which the monopoly was a part. As Dr Watt notices in his valuable work above alluded to, the monopoly is "a hereditary gift to the British successors of the great Mogul Emperors." The Mogul system continued in force until 1797 when, in consequence of the flagrant irregularities of the contractors and the serious grievances of the cultivators, the deterioration of the drug and the danger to the trade by adulteration and other causes, it was determined to abandon the contract system and to bring the cultivation and manufacture under the direct management of a Government department on the system which has obtained ever since.

The system as it at present exists is, therefore, no grasping invention of the greed of the East India Company, but one of those judicious adaptations of existing methods to the circumstances and interests of the country and the people, which have ever been the secret of our administrative success in India. Whether, instead of introducing this system, the East India Company would have acted more wisely in throwing open the trade, will be seen from a later paragraph of this note, in which the objections to a change are indicated. Under the monopoly, the trade has admittedly increased, as has all trade under our rule. But that it is not greater than it now is, is undoubtedly in a measure due to the policy above indicated.

Examining the merits of the monopoly more in detail, it may be held to present certain advantages from a moral standpoint which are obvious demerits in the eyes of those who regard it from a different point of view. It enables the Government to limit the cultivation to certain districts, to restrict the cultivation in those districts, and thus to restrict consumption both at home and abroad. Undoubtedly, it also provides the Government with the means of stimulating production. Whether the action in the past has always been right or not, there can be no question of the monopoly to check the export trade should this be deemed necessary. A much stronger hold than could otherwise be obtained is furnished over the excise trade. The monopoly is the severest and most repressive fiscal burden that could possibly be imposed on the trade in opium, and levies the export duty with an undeviating maximum.

severity of pressure, which is certainly against the expansion of the trade. It admits of the trade in other localities being steadied, and prevents a larger, cheaper, and inferior class of opium being provided from elsewhere. The occasional extensions of cultivation have probably these results.

Q.—Turning to the practical results of the monopoly system, what effect has it upon the cultivator?

A.—As regards the cultivator, the advantages claimed for the system are that he is now safeguarded from the many troubles to which experience has shown he was subjected in the past. To him is ensured fair dealing, an advance when he most requires cash, a fixed and remunerative price, and a solvent and certain purchaser for his entire crop, besides many minor advantages, all of which combine to make the cultivation undoubtedly popular. His interests are guarded by an experienced and considerate department, the members of which have no selfish interest in results, and whose sympathy can be relied on in a season of failure and distress.

Q.—Turning to the landlord classes, what advantages would they derive?

A.—The system is a security to the landlord for his rent to the Government for its land revenue in the districts where the poppy is cultivated. The Government system detects and checks the adulteration of the produce, and ensures a high quality of drug and standard of manufacture, and a high price which the rich alone can afford to pay. It provides for the Government a considerable, and, on the whole, steady revenue, the pressure of which save so far as the local excise is concerned, in no way touches its Indian subjects. Taxation is relieved thereby, and the material progress of the country rendered less difficult.

Q.—Sir William Muir and others urge that in Bengal the monopoly system should give place to the Malwa system?

A.—In my opinion, if this were done, the probable result would be the increased cultivation and production of opium in India and elsewhere. The area available for food-grains would be reduced. Powerful and influential vested interests would grow up. The cultivation and trade might thus get entirely out of hand, and could only be checked by a crushing export duty, which the powerful trading interests that would be created might successfully oppose. The cultivator would suffer by the change. The trade would be highly speculative, the trade might not be able to afford to give a steady price, and might fail alto-

gether in a year of difficulty. The cultivator would in all probability be again exposed to many of the dangers the removal of which was one of the objects of the introduction of the present system. The Government revenue would undergo certain risk and disorder, possibly great loss, whilst, at least, uncertainty would be introduced into the finances, which in the present state of the country would be most undesirable and unwise.

Q—How would you compare the export duty with the profits obtainable from auction sales?

A—An export duty cannot be compared in efficiency with the auction sales, which automatically adjust monthly the highest possible rate of duty, and against which, as the price rises and falls, there can be no cause for uncertainty or complaint, as is now always the case when the pass duty is altered. It would be impossible to levy a duty on Bengal opium equal to that now raised by the monopoly. The present Malwa duty falls much below that which Bengal opium virtually pays. That this is the case is proved by the success of the "Malwa excise scheme" introduced at the suggestion of the writer of this note. The probable loss by a change to a pass duty has been estimated at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions Rs. Extensive and expensive preventive establishments would be necessary, a portion of the existing establishment would have to be pensioned, both involving expense. The standard of manufacture would probably fall, the mark and credit of the produce would be affected. China would be inundated with inferior opium, and the trade would eventually suffer. There would be a boom in speculation, and great inducements to smuggling, accompanied by all its well-known certain demoralising results. The change could do absolutely no good to the cause of morality. It would do certain harm to India by unsettling and reducing the revenue, and by necessitating increased taxation, which under any circumstances is undesirable, but especially in the furtherance of views the correctness of which is not acknowledged by the Indian tax-payers, and with which they have but little sympathy. I would mention, in explanation, that a table was drawn up many years ago, giving the Malwa duty and calculating out what that duty represented towards the Bengal traffic. At the Benares opium sales a few days ago, Rs 1,086 was realised per chest, and from calculations made by Sir John Strachey, some years ago, it appears that Rs 1,093 paid for Bengal opium, is represented by a pass duty in Malwa of Rs 900 per chest. At present it is Rs 600, so practically the Government gets Rs 300 less for Malwa than for Bengal opium.



Q—Do you see any analogy between the system you have been advocating, and what is called the Gothenburg system in regard to the liquor traffic?

A.—It may be suggested that the system, as at present existing, is, so far as internal consumption is concerned, similar to the Gothenburg system in respect to the liquor supply. Supposing that system to exist in England, it would be out of the question to believe that the advocates of temperance would, with a view to the ultimate prohibition of the trade, desire to see the system give way to one which would throw the trade into the hands of the brewers and the publicans and other influential opponents, with whom the battle would have to be fought out at a later stage, when immense vested interests had been established.

Q—Have you any general remarks to make upon the moral aspects of the question?

A—As regards the moral stigma that is supposed by some to attach to the Government and to its servants from their direct connection with the monopoly, it is to be remembered that neither the Government, nor its officers, nor indeed the mass of thinking people in Europe, to say nothing of the population of India, have as yet been convinced of the correctness of the views put forward by the Anti-Opium party. Officers in India, with the evidence before their eyes of the beneficial effects in many cases of opium among the Natives of this country, cannot be expected, without the most convincing proof, to think of tampering with a source of revenue the merits of which are known to the people here from long years of experience of its successful working, and which is grateful to them on account of the relief afforded from what would otherwise be necessary and have taxation. The Officers of the Opium Department, even had they misgivings on the subject, would have some satisfaction in the fact that the best and wisest men who have for more than a century past governed India with remarkable fairness, ability, and success, have recognised the merits of this source of revenue. And did the Officers of the Opium Department need to be re-assured, they certainly feel that in administering the department with care and consideration, under the orders of the Government they serve, they really aid in restricting consumption, whilst at the same time they are the means of assisting in keeping the cultivators prosperous and contented, and in contributing to earn for the country and the people a large revenue, which has been undeniably used with most praiseworthy result in advancing the material progress of India.

Q.—You began your evidence with some remarks upon what you called the political considerations connected with the appointment of the Commission do you wish to say anything further upon that point?

A—I wish to say something upon this point, because I have been in districts where there has been definite trouble I came out after the mutiny, but this year, for the first time since the mutiny, there have been European troops marched into all these districts, and, this, I say, is exceptional. Commanding as I do, Volunteers, and being in communication with large numbers of Europeans, I have had many opportunities of knowing and seeing that the state of the country is not so satisfactory as it has been for many years past, and, for that reason, I cannot help regretting that anything should be done, which may possibly further unsettle things. I desire to invite the attention of all who are interested in India to the political danger which may attend the Anti-Opium agitation. The present season is specially inopportune for any action which may cause misapprehension and anxiety throughout the country. Indian finance is just now at ebb-tide. The political barometer is not steady. Although the views and motives, and the unselfish aims of those earnest and devoted men who lead the Association are understood and honoured, even by those of their countrymen who do not agree with them, still it is not to be expected that these aims will be equally apprehended and appreciated by the masses in India, whose interests will be affected by any change in existing systems. The reform demanded comes before the Indian public with the strong support of various Missionary and Religious Societies, whose action is often regarded by the Natives of this country with suspicion and distrust. One of the reasons advanced for the prohibition of the Indian opium trade is the obstacle offered thereby to Missionary success in China, and it is sometimes urged that, in the interests of Christian progress, the Government here is bound to take action even at a great sacrifice of revenue. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the case against opium has been conclusively made out, which few in India will allow, and supposing the above contention to be entirely correct from a Christian standpoint, it is to be remembered that the people who would suffer by the change have not as yet accepted the tenets on which this argument is founded, and are not interested in the progress of Christianity in China or elsewhere. What may possibly be regarded by the masses as a taxation in the interests of Christianity in China, may also be viewed with suspicion as only the first step towards similar efforts in India, and the entire reversal of those promises and that judicious policy which have

long helped to keep India quiet and contented. By the Anti-Opium party it will doubtless be held that even the suggestion of the above views is exaggerated and far fetched, and that the position in India is clear and well defined, and distinctly affirmed by Her Majesty's Proclamation. On the latter point there cannot be any sort of possibility of doubt in the minds of all reasoning persons. But, for all this, the danger of misconception is not materially reduced. It is not only with the educated and the sensible that Government here has to deal, and there remains the danger of misapprehension in the minds of the suspicious and ill-educated masses from an agitation which is admittedly based on what we declared to be the claims of Christianity. No sensible person ever supposed that the rumour that agitated India in 1857 regarding the greased cartridges had any real foundation. Still its effects are written in history. And it is hardly too much to say that the incautious action of well-intentioned enthusiasts in this delicate question, to which a distinct religious colouring has been given, and which is liable to arouse no small interest throughout the country, may, besides embarrassing the finances, have possibly the much more dangerous effect of disturbing the political balance of Her Majesty's Empire in India. So far as I understand the Anti-Opium party now, they say "Oh! ho! England is going to pay!" Of course if this is the case, it entirely cuts away any arguments based upon possible discontent owing to increased taxation.

If the Anti-Opium party wants us to relinquish this revenue, we cannot do it without a valuable consideration, and the consideration they offer is apparently a sort of promissory note offered by the Society. I may be allowed to say that that promissory note does not seem to have the sort of signatures upon it which are necessary. All we have is a bill in the name of the Secretary of the Society. As far as I can understand, the Secretary of State for India altogether declines to put his name to the back of it, and as I read his speech, the Prime Minister does not seem inclined to put the name of the people of England upon it. We heard that, at a meeting held at Norwich, several gentlemen passed a resolution, and were inclined to put their names to it, but I do not think anyone in his senses would consider that bill, as it now comes before us, a negotiable security, or that it represents any very enormous sum of money.

Before giving up our present arrangements, we should like to see how many demands upon the Government of India would be met, without resorting to increased taxation. The satisfactory thing would be for the Anti-Opium Society to get the Government or the people of England

to provide the money. Then let them come before us with proofs of the real horrors in China, and put the money down. I do not think there will be great trouble. It may be asked, "How much will that sum be?" You go on without giving us any idea of what is wanted." But, as I have said before, it would be no good going to the people of England, unless the Chinese case is proved by more conclusive evidence than what we have before us. If the Chinese case were proved, then, possibly England would put down some sum. An enormous sum would be required to be put down and capitalised to avoid making the India people suffer additional taxation to make up the present revenue of five or six millions. Then, there would be the Native States. I understand that it is proposed first of all to pay them, and this sum would be an enormous one. Then, consider the policy of compulsion. We, who have been out here a long time, know what compulsion would mean. The sum spent in that compulsion would probably very much exceed the sum which would have to be capitalised to pay for the loss of revenue. That compulsion, a distinguished officer in Central India wrote years ago, would mean fire and sword, and it would not only be fire and sword, in that part of the country to which compulsion would be applied, for, if you once began with fire and sword in one part of India, the fire and sword would spread. I wish to lay stress on the cost of this, which would mean an enormous sum. For, consider, first of all, you try persuasion, and, if that does not succeed, the necessary compulsion, which to my mind means making the people do it whether they like it or not. Dealing with them by force of arms will not be paid for by England, there must be increased taxation, and if you put on taxation on the grounds recommended, you may have very great trouble.

By the President — You are merely discussing the thing upon hypothesis?

A — I say distinctly that, if the proposed taxation were put on for the reasons described, you would have trouble in this country. I believe this is the opinion of nearly everyone, European and Native, in this country.

Q — By Mr Wilson — Will you describe the actual method of dealing with cultivation?

A — First of all the Government must permit, through the Board of Revenue, cultivation in a district. They intimate to me that licenses may be given by me in a certain district. Then I give an intimation to the Native clerk that I am prepared to give licenses in a certain district.

this notice is generally sent verbally There is a Native subordinate who is called a zilladar He is a Native living in those parts and has charge of a certain number of villages The intimation comes from me that opium is to be cultivated That decision is made by me upon orders I receive from the Government of the amount of opium which will be required for the next season. I then make an estimate of what I can get, and tell the officers in those districts to send up statements as to what they will be able to do Then my orders are given as to whether they are to estimate for 20,000 or 500 bighas They give notice to the Native staff, and at a certain time these Native officers go into the interior of the districts, and cultivators in that part of the country under a certain number of zilladars come in and make petitions to be allowed to cultivate, each man so many bighas The officer has to make up his account of how much each man will take of the land Forty or fifty men may come up to be allowed to estimate, he selects whom he thinks are good men and strikes out the bad men Licenses are then granted, and without these licenses men cannot cultivate

Q —In these applications is any definite quantity of land mentioned ?

A —A definite quantity of land One man may say he will take up half a bigha, another quarter of a bigha There is a system which has greatly increased in popularity, and that is dealing directly with cultivators In other days they would come up with their *lumbardars* Now we get the cultivators coming themselves I consider it immensely better In old days appointments were made with *lumbardars* now cultivators have to deal directly with Government The opium officers give the men licenses to cultivate a certain quantity Then at the same time he gets an advance varying in amount He takes the money, goes home and attends to work to get his field ready About this time of the year he looks after the cultivation In the course of time opium officers come round and measure it, This takes place about January or February The poppy is ripe at the beginning of the hot weather, it is collected and the cultivators bring it to the central place where the weighing takes place Here after weighing each man gets five rupees per seer Before he is paid the advance he has received is deducted from the sum due The weighing officer cannot state exactly what the amount is

Q —At what place do the weighments take place ?

A —We have so arranged our weighments that men have not to come more than a distance of fifteen to twenty miles, in the old days they used to come sometimes a hundred miles. After buying the opium as

sealed up in a jar and sent to Ghazipur. You are aware that in opium there is a certain amount of moisture, and the Government pay the men five rupees per seer upon a standard of seventy per cent, which means that there is seventy per cent of solid matter and thirty per cent of moisture, and for this he gets five rupees per seer. If his opium is only fifty per cent he only gets fifty per cent out of seventy per cent of five rupees. The men cannot tell exactly what the percentage is, so he makes a rough estimate of it, and sends the opium down to the drying factories at Ghazipur and Patna. In these factories you have things they call steam tables with scales. A certain amount of opium is weighed out, it is then put on the steam table which evaporates the moisture. It comes back to the district officer, and after settlement he takes what is a small balance called *chukky*. The balance of the advance remains in till next year and if there is a bad year the chances are the balance remains unpaid for four or five years. Sometimes they are let off altogether.

Q—According to the condition of the Calcutta stores, according to the condition of trade, and the amount the Government desire to sell within the year, the amount increases or decreases?

A—I don't know that, they only tell me "cultivate so much." You had better ask the Government that. That is a secret locked up in their hearts. They tell me they want so much and I believe it depends very much upon the stock in Calcutta.

Q—The Government intimate to you what they want, and you increase or decrease cultivation accordingly?

A—I make a rough calculation and make up my mind to allow so many bighas to be cultivated.

Q—Is the opium grown all alike or is there any difference in the quality?

A—We buy everybody's alike, it depends upon the system, if one cultivator is better than another, he brings a larger outturn. All people do not care about cultivating it, as something else pays them better. A year's bad crop causes many cultivators to get disheartened, and they give up the cultivation.

Q—Is there in your opinion anything in the nature of pressure or compulsion to induce men to grow any quantity?

A—There is absolutely none, I should punish it severely if I found it out. We are what you may call middle men in the Empire. We have got a party which has nothing to do with the Government of India and

the Government has nothing to do with the district officers. If the independent party were in any way oppressed I should be immediately handed up to the Government.

Q.—Is not it human nature that the lumbarbards should try to get as much as possible out of his portion?

A.—As a general principle it is so. I think it is possible, but very improbable. Officers go about so much that lumbarbards would be sure to get into a row, get caught and severely punished.

Q.—Have you had to deal with such cases?

A.—Never, I have had most serious complaints made against me to "Queen Victoria." The complaint was that I, as the opium-agent, would not allow them to grow it. This can be proved to the hilt. There is absolutely no compulsion brought upon them.

Q.—By Sir James Lyall.—How can lumbarbards force men?

A.—It is only possible they may do so.

Q.—By Mr. Wilson.—In the fourth paragraph of your statement you express regret that the Commission was held because there was no case proved from China. Some people regarded that as having been settled in 1891.

A.—I read the opinion of the Prime Minister who stated most distinctly that he never had any such resolution.

Q.—The resolution was carried by 160 against 130 votes?

A.—I don't know the numbers at all. I remember what the Prime Minister said and distinctly understood that the matter had not been settled, and I also understood the Speaker to say that the matter had not been settled. There has been no confirming evidence sufficient to make it desirable to give up this source of revenue.

Q.—Who do you mean by the people of India?

A.—I understand there is a very strong feeling in India, including a large number of Native Gentlemen, that they are not convinced that the state of affairs in China has been proved to be so dreadful, or that a sufficient case has been made out for giving up this large revenue. Educated Natives speak most plainly to the effect that this has not been proved.

Q.—You wish us to understand that the people whom you mean do not agree with the House of Commons?

A.—I am not speaking of the House of Commons, I say that the opinion expressed by a very large number of people in India is that they

do not consider the case has yet been proved in regard to China, and that before giving up the large revenue and possibly embarrassing the country, they would like to see the case thoroughly proved by insisting upon an enquiry in China

Q — *By Mr Pease* — You have made some allusion to a change of front by the Anti-Opium Society I think it fair to say that in 1886 they issued a document in which they objected to the trade falling into private hands

A — I was under the impression that the Anti-Opium Society only objected to the monopoly

Q — There are deputy opium agents Who are they selected from ?

A — They came in originally as assistant opium agents, and are appointed now by selection and competition, and nomination for vacancies These nominations are in the hands of the two opium agents, the Government of Bengal, and the N - W P Government These four have an equal share in nomination Then young men come up for examination, and if there are three vacancies, the three first men come in and they are gradually promoted

By Sir James Lyall — Q — Your duties are confined to superintending and managing the grant of licenses to cultivators and giving advances ?

A — Yes

Q — I understand that Mr Hopkins and you are sent up by the Government as witnesses for the details of work ?

A — That is correct

Q — You are in no way selected to defend the monopoly or express the views of the Government of India upon the points raised by the Parliamentary Commission ?

A — Absolutely none at all, I believe we were practically sent here to afford any information we could give

Q — I believe the Malwa cultivator gets a little more than the Bengal cultivator ?

A — I think that is quite correct

Q — *By Mr Fanshawe* — The Rev Mr Evans alluded to tehsildars, has a tehsildar any power over cultivators ?

A — Absolutely none but I do not mean that a man cannot get hold of him by personal efforts

Q — If any Native subordinate of the opium department put any pressure upon the cultivators you would know of it ?



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A.—I think it most probable, but I really do not know how they can put pressure

Q.—The zilladar or civil officer is the man who may put pressure ?

A.—Yes, and also bigger Native officials who may put pressure

Q.—By Mr Haridas.—You were employed in the Bombay Presidency ?

A.—Yes, I was Cotton Commissioner, and in settlement operations, I was very often brought into contact with the people

Q.—Can you tell us the condition of the cotton and opium cultivators in the monopoly districts

A.—I knew the cotton cultivator in his best days when he got a great deal of money and when they were well off I think the opium cultivator is always very well off, because often the very best class of cultivators in villages take up this cultivation I think an average opium cultivator is better off than a cotton cultivator

Q.—In the monopoly districts do the cultivators come to the opium officer or do the opium officers go to the cultivator ?

A.—What we do is this we send opium officers out to extreme points on certain dates and the cultivators come in to them I do not mean to say that the zilladars do not encourage them to come in.

Q.—By Mr Mowbray You do not delay in any way in communicating with the cultivator and middle men through the head men, and the only advantage which the land owning classes enjoy from the cultivation of opium is better security for his rent because the tenants are more likely to be solvent ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Is there any smuggling ?

A.—I think it very likely that the middlemen get a little opium from the tenants and it is difficult to detect It is difficult to say whether there is very much, but it would be wrong to say there was none People keep back some opium in small quantities for medicine, and for their cattle We have caught men bringing excise opium from the N.-W. Provinces and carrying it down to Calcutta, the reason being that the excise price of opium is much larger than in Benares If these smugglers have to go to the excise to buy, they must find a difficulty in cultivating it themselves You may have to buy it at Rs seventeen per seer when it can be sold at Rs fifty-seven. Another difficulty is that

we have constantly caught people carrying pony loads of opium pottery a long distance Opium pottery is this, during the season hundreds and thousands collect the poppy, this is collected and put into little round dishes When they get home they scrape it out and place it in a circular pot. The whole of these dishes containing a certain quantity of opium are then carried hundreds of miles off and sold If they go to all this trouble it cannot be easy to smuggle It would be absurd to pretend that they do not get a part

Q —What proportion of the Deputy Officers are English ?

A —They were all at first English, but some years afterwards the tendency of the Government was to throw open the department and appoint the best educated men in the country Young Englishmen coming out have very little chance against their competitors educated in the country During the last few years we have appointed a few Natives A percentage of one out of three The Subordinate establishment are all native

Q —The price paid to cultivators is the same every year ?

A —It is occasionally changed Since I have been there it has been changed three times It was raised from Rs 4-8 to Rs 5, it was reduced again to Rs 4-8, it was again raised to Rs 5, and that is the rate now This was due entirely to the Board of Revenue and the Government of India It has to be sanctioned by the latter Raising and lowering the prices is a mystery which is in the hands of the Government

Q —Do the cultivators place all their lands under opium, or cultivate cereals on part of their lands

A —Cultivators only place a small piece under opium A man puts say a quarter or a sixth under opium, with which he intends to pay his rent, and the rest he cultivates, as a rule, with grain for himself and his cattle

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

Part V. 24th November, 1893.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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**Mr. A. F. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India.**

Q—Will you state, in order that it may be placed on the minutes, what your position is?

A—I am Secretary to the Government of India in the Financial Department. I attend this morning for the purpose of producing, on behalf of the Government of India, five papers, of which copies have already been handed in to the Secretary to the Commission. The first is a statement of the public revenue and expenditure in British India under all heads of account, the second is a note regarding opium produced or consumed in India, the third is a note regarding the arrangements with the Native States regarding the opium, the fourth is an account of previous proposals for placing the Government monopoly of the cultivation, manufacture, and sale of opium in Bengal, the fifth is a reprint of a report and statement on a report on opium in Western China by Mr W. D. Spence, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, dated 11th April, 1882.

The President intimated that as the members of the Commission had not had time to study all these papers which had been in the hands of the Secretary for only a day or too, and Mr Finlay desired that the statements contained in those papers should be the evidence-in-chief on the part of the Government of India, with reference to the various matters dealt with in these papers, it was proposed to reserve till Monday or Tuesday next the explanations which Mr Finlay might wish to give in answer to questions which might be put to him by any members of the Commission. Mr Finlay said he also produced the papers relating to the confidential circular issued in the North-West provinces, in the Abkari Department, regarding the smoking of *chundoo* in clubs or dens which the Commission desired to have.

**Baboo Ram Darlahh Magumdar's evidence.**

By Mr Pease—Q—Will you state your position and occupation?

A—I am a pleader of Nowgong in Central Assam, and have experience, with regard to the opium question, of the Assam people generally, over a period of eighteen years. As a pleader I have had opportunities of meeting persons of every nationality and of every

creed, caste, and colour; we have our domestic labourers and servants from people of the Hindu and aboriginal tribes

Q.—What is your experience with regard to the consumption of opium?

A.—A large number of persons consume opium in the district in which I am. Smoking is prevalent among the *Mahies* and *Hazais*.

Q.—What position of life do the *Mahies* and *Hazais* occupy?

A.—They are a barbarous people, and live mostly on the hills. Smoking is not prevalent among people of position, but the eating and drinking of opium is.

Q.—Can you give us an idea of the percentage of the adult population who have the opium habit?

A.—It would be about twenty-five per cent of the whole population, including foreigners.

Q.—Can you give us an idea as to the age at which the opium habit is contracted generally?

A.—They begin the habit at the age of sixteen or eighteen, when they are in a position to earn money. Some are taught to eat opium in early childhood, some take it as a cure for rheumatism, and also in cases of dysentery.

Q.—Can you give us any idea of the people who take opium as a cure for disease?

A.—No, I cannot.

Q.—Have you information that it is given by mothers to their children?

A.—Yes, in the district in which I live, women form the greatest portion of the labouring community, they do seventy-five per cent of the domestic and field work, and they give small doses of opium to their children to keep them quiet while the mothers are out at work.

Q.—Have you information as to those who have acquired the habit ever giving it up?

A.—I know the case of a pleader who is a neighbour of mine, he was in the habit of smoking opium, but he gave it up.

Q.—Are there many who give it up?

A.—People find a difficulty in doing so, and do not give it up unless compelled. Many take it to excess.

Q.—What proportion of their income do habitual consumers spend on opium?

A —From ten to twenty-five per cent

Q —Do you find that there is any tendency to increase the dose ?

A —Yes, those who have acquired the habit increase the dose

Q —What is the effect on these people of the consumption of opium ?

A —The people are growing weak and indolent, and are unfit for much physical labour. There is a vast difference between those who take opium and those who do not, in their physical appearance

Q —Is opium assumed to be a protection against fever

A —I have never heard of it

Q —Can you tell us of the complaints for which opium is used ?

A —It is used for rheumatic pains, and some times in cases of diarrhoea.

Q —What is used as a preventive of fever in malarial places ?

A —Quinine and chinchona. As far as I know, opium is never prescribed for fever

Q —Do you think it is necessary for the working classes to take opium to enable them to do their work

A —No, I don't think so

Q —Is the habit of taking opium looked upon as disgraceful ?

A —Among the rising generation it is considered discreditable

Q —Do you mean that it is a disgrace to young people to take it ?

A —Young people who are being educated look upon it as disgraceful

Q —What is the effect of the licensing system on the sale of opium in Assam ?

A —I think it operates rather as an inducement to the people to take opium. Licenses are given so freely that opium is placed at the very doors of the people. In the district of which I am speaking there are about two hundred licenses, if not more

Q —Have you any suggestion to make with regard to the course Government ought to take in regard to the granting of opium licenses ?

A —The licenses should be reduced to as small a number as practicable without giving much trouble to those who want it

Q.—Do you think the law has been fully carried out in your locality ?



A.—I think it is carried out—I mean the opium law.

Q.—Have you any suggestion to make with regard to the prohibition of smoking ?

A.—Smoking should not be allowed on the premises of licensed shops. If it could be stopped altogether, it would be a very good thing

Q.—Is it your opinion that the sale of opium should be prohibited except for medical purposes ?

A.—I think it should be ; but I don't think it practicable in the present state of the country

Q.—Have you any suggestion to make with regard to a substitute for the loss of revenue ?

A.—Tobacco should be taxed, it is extensively used, and is a luxury.

Q.—Have you anything to say in regard to the way in which opium can be sold for medical purposes ?

A.—Licenses should be used under the strict supervision of the police, and the licensees should keep a register of the people to whom they sell the opium in the same way as is done under licenses for the sale of arms and ammunition. If practicable, certificates should also be registered from medical men

Q.—Should there be any supervision over those who should be licensed ?

A.—I think police supervision would be sufficient

Q.—Are you aware whether there is any smuggling in your district ?

A.—There is no smuggling of opium into the district. I have heard of cases of smuggling in other districts

By Mr Wilson.—Q.—You refer in your printed statement to some thing which you call black fever. What is that fever ?

A.—It is called malarial fever by medical men, and is extensively prevalent in the district

Q.—Is Nowgong a large place ?

A.—It is a small town, and is the head quarters of the district.

Q.—You say that people smoke and eat opium in the licensed shop in Nowgong. Is that done in all the shops ?

A.—There is only one opium shop in Nowgong. It is a *chundoo* shop.

Q.—Is there any arrangement somewhere in that shop by which the people can lie down and smoke *chundoo* ?

A.—They smoke it in the shop or hut where the *chundoo* is sold. The whole place consists of a single hut.

Q.—If I went there to buy *chundoo*, should I see people smoking there ?

A.—If you buy at the shop *outside*, you will not see the smoking, but if you go inside the hut, you will see it.

Q.—How many smoke there at a time ?

A.—About twenty or twenty-five.

Q.—You say smoking on the premises should be stopped. By whom should it be stopped ?

A.—By the authority of the Magistrate.

Q.—Does not the law now prohibit the smoking of opium on the premises ?

A.—No it is understood that they should smoke on the premises.

Q.—But there may be a difference between the law and the practice. Are you aware of any law prohibiting smoking on the premises ?

A.—No, I am not. The Opium Act of 1878 and the Chief Commissioner's Rules do not prohibit it. As a pleader, I get cases of breaches of the opium law, but I never heard of a prosecution for smoking opium on the premises.

Q.—Could a prosecution be instituted ?

A.—I don't think so. If it could, the police would have taken the matter in hand.

Q.—Are you acquainted with the Blue Book on the Consumption of Opium in India ?

A.—I have read parts of it.

Q.—Have you seen the statement made there by the Commissioner of Excise in Assam under date the 2nd December 1890 (page twenty-eight), in which he states positively that there are no opium smoking dens there, and that opium is not consumed on the premises of licensed vendors that there is no room into which a purchaser is entitled to enter, or into which he can go and rest, if so inclined, and that as there is not a single opium den there, it is not necessary to make any change in the law.

A.—Yes, but that is qualified by a letter from Mr Luttman Johnson, Commissioner of the Assam Valley District, to the Chief Commissioner

of Assam (page thirty of the same book), in which he says, speaking of the proposal to make a change in the law, that opium is often smoked on the premises, that he would not mind closing those shops, as such a measure would make no change in the habits of the people; that the few people who visit those shops were chiefly foreigners, and would be able to make their own arrangements for smoking

By Mr Pease —Q —Are you aware that by a resolution of the Finance Department dated 25th September, 1891, the Government of India directed that when a license expires, a clause should be inserted prohibiting the consumption of opium on the premises in any form. Therefore if licenses have been issued in accordance with that resolution the owners of the licenses are breaking the law by allowing smoking on the premises?

A —At the time of sale the purchaser of a license is not told that he is not authorised to allow his customers to consume opium on the premises

Q —Is it not stated in the license?

A —I have not seen the licenses.

By Mr Wilson —Q —The passages I have read to you from the Blue Book show that the Excise Commissioner speaking of the whole Province said that the consumption of opium was not allowed on licensed premises, but Mr Luttmann Johnson, Commissioner of the Assam Valley District, speaking of one portion of the Province, said that there are many shops in which the smoking of opium took place, what have you to say on the point?

A —I say that Mr Luttmann Johnson was right, at least in respect of the town of Nowgong

Q —In reply to question twenty-five, as to the desirability of prohibiting the sale of opium except for medical purposes, you said that the people would be indifferent. I don't understand how you say it is not practicable, and yet that the people would be indifferent?

A.—The population as a whole would not object to it, only those who consume would raise a cry

Q.—Then with reference to smuggling, if there is any smuggling, where does the smuggled opium come from?

A.—In the district where I am, I am not aware of any case of smuggling into the district

Q.—Then, what do you know in reference to Calcutta and the N.-W. Provinces.

A.—I have heard of cases of smuggling into the province of Assam, and I have heard that the smuggled opium comes either from Calcutta or the N-W Provinces. Opium is cheap in Calcutta, but the price in Assam is Rs thirty-seven per seer. There would be great gain by selling it retail.

Q—Do you consider the district of which you are speaking, a very malarious district?

A—Yes, it is.

By Mr Mowbray—When was it that you saw those shops where there were people smoking opium on the premises?

A—Some time in August last.

Q—What did you say in answer to Mr. Wilson with regard to the price of opium in Assam?

A—In Assam opium is sold by the Government at Rs. thirty-seven per seer.

Q—That is the price at which the licensed vendors buy it from the Government, and what is the price at which they sell it?

A—They sell it at from Rs forty-five to Rs fifty per seer. The price has increased lately. It has increased by Rs five per seer this year. I am speaking of the price to the consumer charged by retail vendors.

Q—You say that licenses are given too freely. You are aware that the number of licenses in Assam has been very much reduced during the last ten years?

A—I should think that the number has not been reduced very much. It had been reduced from 208 to 197 or 198.

Q—Are you aware that, according to the figures furnished to us by the Government of India, the number of shops for the retail sale of opium has been reduced between 1883 and 1892 from 1,380 to 866, and that the number of shops for the retail sale of *madak* and *chundoo* in Assam has been reduced from thirty-seven to sixteen?

A—I cannot say. There was only one shop in the town where I live, and it is there still.

Q—Assuming the figures which have been put in by the Government of India to be correct, do they not show a considerable reduction in the number of licenses during the last ten years?

A.—They show a reduction, but there is still room for further reduction.

Q.—You told us there would be no general feeling against prohibition, do I understand your remark to apply to opium-smoking only, or to opium-eating as well?

A.—It applies to opium-smoking and eating. The majority of the population will not mind the prohibition

By Mr. Fanshawe —Q —Have you any experience of district life or is your experience confined to the town of Nowgong ?

A.—I have not much experience in villages

Q —What length of standing have you as a pleader ?

A.—Thirteen years in that district. My experience is mainly limited to the town of Nowgong itself and to the district. There is very little difference between the town and the interior of the district. The people residing in the town are as much cultivators as those in the interior. Nowgong itself is something like a village

Q.—Have you had the means of ascertaining the views of those who consume opium ?

A.—They would be against the prohibition.

Q —I think you said that quinine is ordinarily used as a preventive against fever ; whence do the Assam people get the quinine ?

A.—If they went to the charitable dispensary they would get it free of cost

Q —You are not aware that the Post Office has lent its aid to the Government to sell quinine at the Post Offices ?

A —I am not aware that that is the case in Assam

Q —Is there any likelihood of the people taking largely to quinine ?

A.—I cannot speak positively on that point

Q —You say that there is no law against opium-smoking on the premises of licensed vendors ?

A.—I think so

Q —Do you mean that there is no order of the Government in the Excise Department directing the prohibition ?

A.—In the Opium Act there is no provision, and I am not aware that there is any Government order on the subject

Q.—What is ordinarily smoked in Assam, is it *madak* or *chandoo* ?

A.—I believe it is *chandoo*

Q.—What you referred to was this particular shop where there is smoking of opium ?

A.—Yes.

**Evidence of the Hon'ble R. D. Lyall, C. S. I., Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.**

By the President —Q—For how long have you served in this country and in what districts ?

A—I have served in this country for over thirty-two years. Most of my service as a young man was in East Bengal, in the districts of Backergunge, Tippera, Faridpur, and Dacca. In this last district I served nearly sixteen years as Assistant Magistrate, Subdivisional Officer, Joint-Magistrate, Collector, and Officiating Commissioner.

Q—What opportunities have you had of forming a judgment as to the effects of using opium, did you see anything of the Chinese ?

A—When Subdivisional Officer of the Munshingung subdivision, Narayanguge, which was then largely frequented by Chinese junks, was under me. I also, as Collector, kept excise administration in my own hands. Subsequently, after my return from furlough, I was Inspector-General of Police for about three years, and Collector of the twenty-four Pargannas and Officiating Commissioner of the Presidency Division for about two years. I was then for nearly seven years Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, and after my return from second furlough, I was appointed Commissioner of the Patna Division, whence I was transferred to the Board of Revenue, where I have been in charge of among others, the Excise and Opium Departments. I have thus knowledge, more or less, of the whole province, but chiefly of East Bengal.

Q—What is the opinion you have formed of the effects of the habit upon those who use it ?

A—My experience is that opium is far the least hurtful of the three principal sources of excise revenue in Bengal, viz., opium, ganja, and alcohol. As regards its effects on the natives of the country, I hold the moderate use of opium to be beneficial in a malarious country like Bengal, and cases of immoderate use are very few and far between. Nor does even immoderate use of opium cause such bad effects as the immoderate use of alcohol. I can assert that I know no case in all my long residence in India in which I can say that I believe the death of any native has been due to immoderate habitual use of opium, while I know very many cases in which death has been due to the excessive use of alcohol. A native who takes to alcohol, more particularly in its European forms, almost invariably takes to it in excess. This is not the case with opium, among Bengalis at least. It is said to be different with Burmese, but

from what I saw of them in Chittagong, especially in the Cox's Bazar subdivision, I was not able to come to the conclusion that in this respect Burmese differed from Bengalis. When I was Subdivisional Officer of Munshingunge, and later on Collector of Dacca, many Chinese junk<sup>s</sup> used to come to Narayangunge, and I studied the effect of opium on the Chinese sailors. Some of these took opium in very large quantities and used to lie in a state of stupefaction, but next day these men were fit for their work, and did just as much as the abstainers and moderate smokers. This greatly impressed me, as I had come out with the usual ideas one gains in England that opium ruins a man body and soul, and I was so fully convinced that opium did these men no harm, that when I was Collector of Dacca, I proposed that they should be allowed to buy a see, each man to take with them for the homeward voyage, and this was sanctioned. I think De Quincey is largely responsible for the general acceptance of the view that opium is so very harmful, and possibly when it is taken in the form of laudanum it is more deleterious, and creates a greater craving than when taken, as it usually is here, in pills

Q — What is the effect of opium as regards its leading up to crime?

A.—Opium never leads to crime of any kind so far as my experience goes. It does not make a man quarrelsome or violent, but calms and soothes him, and in this respect its effects differ entirely from those of alcohol and ganja

Q — What is the real effect of opium from a medicinal point of view?

A.—The use of opium in Bengal is to a very large extent medicinal. It is used to keep off fever, and is the only excised article which a good Mahomedan can use for this purpose. It is, therefore, largely used in the malarious districts of the Burdwan Division, in Orissa, in Chittagong, Murshidabad, Rungpore, and Malda, and also in Calcutta and the districts round it. The consumption in Calcutta is very large, partly owing to the number of Chinamen here, partly owing to their being a larger number of immoderate consumers here among the Mahomedans than elsewhere, but also because it is more largely used by the respectable classes of natives, chiefly by men over forty, than it is in the mofussil. This is generally done under medical advice, and no stigma attaches itself to the consumer's character. I may mention, as showing that connexion with the Opium Department is not held as involving any moral stain on those serving in it, that the son of Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, the great Brahmo reformer, and brother of the Maharani of Kuch Behar, and the son of Mahamahopadhyaya Mohesh Chundra Nyaratna, C I E, Principal of the Sanscrit College, and an orthodox Hindoo, are both in the Opium

Department There are also two Mahomedan gentlemen of good family in the Department

Q — What is the use of it as a physical enjoyment? .

A — I consider its effects very limited indeed. Ordinarily I should say that its consumption in Bengal is in no way immoderate.

Q — Do you think it possible that opium may be taken in limited quantities as an indulgence, in the same sense as wine, without moral harm?

A — Such are my views

Q — What do you say in regard to the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium being prohibited

A — With reference to the argument that we forced opium on the Chinese, I think that is pretty well exploded. Mr. Alexander, in his evidence on the point, has chiefly referred to matters of ancient history. Now, Indian opium is simply used in China as the higher class Havana cheroots are used in England, or as Indian tea is used along with China tea. In the first case the Mandarins of North China and Peking use the more expensive Indian opium, just as a rich man at home smokes an expensive cigar, and in the latter it is used to bring up the quality of the indigenous opium, but its use in this respect is steadily declining, owing to the improvement in the home-grown drug, and I am informed by men who know China that, whereas formerly seventy-five per cent of Indian opium was ordinarily required to mellow the indigenous drug, twenty-five per cent now suffices to produce an equal article. The Indian drug is a milder and less harmful drug than the Persian, containing as it does less morphia and more narcotine. I confess I fail to see any immorality in such a trade, and the opponents of the present system seem to be on the horns of a dilemma. If opium is bad, then surely it is better to have it under Government control and to restrict the production, as is now done, while if it is good, then why this outcry against it? Even if, for the sake of argument, it be allowed to be possible to forbid the growth of opium altogether, such prohibition would be a gross political error or even danger, but it is impossible to allow it to be grown for medical purposes, and for no other.

Q — Do you think that actual prohibition would lead to smuggling?

A — I believe that total prohibition and prevention for anything but medical purposes would lead to smuggling, and it would be impossible to draw the line between medical and other purposes. Such half-and-half restriction would simply lead to smuggling, and it would also be



impossible to draw the line between its use for medical purposes and for pleasure only. In place of opium shops we should have the retail of opium by *hakims* and *kobirajes* and *pansaris*, and supervision would be more difficult than at present. Total restriction would mean smuggling from Native States and increased use of alcohol and *ganja*—both, as I have already stated, more hurtful than opium. Sir Ashley Eden, than whom no better authority exists, said that the cost of a preventive service would be absolutely prohibitory.

Q.—What would be the political effect of abolition?

A.—I hold further, that in a political point of view total prohibition would be so dangerous, and would alienate so large a body of Her Majesty's subjects in India, as to be impossible. No good Mahommedan can take spirituous or fermented liquors, while he may take opium. If opium is prohibited, the opium-consuming Mahommedans will be driven either to spirits, to take which is contrary to their religion, or to *ganja*, which is physically more injurious. The dissatisfaction would be enormous, and I am not prepared to say that, fanned as it would be by professional agitators, it would not amount to disaffection and require the presence of more British troops in India. It would, in fact, arouse much the same feelings as any real attempt to "rob a poor man of his beer" would do in England. There is also another danger, not confined to any class, and that is, the total inability of the Native mind to grasp the fact of the possibility of the present agitation being without some motive. They cannot conceive that any body of intelligent human beings can go in for a crusade against what they have always held to be a harmless article out of which a large revenue is realized without their being called on to pay it, and not have some motive in the background, and in this case the motive is supposed to be the spread and increase of the sale of imported European liquor. The same idea was started when the discussion took place in Lord Mayo's time, and is referred to in Sir E. Baring's (Lord Cromer's) note and it was mentioned to me the other day by an intelligent Native gentleman.

Q.—What do you think would be the disposition of the people of India with reference to restriction as regards its use for non-medical purposes?

A.—I think people would object to this restriction. My experience, as above stated, is chiefly in East Bengal, but I have seen a good deal of Sikhs, Goorkhas, and other opium consumers, particularly Goorkhas. In the Lushai Hills Expedition, opium was regularly served out to the opium consumers, and the men who consumed it did the same work as

their comrades, and bore the hardships as well, if not better. One great advantage of opium in campaigns, as compared with alcohol, is its small bulk and consequent easy carriage. Thinking natives of India say with truth, What right has England, which raises so large a revenue from spirits, wine, and beer, to come and try and stop our comparatively innocent equivalent? and any legislation in this direction would be viewed with great disfavour.

Q—Should the prohibition policy be adopted, there would be a serious loss of revenue, money must be had to carry on the Government, and this would mean increased taxation, what view do you take in reference to the disposition of the people to accept that alternative?

A—On this point there is, I believe, absolute unanimity. Even the few organs of public opinion that favour prohibitive measures, say that the loss to the revenue should be made good by economy here and by reducing the home charges, but the utmost economy could not produce five to seven millions, and that sum would be required, or, in fact, more in case the dissatisfaction amounted to disaffection. The bulk of the people of India are poor, not poor in the sense of the poor in England, but living from hand to mouth, though in a state of fair comfort and with very few hopeless paupers, and being thus poor, they cannot stand direct taxation which is also specially bad in India because so much of direct taxation fails to reach the State coffers. The only alternative would be to double the salt tax, and I fancy the strongest anti-opiumist would hesitate to propose this. In his evidence Bishop Thoburn has suggested a tobacco tax. This would be a most expensive tax to realise, and it would fall on exactly the same class as the salt tax. Almost every man, woman and child in India consumes tobacco, and if taxation of this kind is to be unposed, it would be infinitely better to double the salt tax, which is easily collected at a minimum of cost. I fail entirely, however, to see the equity of prohibiting men from using opium which they are willing to pay for, and taxing non-opium consumers to make up the deficit. There are some who, while willing to see opium grown and exported, object to Government having more to do with this than the mere levy of duty, and such would have Government withdraw from all active participation in the growth and manufacture of opium and deal with Bengal opium as Malwa opium is now dealt with.

Q—I believe you came prepared to make a statement with reference to the Bengal monopoly system, but it is not necessary that I should trouble you upon the point, as I understand that the view of those members of the Commission whose opinion in this respect we are specially

bound to consider is that that monopoly is not so much objected to as the opium traffic itself. You were present when Mr Alexander gave his evidence, and if you desire to do so, you may have this opportunity to make any observations in regard to that evidence

A.—I do desire to add a few words regarding Mr Alexander's evidence. In the first place, I would desire to put on record the fact that has, no doubt, attracted the attention of the members of the Commission that his evidence deals very largely—in fact almost exclusively—with ancient history, more especially as regards the attitude of China. Next, I would note that paragraph thirteen of the memorial identifies the Society's objects with the spread of Christianity. The Government of India is a government by Christians strictly pledged to religious neutrality, and it would be most dangerous and opposed to the most solemn pledges of Government in any way moved from this attitude. Mr Alexander also stated that excise opium was more intoxicating than medical opium. The opium is the same, the only difference being that the medical opium is selected, and that it is dried in the laboratory, and not in the sun. The reason of Indian opium not competing with Turkey opium in England is that the price paid even for Turkey opium in England is less than the price realized in India for opium. If we competed, the price of Indian opium would be lower than that of the Turkey drug, as the Indian opium contains less morphia. With regard to farming licenses, I would only remark that in practice we find it impossible to put on a sufficiently high selling price in some districts. The range is from Rs sixteen per seer in the Patna Division to Rs thirty-two in Orissa. Communications have so improved that smuggling is easy, and the profit on a seer bought at Patna and smuggled to Calcutta is Rs twelve. In Chittagong, with the help of the farming system, the price in the south of the district has been raised as high as Rs fifty to seventy. That was done to prevent smuggling into Burma. Another point that requires notice is that, so far as I could understand, the Anti-Opium Society has not distinguished between the smoking and the eating of opium, as I think it should have done. All the arguments regarding China refer to smoking, and not to eating. In India, opium is almost entirely eaten, and all that has been said really relates to eating, not smoking. I also desire to draw attention to a memorial from the Rev. Mr. Phillips, which was sent to me by the Government of Bengal. I desire to make a few remarks upon it. The note, as originally drawn up, contained two extracts from a private letter, and which I now desire to withdraw. A revised statement has been circulated.

Mr Wilson pointed out that this was very unusual. They were supplied with copies of the memorial, and it was immediately afterwards withdrawn; consequently he had not read it. He would like to have an opportunity of looking it over before questions were put on it.

By the President—I shall not ask you any questions on it to-day, on Tuesday we may do so.

Witness continued—I have to add one or two words with reference to the evidence which has been given since. About the decay of old Mahomedan families, which was referred to, I desire to say that the decay is not peculiar to Moorshedabad, and extends all over Bengal. To my certain knowledge, the decay is due to their lagging behind the Bengalis in education, and in their general ability to conduct their own business. Most of the old families allow their estates to fall into the management of the more cultured Hindu, who gradually ousts them. I do not mean to say some are not opium eaters, but the general decay of the Mahomedans is due to their falling behind the Hindus in the race for life. Another point I wish to mention is that it has been said that dispensaries can supply opium to all Bengal. From the last report on charitable dispensaries in Bengal, it appears that, in the year 1892, there were only 282 charitable dispensaries, and out of these seventy-two were private, with which Government had no connection. I fancy that these would not be engaged in selling opium, this would leave 205 dispensaries for all Bengal. Another point which has been raised in Mr Evans' evidence is that the ryots object to cultivation. I can only say that no pressure is put upon any ryot to cultivate, and that yearly, I may almost say daily, I receive petitions from ryots against Sub-Opium agents for refusing to give them licenses. Instead of getting petitions objecting to cultivating, the petitions are almost entirely from ryots who complain of their not being allowed to cultivate.

By Mr Pease—Q—You remarked that was used to keep off fever, and that it was the only excised article used for that purpose by Mahomedans. I suppose they have no difficulty in using articles that are not excised?

A—That is why I put in the word “excised.” Quinine might also be used, but there is very strong prejudice amongst natives against its use, because they think it gives them a headache.

By Mr Wilson—Q—You say in the first page that opium is largely used in the Bakergunge, Dacca, Faridpore, and other districts, and Orissa. are these malarious lands?

A—Some of the most malarious lands

Q.—Yet the price in Orissa is Rs. twenty-two per seer

A —The price is fixed with reference to the facilities with which smuggling can be carried on. Orissa is most remote from the opium-producing districts, and it is most difficult to take it there. The price, therefore, is higher than in Bengal. I may add that we have had a strong representation from the Assam Government to raise the price at Rungpore and other districts, and the Government of Bengal has so far been unable to accede to the wishes of the Assam Government, simply upon the ground that the facilities for smuggling are so great that raising the price would lead to smuggling.

Q.—Is it not an anomaly that the price in Orissa, which you say is a most malarious district, is exceedingly high?

A —Exceedingly high, in one sense of the word. If you buy one dose, the price is very little, and you must remember that the doses taken are perfectly infinitesimal. The ordinary amount which is taken is so small, that it would be laughed at in England. If you look at the statistics, you will see that in the whole of Bengal the expense, per head, is only 0.88 of a rupee.

Q.—The fact remains that it is just twice as high in Orissa as in Patna?

A —Just so, we are obliged to keep it down at Patna, because there it is grown and if the price were high, there would be smuggling.

Q.—Doubling the price makes a difference to the Government, but it makes no difference to the people?

A —Not very great, as the people can still get enough for the purposes they require.

Q —You say that the opponents of the present system would find themselves on the horns of a dilemma. I suppose you know they would say that if it is bad, it should be done away with?

A —As I said before, I think it would be too dangerous to give up this source of revenue. I do not think any Government of India would care to do away with the production of opium.

Q —You also say that any measures of a prohibitory character would be viewed with disfavour by the people, do you think the people view the restrictive legislation with disfavour?

A —Most distinctly so, I believe that if they were polled, they would vote for universal production all over the country. We have no such thing in India as the poor of England. The poor in India, ordinarily, are poor men, but not poor men in the sense

of the English poor They have not much, but the country is one in which they can live in comparative comfort So that the state of the very poor is different from that of the poor in England We have not that class of the poor to deal with that we have in England.

Q — You refer to the *Opium Manual* ?

A — Yes, it consists of three bulky volumes

Q — If fever is prevalent in a district, Government sends medicine into it ?

A — Yes, I think so

Q — Do they also send opium

A — Government does send out medicines, but what I do not know

By Mr Mowbray — Q — You have a system of druggists' permits, please explain what the system is ?

A — They are allowed to have a small quantity of opium, so much as they may reasonably use in their legitimate business, but not to sell for any but medical purposes

Q — Do they get these licenses at a cheaper rate ?

A — They are of a form altogether different from the vendors' licenses, and they have no right to vend opium alone

Q — And therefore they pay less ?

A — Yes, the whole of these statistics will be put before you by the Excise Commissioner

Q — Have you any reason to suppose that the system is abused ?

A — Not at present, we are restricting it to some extent, but I don't think it is abused

Q — I suppose these druggists don't profess to supply all the opium required for medical purposes ?

A — Nothing like that, they don't supply a hundredth part

Q — If you extend the system, there would be some risk of abuse ?

A — If you extend the system, every kobiraj, hakim, and baid, in every village would require licenses

Q — In regard to retail prices, can you give us any details ?

A — No, it depends very much upon the license fee

Q — The result of the difference between the Government price in Patna and Orissa is that the increased profits go to the person who happens to reside near the manufactory ?

A — No, it is sold very cheap in Patna, where the license fee is almost nothing, so that the opium is sold at almost the same rate as the

Government retails it You see that only Rs 538 was obtained in Patna for license fees

Q.—Practically you find yourself compelled to sell it very cheap in the districts where it is grown?

A —Yes, we are compelled to do so

By Mr Haridas —Q —The crop is a very paying one?

A —Yes

Q.—The ryots get an advance and get a double profit upon it

A —They get the advantage of advances, and during favourable years the crop is very paying But during the last three or four years the crop has been a bad one, but even in bad years it pays better than the ordinary crops Opium is essentially a garden crop, grown close to the men's houses

Q.—Is it not an injustice to the ryots who grow other crops not to get advances?

A.—Any man can get an advance who undertakes to cultivate this crop. Advances are made for no other crops

Q —Is it not an injustice to other cultivators?

A —If you will call it so

Q —If poppy is the only crop for which advances are made, it is the only crop on which you fix a price?

A —Yes, the only one

By Mr Fanshawe —Q —Does the poppy crop occupy the whole ground?

A —I know no case in which it occupies the whole ground, only an infinitesimal part

/ By Sir James Lyall —Q —The price to the consumer in Chittagong has been raised to fifty Rs or seventy Rs?

A —Yes

Q —Will you explain how the price was raised?

A —I was Commissioner at the time, and received a strong representation from the Burma Government as to the smuggling of opium from Chittagong into Burma, 114 maunds of opium being consumed in one year in the Cox's Bazaar sub-division, while the real consumption could not have been over twelve maunds The only way to stop it was to raise the license fee, and we made them pay license fees in proportion to the number of seers they took, which raised the price enormously, fixing an almost exceptional rate

Q —In the districts where the Government price is low is the farming system used?

A —Yes, the result of this is to raise the price to the consumer.

Q —The object of raising the price to the consumer by the two ways mentioned is I understand, to prevent the opium vendor from smuggling?

A —Yes

Q —Have you come across any instances of Government officials being discharged or degraded for the alcoholic habit?

A —More than once ; a good many. When I was Inspector-General of Police, I had to deal with more than one case

Q —Have you also known of any instances of discharge from the opium habit?

A —Never, not even a Native

By Mr Pease —Q —Do you see any disadvantage in closing *chundoo* shops?

A —Not further than interfering with the liberties of the subject. In Calcutta I don't think it can be done, because there are so many Chinese here; but in the Mofussil, I don't think it would be a very great hardship. It is the most harmful method of taking opium.

By Mr Wilson —Q —A number of persons are refused permission to cultivate from time to time?

A —Yes, because opium is a garden crop

Q —Also because the Government don't require so much of it?

A —Yes.

By the Maharajah of Dharbhunga —Q.—Is the poppy cultivated simply for the sake of the opium manufacture, or is any other use made of it?

A —The ryot, in addition to what he receives from the Government, sells the poppy seed at a high rate. This yields about thirty-six seers per acre, and besides this, the stalks are used as manure. There is one thing I should like to add. I only saw this morning a publication, which has put forward the very strong indictment against the use of the poppy, that no less than 77,378 seers are used in Bengal in the year. I must say these figures look very big; but reduce them to totals and deal with them in reference to the population, and you will find that the yearly consumption of the adult male population of Bengal amounts to seven-tenths of a rupee in weight in the year. This is the weight every adult consumes, and I do not think that it is very much



Evidence of Mr. Hoskins, examined by Sir James Lyall.

By the Chairman.—Q—I believe you are a civilian of 32 years' standing, and are now Opium Agent at Patna, and have been so for the past six months ?

A.—Yes

Q.—I don't propose to take you through the whole or question you in detail as to the Agency System, but are there any points on which you specially desire to offer any observation ?

A.—There is only one point of difference in the Patna Agency as compared with the Benares Agency, and that is that I pay commission to Jamadars, and that the *assamari* system is not so much in force in Patna as in the Benares Agency. It is a system by which advances are made frequently to cultivators

Q.—From what you have seen in your long experience, do you think that the people who take opium habitually, generally end by taking it in excess ?

A.—I have never come across a case of excess in opium during the whole of my career

Q.—Have you known cases in which officials have been dismissed or disgraced in consequence of the alcoholic habit ?

A.—I cannot say I have, I don't recollect any.

Q.—From the opium habit ?

A.—No

Q.—Is there in your opinion, any cause for prohibiting the use of opium in these provinces except for medicinal purposes ?

A.—No, certainly not

Q.—Can medical use be distinguished from non-medical use ?

A.—No, opium is used medicinally, at first, for insomnia, irritation of the nerves and malaria, I believe

Q.—Do you think any system for the use of opium medicinally only, could be properly worked ?

A.—I don't think it could. I do not see how any such provision could be made because the consumption of opium amongst people of over fifty is very considerable.

Q.—What do the Natives of these provinces think of prohibition ?

A.—I do not think that they think about it at all, they have heard of it but they can give no opinion on the subject, they cannot understand it. They all, I may add, say that opium is of such general use

that it would be impossible to prohibit its consumption, and that it would be a great hardship to do so

Q—Would the people in your part be willing to bear a part of the cost of prohibition ?

A—Certainly not.

Q—Is there any part of your Excise System which ought to be altered on moral grounds

A—I do not consider the opium shops can be altered, and the opium licensee very generally sells as a *moodi*. The opium vendor in the agricultural tracts generally sells as a *moodi*, but that is not the case in town

Q—What do you say is generally the size of the circle in which there is an opium shop ?

A—I should think about fifty square miles

Q—Do the same classes generally use both opium and alcohol ?

A—No

Q—If they use the one, they do not use the other ?

A—No, alcohol is used by the lowest classes, opium by the upper classes. Alcohol most considerably by those of the writer class if belonging to the better class

Q—If the use of opium was checked would some other stimulant take its place ?

A—Certainly.

Q.—Can you give us any information of the magnitude of the interests bound up in opium in your district ?

A—For these I refer you to the statement appended to my note. The number of licenses collected in 1882-93 was 637,157 and the sum disbursed over eighty lacs. It is impossible to say how the withdrawal of this amount would affect the country, but it would mean a very considerable reduction in rents. Eighty lacs represents to the poor ryots of this country what £4,000,000 would represent to the British labourer and small cultivator.

Q—By Mr Pease —You state in your note that you have met with no case of the use of opium for non-medical purposes

A—I meant to say that it commences with the medical use, and is continued

Q—Do you mean to say that apart from opium altogether, poppy cultivation would pay if there were only the seed ?

A.—Yes. The poppy seed is used for the manufacture of oil and is largely used for cooking purposes in India.

Q.—Poppy cultivation would pay if there was no opium grown.

A.—Yes, every seer of opium produces some two maunds of poppy-seed, and twelve seers of this seed can be sold for Rs 37/8

Q.—So that the money the cultivators would get for opium would be clear gain and profit?

A.—Yes, though sometimes there is only two seers of Poppy to the bigha, and then it would not

Q.—If a cultivator is refused a license to grow, does he pay less rent?

A.—It would very much depend upon the crop

Q.—The Zemindar would reduce the rent if any other crop was grown?

A.—Most probably, but I cannot say for certain.

Q.—We were told by Mr Rivett Carnac yesterday that the Zemindar has no interest to put pressure upon the ryots?

A.—That may be in the N-W Provinces but in Behar there is the Permanent Settlement

Q.—Can a Zemindar raise or lower rents according to whether a particular cultivator gets permission to grow upon his land?

A.—If the *assamari* ryot sowed poppy upon land the rent would be raised usually a third, if it was not grown I imagine it would be reduced. Poppy lands require four or five years' cultivation to come into thorough bearing.

Q.—Do you receive from year to year official intimation as to the amount of land which should be devoted to opium?

A.—The quantity of opium to be produced. We are forbidden to exceed the average of the area of the previous five years. I think within the last three or four years there has been a reduction of ten per cent all round.

Q.—Was there enhancement of rents or not?

A.—For poppy cultivation? I do not know.

Q.—By the Maharaja of Durbhanga.—There is a special rate on poppy lands?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is it not the customary rule to rent lands according to its quality and not according to the crop?

A —It is so.

Q —Therefore, if the tenant chooses to grow poppy, the landlord cannot ask for enhanced rent?

A —That is a point of law, I cannot say. Poppy land is already charged high, and poppy and tobacco lands are about the same.

Q —If the cultivation of the poppy is stopped, the ryots could ask for a reduction?

A —I suppose it depends upon the crop itself

There is one point in connection with the opium monopoly which has probably escaped notice, that, it enables cultivators to improve their holdings, in spite of the Zemindar, who, as a rule, opposes all improvement, for fear the ryots should be entitled to compensation

Q.—By Mr Fanshawe —Explain what you mean.

A —Improvements are registered under the Bengal Tenancy Act, and if a ryot, who makes these, is ejected, he is entitled to compensation. For instance, we get him to make a well, the money is advanced without interest, the ryot makes the well. This constitutes an improvement, and if he is ejected, he is entitled to compensation

Q —By Mr Pease —During what period are these advances repaid?

A —I am not aware

**Evidence of Doctor Maynard, medical officer in charge of the Patna Opium Agency.**

Q —By Sir William Roberts —Before you assumed charge of your present office, what services had you in India?

A.—I was in the Punjab, the N-W P, Behar, with Native troops of all ranks, over 5000, and of all classes. They were Sikhs, Rajpoots, Dogras, Hindustanis and various Punjabis

Q —In this opium factory, how many are employed?

A —The maximum number employed was 2,758 and the minimum number 606.

Q —Altogether you have had experience of different kinds?

A —Between these two services, I was in civil employ, as civil Surgeon of Burdwan and Nuddea. These are particularly malarial districts, so much so, that, in Nuddea, the population between the two last censuses had decreased over 30 per cent from malaria

Q —Have you had any opportunities of judging how for the opium habit prevails?

A.—I think it is always difficult to form an opinion as to how many men take opium, unless some effects are apparent. I know that troops

have the reputation of being opium-eaters; but I know that they don't exhibit any ill effects from it.

Q.—Is opium served out to them ?

A.—On active service, it is , in cantonments it is not served out

Q.—In these regiments did you observe any ill effects from opium ?

A.—I can only remember one man, a Sikh, who was an opium-eater, to a rather larger extent than usual. He took about thirty grains daily, and mostly he was stupid, so much so, that it was decided to pension him

Q.—Can you say, from the looks of the men who took it, that there was anything like disease ?

A.—No; I have been surprised to find men pointed out as opium-eaters, but I could not say they were so

Q.—Did you see anything in the shape of disease ?

A.—No, certainly not

Q.—In reference to your other experiences of the effects of opium, did you observe a considerable consumption of opium amongst the people ?

A.—No, certainly not. As far as the factory hands were concerned, I don't believe they consume opium. One sees them all day long, their duties are severe, and one would catch them trip, if they did consume it, but it is unknown in fact. I have made very searching enquiries from the officers of the factory, but I could not hear of any case of opium-eating amongst them

Q.—There are malarial districts about Burdwan and Patna ?

A.—There is a certain amount in Patna, but not so much as in Lower Bengal

Q.—Children are subject to malaria ?

A.—I think they are very subject, and the effects upon them are more disastrous. They have spleens enlarged with malarial cachexia. They may have been born of malarial mothers, but I have not seen any.

Q.—Do you think that quinine ought to displace opium for malaria ?

A.—No, I do not think so, because, in such districts, other diseases, such as bowel complaints and diabetes, prevail, and then people take to opium.

Q.—Is it a popular domestic remedy ?

A.—It is not possible to get medical prescriptions by a great part of the population, and they have to use it.

Q.—Is not medical advice within their reach ?

A—Oh, no, the dispensary system cannot reach the great masses of the population in Nuddea. It has an area of 3804 square miles, with a population of two millions. I had an assistant surgeon and several hospital assistants, and there were five dispensaries scattered over the district, but, in spite of all that, there are large numbers who cannot avail themselves of these. In many villages there are hakims, but their knowledge is small.

Q—Is the opium made at the factory, which is used as a domestic remedy?

A—It is opium obtained from licensed vendors which is used, and that must have been manufactured at the factory.

Q—You have paid some attention to the analysis of the various classes of opium, what are the differences between Persian, Indian and other opium?

A—This note has been compiled from the laboratory records, [witness reads out and hands in the statement]

Q—You are aware that opium is an extremely complicated substance, can you tell us whether the effects produced by the Indian drug are the same here as those produced by our medicinal opium in England?

A—The distinction is marked. Smyrna opium, the official drug in use in Europe, contains a much larger preparation of morphia and a smaller proportion of narcotine. People who use Indian Opium regularly, are consuming more narcotine. In India we supply two kinds of medical opium, one in cakes and one in powder.

Q—Indians use opium much more freely than Europeans do at home?

A—I believe so.

Q—The variety of opium sent out for medical use is called Patna garden opium, and it is sent out for general use?

A—It is all garden opium, there is no special test for medical opium—practically there is no difference.

Q—There are no ill effects from the use of opium on the general health of the population?

A.—No.

Q—Have you noticed any in their moral faculties?

A.—I have not seen any.

Q.—By Mr. Pease:—What is the difference between medical and other opium?

A.—Medical opium is opium of ninety per cent and ten per cent moisture, and the difference between it and ordinary abkari opium is in the degree of consistency arrived at.

Q.—What is the object of making any difference with process ?

A.—The result is different ; medical opium to the touch and sight is not the same as Abkari opium.

Q.—The analysis is the same ?

A.—Yes, it has the same effects too, I believe.

Q.—By Mr Wilson —Medical opium is not in cakes in the same way as the other ?

A.—It is the same opium dried at the steam tables until all the moisture has evaporated.

Q.—The difference really is one as to moisture, the chemical composition is the same ?

A.—Yes, opium for China, seventy-five, medicinal, ninety, abkari, ninety

Q.—By Mr Mowbray —Do you say that opium is actually served out to the troops upon service ?

A.—I believe it is, I know that opium is taken on expeditions, and it is taken as a ration in the supplies

Q.—By Mr Fanshawe —What regiments have you served in ?

A.—The 2nd P. C., the 2nd B. C., ( Sikhs ) 4th Hazara mountain Battery, ( all Sikhs ) the Punjab Garrison Battery, the 1st Sikhs, a wing of the 4th, the 4th Sikhs, the 5th Sikhs, the 4th P. I. the 5th Shekwar regiment, the 27th P. I. and also the 2-3rd Ghurkhas and a wing of the 2-5 Ghurkhas Opium was served out to the Sikhs

Q.—To what particular regiments was it served out as a ration ?

A.—The 4th Sikhs and 2-5 Ghurkhas I refer to

Q.—By Mr Wilson —Do I understand that the Sikhs were supplied with opium as a ration ?

A.—I was not connected with the issue of rations

Q.—There was a limit to the quantity ?

A.—Oh yes, there was a limit, but I do not remember the quantity

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part VI. 25th November, 1893.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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## Surgeon-Colonel Robert Harvey's Evidence.

By Sir William Roberts.—Q.—Please state your position in the Medical Service

A.—I am at present Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in Bengal I am, and have been, in the service for nearly twenty-nine years

Q.—Kindly tell us what service you have had

A.—I was for more than five years in Rajputana where opium is very largely used by the people I have been four years in Malwa, where it is extensively cultivated ; I was for five years in the Punjab where it is also largely taken by the Sikhs, and twelve years in a large practice in Calcutta I have been six times on frontier expeditions, some of them involving great hardships I have had considerable experience of jail management, and during all my service have had large experience of opium-eaters I also visited China when I was on furlough

Q.—When was your attention first drawn to the opium question ?

A.—My attention was first drawn to the opium question in Lancashire during the time of the cotton famine, and the American war, when I was assistant to the House Surgeon of Stockport Infirmary Applications used to be frequently made to the infirmary for a supply of opium by people who were then too poor to buy it ; the applications were invariably rejected, and the parties were warned against the danger of using opium I was much struck with the fact that opium was so commonly used, and habitual smokers of ten or fifteen grains of opium a day seemed to be no worse for it. I would not have believed that such was the case

Q.—Do you connect with that the partial famine in Lancashire ?

A.—They were people who were in the habit of taking opium, and only came to the hospital for it, because they could not buy it for themselves It had no connection with the famine.

Q.—In what form would they take the opium ?

A.—They took it generally in the shape of pills, and sometimes in a liquid shape.

Q.—What has been your experience in Rajputana and Malwa ?

A.—In India my experience has been very much the same. During the famine of 1868-69 numbers of half-starved people, most of them refugees from other States, were treated in the hospital at Bhurtpore, and they appeared to have suffered comparatively little. A large number of them were accustomed to take opium in small pills, never exceeding two or three grains, without apparently any effect save to their comfort and enjoyment. In all ordinary cases we had no idea that the patient was an opium-eater until he asked for opium. I know of no criterion by which a moderate opium-eater can be recognised. Many of them acknowledged that they had acquired the habit, and many of them, especially those who were sepoys, and knew that the British officers were apt to look with suspicion on them, would deny the fact, and only confess it under pressure from medical officers. I have known repeated instances of this.

Q.—You are now speaking of opium taken in moderation. Were they inclined to increase the dose?

A.—In my experience they were not. Many do increase it, but in the average man there is no necessity to increase the dose, and I don't think they do increase it. I have seen opium taken in excess, by what I call an opium drunkard, which, perhaps, is a misnomer, because in this country opium is more eaten than drunk.

Q.—What evil results have you observed in the opium drunkard?

A.—The regular opium drunkard is a most pitiable object, he is a lean, emaciated, dried-up, and altogether broken-down, and good-for-nothing wretch, but I have seen, comparatively speaking, very few of them. I don't think any organic disease is produced by excess in opium eating; but a large number of these who thus suffer take to opium-eating.

Q.—Do you think that some of them are diseased?

A.—Yes, the great majority of them, but I think that in a great majority of cases, the cause of the taking of opium in excess is that they have suffered from some painful or wasting disease which calls for the ease which opium-eating gives. No doubt some take it for sensual enjoyment.

Q.—Do you mean by that, enjoyment similar to what many people experience in taking morphia?

A.—Except that the feeling which opium produces is probably more marked. Certainly the feeling which opium gives is much more marked than that given by morphia.

**Q.**—Then, may I take it from you that even opium drunkenness, pure and simple, does not, so far as you know, develop any organic disease ?

**A** —I have never seen a case that I should distinctly put down to the effects of opium.

**Q** —In your experience, the vast majority of Indian opium-eaters take it moderately ?

**A** —Certainly.

**Q** —What would you call the average dose of a moderate opium-eater ?

**A.**—I cannot give a numerical unit. A pice worth will last some persons one or two or three days others take two pice worth a day. In my experience many took a pice worth daily and a good many two pice worth. Again, a very much larger number make it last two, three, or four days A pice worth means four grains Two grains are a very fair daily allowance, but a good many take four and eight grains. When you go beyond that, you are getting to excess

**Q** --What effect has opium on moderate eaters ?

**A.**—It supports and comforts them, especially when under exertion or exposure It enables them to do a great deal on what seems to Europeans an insufficient diet. And I believe it acts as a prophylactic, especially against diarrhoea, rheumatism, malarial fever, dysentery and I think I might add, diabetes

**Q** —What, in your experience, was the effect of opium upon Sikhs and Rajputs ?

**A** —As a race, the Sikhs and Rajputs are two of the finest races in India, and anybody knowing India would say so, they are a very martial race, and a very considerable proportion of them take to the opium habit I cannot give you any numerical proportion, because I have not studied the subject

**Q** —I understand that opium is served out to the native troops on the march ?

**A** —I have never heard of opium being actually served out, but I think the commissariat takes a supply to sell to the sepoy on the march, in order that there might be no difficulty about the sepoy getting opium when they want it

**Q** —Have you any experience of China ?

A.—I visited it in 1874, and was there for about three weeks. It struck me that the physique of the common people was very good, and I was much struck by two Chinamen who carried me about in Hongkong, and who both said they smoked opium. I have never seen finer men ; they carried me up the steep streets of Hongkong with perfect ease.

Q.—What is your experience of opium-eaters, who are men of business in Calcutta ?

A.—There is a large class of some of the greatest business men in Calcutta who are opium-eaters, bold speculators who can hold their own with anybody. These are the Marwaries who are supposed to come from Marwar, in Rajputana, and I know from long practice among them that many of them take opium. I think that few men, who have once made it a practice to take opium, ever give it up, as few men who smoke or drink in moderation in other countries, give up their drink or tobacco, but they could, if they wished, give it up without any difficulty or danger. I have never known a Native come to the hospital to be cured of the opium habit. I have never known them give up under advice. I am speaking mainly of cases of disease where I have advised them to give it up. For many years I don't remember ever having interfered with a patient's opium habit. I treated cases absolutely without reference to that habit. It did not interfere with my treatment in any way, I think that in the case of the opium drunkard, there is great difficulty in giving it up, he finds it extremely difficult to do so. But it is not the opium which he cannot conquer, but the initial weakness of will which led to the original excess. He has so little power of self-control that he cannot nerve himself to undergo the amount of discomfort attendant upon the relinquishment of a habit.

Q.—In Indian jails, opium is not allowed ?

A.—The rule is that all opium found on a prisoner on admission is to be confiscated, and he is not allowed to get any, and smuggling opium into jail is punishable as a jail offence, and I believe that, as a rule, the supply of opium is cut off at once and entirely. People say that the men get it by smuggling. I should be sorry to say that they never do, but I think they must be exceptions. I think our jail discipline is sufficiently good to make it difficult for every opium eater to easily supply himself. No doubt it can be done casually. I have known and heard of considerable temporary suffering caused by the stoppage of opium, but it has never led to any dangerous results, and the suffering passes off in a few days ; but in extreme cases they suffer for a long time. Even then they get free in time. I have known a considerable number of bad cases

among Europeans and Eurasians, but in only one case did it lead to death, and even in that case it would be hard to say that opium was the cause. In that case the man was overworked and had insufficient food, and was often drenched to the skin every night by heavy dews. Opium might have been a factor in the case, but it was not the only factor.

Q.—The evidence given before us almost unanimously suggests the fact that opium does not produce any known organic change but it has been stated by several witnesses that the habitual taking of opium makes a person more liable to disease Is that your opinion ?

A.—I can understand that in the case of the opium drunkard, although it has not been my experience , but with moderate opium-eaters, I believe the exact contrary to be the truth In the first Maranzri Expedition in 1891, we marched without trouble through constant rain, and sometimes 20 degrees of frost , the men were very hard-worked , there were excessive cold winds and storms, and the men were wet to the skin every day . 40 of them were frost-bitten, yet the death-rate was only 7.3 per cent, about half the death-rate of those who were doing nothing in cantonments

Q.—What has been the effect of opium on the moral character ?

A.—As far as I know, the moderate use of opium has no effect on the moral character, and even excess does not lead to the commission of violent crimes The opium drunkard only seeks to be let alone If poor, he may be led to petty thefts to supply himself with opium, and in many instances patients who do not wish to give up the habit bring opium with them, and he unblushingly about it It is the same thing in the case of alcohol they swear that they have not touched a drop of liquor when probably they reek of alcohol I think that in both these cases, there is a want of moral control , it is not the alcohol or the opium , it is the want of self-control in the patient The worst result I saw was in the case of a fine young woman who deliberately prostituted herself during the Lancashire cotton famine, in order to get money to buy opium

Q.—What do you think generally of the value of dietetic opium among stimulants ?

A.—I think it one of the most harmless, useful and necessary blessings that man can have I think it is God's best gift, as opium was characterised by Dr. George.

Q.—Is there anything else you would like to mention ?

A.—I believe, although I have no evidence to offer on the point, that if a man accustomed to opium were to be effectively denied it,—of the possibility of which I have great doubts, because it is so easily smuggled,—he will take to other stimulants, and if he takes to *ganja* or alcohol, the last stage of that man will be very much worse than the first. Two grains being taken as the amount taken in one day, a year's supply would fit into a box  $2'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$ , it would take two years' supply for a man who takes one grain a day, and half a year's supply for a man taking a pice worth daily, and any native could so easily conceal it in his loin cloth or his *pugree* that you would have to strip him naked before you could find it. It would be almost impossible that you could support a policy of this sort of espionage, and I don't believe that the people would stand it.

Q.—Do you, in the course of your duties, mix very largely with medical men in the Indian service?

A.—Not only in the Indian service, but in the medical staff, and with a large number of native medical practitioners, University graduates of sorts.

Q.—Are the views you express held very generally by the profession in India?

A.—By all but an infinitesimal minority, we medical men who have practical experience in India are practically at one.

Q.—I suppose you know the suggested reason why natives of India should take to the use of opium, and tolerate it?

A.—I think it a race question. Practically, looking all round the world, we find that each nation has its own habits. All mankind want stimulants of some kind. The Northern nations of Europe take to a spirit stimulant. In the south of Europe spirits are much less used, and wine is generally taken as a stimulant, and northern nations are able to take a quantity of spirits which in the tropics kills them off. Spirits are absolutely unsuited to the tropics. Opium is the best stimulant and the people of this country have found it to be a necessity. In the north, spirits, like everything else, are liable to abuse, but as moderate men and the great majority take it, it not only does no harm, but it is taken with considerable comfort.

There is also one practical point which has been brought up in evidence by several preceding witnesses. Everybody admits that opium ~~may~~ be allowed for medical purposes, with that reservation, it has been ~~not~~ possible by some to prohibit the use of opium. The last report of

medical institutions points out as a matter of fact that, in a population of over seventy millions, only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. get any benefit from the Government medical institutions. There are no doubt a certain number of private hospitals, but the great bulk of the people have no medical advice, unless they go to *baidis* and *hakims* who have no real qualifications, are not registered, and must be allowed to give certificates for the supply of opium, and there is nothing to prevent any man from setting up for his own *baid* or *hakim* and from what I know of the native character anybody who could give four annas could easily get a certificate. In this way, you will not decrease the consumption of opium, but will simply embarrass the Government.

By the President.—Q.—Have you any particular experience of the use of opium ?

A.—I have myself been an opium-eater in a very strange way, but I trust I shall not be considered to be one now. My first experience was during a professional examination I had to undergo when suffering from a severe attack of influenza cold. Thirty drops of laudanum taken to induce sleep acted as a charm. It removed the stupidity induced by the cold, cleared my brain, and enabled me to go through the examination. Before taking the laudanum my brain was so clouded that I could not bring to mind what I had learned, but the effect of the dose was to bring the whole of my books clearly before me. Again, in 1871-72 when, in charge of the advance hospital in the Lushai expedition, I had nearly 2,000 sick and wounded passing through my hands in less than three months. Sometimes there were 400 at a time in hospital, and I had during most of the time only one hospital assistant and no nurse, orderlies or clerks to help me. I began the campaign with a severe attack of fever which kept recurring every few days, and I believe I should have broken down, but for having resorted to opium. I may have taken opium thirty or forty times. I never exceeded a grain of it, never hankered for more, and had no difficulty in stopping it. It sustained and comforted me. I have taken it some ten times since, always under circumstances of great fatigue and exposure, and always with the same result.

By Mr Pease.—Q.—When suffering from great exertions and resorting to the aid of opium, you resorted to it as a stimulant, and not for any other purpose ?

A.—As a stimulant. It also arrested waste of tissue and enabled me to do more than I could otherwise have done.



Q.-- Would not there be a corresponding degree of depression afterwards ?

\* A.—I don't think opium has that effect unless taken in large quantities. I found no reaction or depression whatever

Q.—Do you find that persons in the habit of taking opium are equally susceptible to the effects of other drugs ?

A.—I think so

Q.—You spoke of opium-eaters as being under the influence of a weak will. Would not the effect of the opium be to weaken the power of the will ?

A.—I could not give any definite opinion

Q.—You made a quotation from Dr Gregory Was he not at that time alluding to opium as a medicine, and not when taken as an indulgence ?

A.—No doubt But in many cases the habit has begun for the relief of pain, and people find it so comforting that they go on with it

Q.—Are you in favour of reducing the facilities for obtaining opium ?

A.—I don't think that at all necessary

By Mr Wilson —Q —You refer in the second paragraph of your printed statement to a person in Lancashire who would take four ounces of laudanum daily Was that the case of the young woman of whom you spoke ?

A.—Yes , she came to ask for opium because she had no means of getting it.

Q.—Four ounces of laudanum would cost a considerable sum ?

A.—Yes, but her husband was a well-to-do operative, and she had been able to get it up to the time of the cotton famine , they were all turned out of the works, and she came to us for opium, but we refused to give it.

Q.—You referred to the Miranżai expedition, and said that many of the sepoys used opium. You cannot give the proportion ?

A.—I have never made a numerical calculation, but it was well known that the Sikh sepoys took opium, although many of them would deny it. I ascertained that of the forty men who were frost-bitten none were opium eaters.

\* Q.—Opium-eaters and non-opium-eaters alike stood the hardship of the campaign ?

A —Yes ; I don't suggest that the non-opium-eaters died faster. The real cause of the diminished death-rate is to be found in the admirable arrangements made by the Government for the comfort, feeding, and shelter of the troops

Q —I don't remember whether you read this passage in your statement " I believe it sharpens the mental faculties, brightens the wits, and improves the physical powers " Then why don't you take it yourself ?

A —I believe so I don't take it because I don't find it necessary. I think my wits are bright enough Seriously, I think it does have that effect, especially under the circumstances under which I have taken it, and should always take it

Q —I wish to know whether you regard it as valuable mainly under peculiar circumstances of distress, or whether you mean to say that it has those effects upon habitual opium-eaters throughout life ?

A —I am not in a position to answer that, but I know that it kept my head clear when I thought I might fail in my examination It cleared my brains in a most wonderful way

Q —I think I may take it that, as a matter of fact, you do not recommend it as a practice to persons who wish to have sharp brains ?

A —I would not recommend it

Q —Have you recommended anybody to take it regularly ?

A —No, certainly not for that purpose

Q —Then in reference to your own experience, when you were suffering from that severe influenza cold, you were taking it as a medicine ?

A —Yes, in that case That showed me the value of it That was before I had any experience in other places When I was a student I took it temporarily for a medical purpose Afterwards I took it as a stimulant

Q —Speaking generally, I want to know whether the evidence you have been giving is limited especially to eating, drinking, or smoking ?

A —I have practically no experience of smoking, except in the case of the two men at Hongkong to whom I have alluded The great majority of the people of this country take opium as a pill In Rajputana especially, in a few cases, it is made into a solution and drunk A certain number of people in the large cities of India, especially where there are Chinese, learn the habit of smoking, but I have no experience to speak of. My experience is of eating or drinking

Q.—You were five years in Rajputana. We have had some difficulty in ascertaining what proportion of the people who are called Rajputs are really Rajputs?

A.—You may practically take the whole population. They are not all pure Rajputs. There are numerous mixed races among them, but as far as my knowledge goes, all of them take opium much in the same proportion. I could not reduce it to a numerical figure.

Q.—In consequence of some difficulty which was felt I referred to *Hunter's Gazetteer*, and he gives the population of Rajputana at ten million odd, and the number of the Rajput class as half a million or 5·5 per cent. of the whole population?

A.—My remark refers to the whole population.

Q.—Do you know the view of the American missionary, Dr. Huntly, who has lived for years in Rajputana?

A.—I don't.

Q.—Amongst other things he says natives of Rajputana have a practice of drinking milk with opium, perhaps to ward off some of its effects. On the other hand, those who take opium can be detected at a glance. Is that your experience?

A.—I believe there are indications when opium is taken in excess but there is not the least indication where opium is moderately used. The average moderate opium-eater is absolutely unrecognisable.

Q.—Then further on Dr. Huntly says “During seven years of constant intercourse with them, I have never met a native who considered the drug harmless.” That is not your opinion?

A.—Certainly not.

Q.—He goes on to say that on a careful inquiry of one hundred cases he found nearly forty per cent. practiced the habit to stimulate the sexual appetite?

A.—I believe that a certain number of men do take it as an aphrodisiac under a deluded idea of its effect. I don't believe it has that property. Whenever any new aphrodisiac is started, every chemist will tell you that there is a tremendous rush upon it. Natives probably do practice the habit for that purpose, I have not made any particular enquiry.

Q.—Do you know a work by Dr. Russell on malaria and the enlargement of the spleen? Is it not a work of considerable authority on the point?

A.—I have glanced through the book. It was many years ago. I don't think it has had any large circulation, but I have no doubt from what I know of Dr Russell that the work ought to be valuable.

Q —You have used the expression that it is very much a race question. Can you apply such a term to India?

A —Perhaps "climatic question" would have been better. The races in India are very numerous. It is clear from the illustration I gave that I meant climatic question.

By Mr Haridas Voharidas —Q —Do you ever take alcohol?

A —I take alcohol, but in strict moderation.

Q.—You say you have taken opium forty or fifty times. Why did not you take alcohol?

A —I did not take alcohol, because I could not get it. I should have taken if I could have got it.

Q —Have you given up taking opium?

A —Yes, afterwards I gave it up.

Q —Since giving up taking opium, have you taken more alcohol than usual?

A —No, no more than usual.

By Mr Fanshawe.—Did I understand you to say that in your experience opium was largely used as an aphrodisiac?

A —I have no experience. There is nothing in opium which can have that effect.

Q —Do you know the dose people take as an aphrodisiac?

A —I cannot say.

Q —Can you give any intimation as to the age, speaking generally, at which the classes of Rajputs and Sikhs begin to take opium?

A.—In Rajputana it is generally begun with children; sometimes it is continued in boyhood, but sometimes it is given up; sometimes mothers give it to their infants to keep them quiet, while they themselves are at work. I have seen children of three or four years take opium in Rajputana and the Punjab, but they give it up at intervals.

Q —You said that there were some of the finest races of men in Rajputana. In using that expression you are referring to the Rajput proper?

A —I am referring to the whole population of Rajputana. There are a number of fine men among races which are not related to the Raj-

puts—the *Jats* and *Dobras* for instance, and there are people of very mixed blood who are as fine and plucky men as you could wish to see.

Q—Then the opium habit is equally common among Rajputs proper, and other classes of men in Rajputana?

A.—I think so.

Evidence of Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel A. Crombie, M.D.

By Sir William Roberts —Q—Will you state your position?

A—I am Superintendent of the Presidency General Hospital, and have had a long Indian service and practice in my profession.

Q—What means have you had of becoming acquainted with the opium habit in India?

A—I have been a hospital physician and surgeon for nearly the whole of my service in India. I have served in the Medical College in Calcutta, and also in Rangoon and Dacca. I was for a long time Civil Surgeon of Dacca, but for only seven years of that period did I actually reside in Dacca. Besides hospital experience I have also been medical officer of two large jails, and have repeatedly had medical charge of one of those jails, and I have also had charge of a Lunatic Asylum in Dacca, where there were 220 lunatics, for seven years, and have also had considerable experience of the large province of Bengal generally, and have been often consulted by the Government of Bengal.

Q—I understand you have paid much special attention to the opium question. Will you give us your experience of the consumption of opium in Bengal?

A.—I have made a number of calculations with regard to the consumption of opium in India and especially in Bengal. At page ninety-nine of the collection of papers on the consumption of opium in India published on the 9th January, 1892, the consumption is stated to be sufficient to furnish a daily dole of a quarter of an ounce to about 4,00,000 people, that comes to twenty-two and a half grains per 1,000 of the population of Bengal, or eight grains per head of the population for the whole of India, men, women, and children, and the cost of this would be four pice per annum. The cost of drinks consumed in England is £3 15s. per head of the population per annum. With regard to the proportion of opium to each opium-eater, no estimate can be made, but, taking a low estimate, it would give about 400 grains per annum to each opium-eater, or a little more than a grain a day. That would make opium-eaters about twenty per cent of the adult male population. In the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1,942 maunds of opium are supplied for con-

sumption That makes fifteen and a half grains per head of the population, or according to the same calculation, 800 grains per annum for each consumer, or a little below the daily average for each opium-eater. The amounts varies in different parts of Lower Bengal A gentleman, Baboo Bejoy Madhub Mukerjee, Sub-Divisional Officer of Soopore, in Bhagulpore, furnished me the other day with some information He stated that the quantity obtained from the treasury there was three maunds for a population of 600,000, which amounts to twelve and a half grains per annum per head of the population, or fifty grains to each consumer per annum He mentioned in explanation of the little opium used there that a large quantity of alcohol was consumed by the population, and he considered that the two intoxicants were used in inverse proportion In the Sub-division of Ranaghat, which is close to Calcutta, where alcohol is used in small quantities, twenty-five to thirty grains per head of the population, or about 600 grains per annum is used by each consumer, which is nearly two grains a day. With regard to this there are two or three explanations The amount is very much smaller than is actually taken by the average consumer and it may be that only a portion of the consumers use it daily, leaving a considerably larger quantity for the others, or there may be a considerable quantity of illicit opium in constant use My evidence with regard to the evil effects of opium upon the consumer in India, with every opportunity of observing its full effects, is almost absolutely in the negative

Q—But you have recognised that cases of the excessive use of opium occur?

A.—Yes, I have frequently met with natives who take opium in excess I have not often noticed that an excessive quantity produced any deleterious effect In one or two or perhaps three instances I have seen its deleterious effects in the course of my experience of twenty years, effects which I trace directly to opium unaccompanied by any pre-existing disease

Q—Does your memory carry you sufficiently far back to remember what was the condition of people who took opium to excess without any disease?

A—It is rather difficult to find a case exactly fulfilling this condition The first case brought prominently to my notice was that of a prisoner who was in the Rangoon Jail He died in hospital from chronic diarrhoea and the conclusion I came to, whether rightly or wrongly was that the death was due to excess of opium Diarrhoea and dysentery are very common diseases in India Death might have been

due to other causes, but the impression in my mind at the time was that death was due to opium. That was the only case which showed the evil effects of opium.

Q.—You have had considerable experience, having been in charge of hospitals and jails and lunatic asylums. Can you tell us whether the opium habit has been the cause of lunacy or the cause of crime?

A.—I have made a report on that point, which was published in a supplement to the *Indian Medical Gazette*, which I now formally present to the Commission. In that I have given my experience with regard to illness caused by the opium habit. The figures upon which my opinion was partly based will be found at page twenty-seven of that supplement. The statistics of the Bengal lunatic asylums are there given for ten years. The number of admissions during those ten years was 2,202, of that number 641 were ganja smokers or consumers of ganja in some form, 117 were drinkers of alcohol, and only eight were opium-eaters.

Q.—Those were alleged causes, so that a good many more of those may have been opium-eaters?

A.—In each case in which a patient was entered as taking *ganja* or opium or alcohol it was put down to that cause. With regard to *ganja* there is no question in my mind that *ganja* is the cause in a very large proportion of cases in which it is put down as the alleged cause. With regard to spirits, my experience is the same as the experience of asylums in England—twenty or twenty-five per cent. With regard to opium-eating I am of opinion that it is never the cause of insanity. What is put down in the paper meant that those eight patients were lunatics who were accustomed to take opium. I have also collected statistics for Bombay, Rangoon, and Madras, but they are not complete. I can only give the statistics for Bombay for three years, and for the Rangoon asylum for six years. In Bombay there are also very few opium-eaters detained as lunatics, while the number of spirit-drinkers has very considerably increased in the Colaba asylum, that is to say, a very considerably larger proportion of spirit-drinkers are admitted there than in any other lunatic asylum.

Q.—Will you give us the impression produced in your mind by studying this question?

A.—In the first place, opium-eating is essentially a habit acquired in the beginning of advanced life, while alcohol and *ganja* are intoxicants chiefly used below the age of thirty or thirty-five.

Q.—What do you consider the beginning of advanced life?

A.—Forty years, speaking of natives of India.

Q —Do you think the people of India have a peculiar tolerance for opium?

A —I have reason for believing that there is such tolerance, and I believe that a great deal of the agitation on the subject of opium is due to the difference in the effect of alcohol and especially morphia in European countries. The effect is much greater among people who use alcohol in India. It is also perfectly certain that all animals are not equally affected by opium. I have made a number of experiments with ducks and fowls. I have given the enormous quantity of thirty grains to a duck weighing  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pounds, and in another of the same weight I have injected three grains of morphia. That would mean to a man of ten stone,  $15 \times 140$  grains to a dose, or  $1\frac{1}{2} \times 140$  equals 210 grains for one injection. Beyond giving rise to a certain amount of nausea in all animals it seems to have no effect, during the first two days they are quite the same, inquisitive as ducks always are, and eat their food as usual. Fowls after two or three days eat very little, and are evidently affected by the dose. I made these experiments to satisfy myself that the statements made in the books are true, and I am now able to confirm them. Then as to the natives of India having some peculiarity in their constitution. With regard to bodily temperature I made some experiments in 1872-73-74 as to the normal temperature of the bodies of natives as well as of Europeans. I have drawn up the differences diagrammatically, the three last figures show the average temperature of men in England. The difference in temperature indicature indicates the difference in the tolerance of opium. The figures show that the average temperature of the population here is nearly half a degree higher than in England, and nearly a degree higher than that of Europeans living in Asia.

Q —Have you any distinct evidence of the difference of tolerance of Europeans and natives?

A —We can give larger doses here than in England. In acute diarrhoea I never give less than one drachm of landanum to a native; that is three times as much as I give in England. The laudanum procurable is mostly obtained from England and made from Turkey opium. I give a drachm dose freely without any hesitation to adults, but I think the difference of constitution is to be chiefly noticed in reference to children in England. The practice there is that opium should not be given at all to English children under five years of age, and only then under great precautions, but here in India we give it with hardly any precautions, even in children of a year old, in free doses. We give it also to English children. But I am now referring to native children.



Q.—And do you observe any difference of doses in the two cases ?

A.—We give it more freely to native children than to English children. Native mothers constantly give opium to their babies a day or two old, and the practice is continued up to the age of about four years. Most of the ayahs or nurses when they find a peevish, fretful child give it the same dose as they are accustomed to give to their own children, and the children die. Such cases have fallen under my own experience. I have never treated a native child for opium poisoning during twenty years' service ; one has never been brought to hospital. I think this tolerance of opium in the native is the product of all the influences brought to bear on the Native in the course of ages. Living in a hot climate and on a vegetable diet and abstinence from alcohol are the chief conditions.

Q.—Do you include the malarial constitution ?

A.—I am not sure that that gives tolerance.

Q.—You are aware of certain diseases, like diabetes, that give tolerance ?

A.—Yes, but I have not observed tolerance from malaria though most of the people, I think, have more or less a malaria taint. Another proof of the difference of constitutions is to be found in the immunity of the Natives of India from typhoid fever. Dr Harvey tells me that he has seen typhoid fever in natives, the diagnosis being confirmed by the *post mortem*, but he refers to a time long past. Typhoid fever in a Native is extremely rare. A Native medical student may go through the whole of his curriculum without ever seeing a case of typhoid fever. Dr Gibbons, who has been Pathologist in the Medical College for the last seven or eight years has never seen the evidence of typhoid fever in a native in a *post mortem* examination, whereas in the General Hospital, which is open to Europeans and Eurasians, there are from ten to twenty cases in a year. I have never treated a Native for typhoid fever.

Q.—Do you say the same in regard to scarlet fever ?

A.—Yes, but that exemption applies also to Europeans. I have seen only one unquestionable case of scarlet fever in a European in India.

Q.—Have you made a special study of the effects of smoking opium ?

A.—I have made it a special study. The evil effects are considerably greater than anything that can be attributed to eating opium. This is due chiefly to the conditions under which it is smoked. It is smoked in clubs or, till recently, in opium dens. It is a social vice, like drinking alcohol, and the consequence is that opium-smoking is a vice of younger

people. I believe that *madak*-smoking is more deleterious than *chundu* smoking. I have visited several shops of both kinds during the last three or four years, and have come to the conclusion that *madak* smoking does lead to greater evils than *chundu* smoking. I have made six or eight visits to them at different times. The taking of opium does deteriorate the morals of those who indulge in it, but on public morality the effect is absolutely *nil*, it gives rise to no violent crimes. You may live within a short distance of an opium den without knowing that it is there. I lived in Dacca seven years, and did not know of the existence of a smoking den there.

Q — Smoking in India is a habit of the lower classes?

A — It is decidedly so. I don't know any well-to-do or respectable men who smoke opium, but they eat opium constantly. I am speaking of Hindus and Mahommedans, inhabitants of Bengal.

Q — You have no experience of the Chinese as opium smokers?

A — Not of any value.

Q — What do you think is the reason why the people take opium in this country?

A — The majority do not begin till their vital powers are failing — say between the ages of forty and fifty, and then it is usually on the advice of their elders who recommend them to take it to improve their health. I know of a native patient who is suffering from heart-disease, and was constantly urged by members of his family to adopt the habit; they tell him to take it for his stomach's sake and for his often infirmities.

Q — But among the poorer classes?

A — They take it as a protection against chills, and it is taken also as a preventive of diarrhoea and dysentery, the result of chills, also in large doses in the treatment of diarrhoea and dysentery, and it is very frequently used in asthma and diabetes, also as a prophylactic, and in the treatment of malarial fever.

Q. — Do you agree with the opinion that the excessive use of opium is apt to reduce the fertility of the villagers?

A — I am unable to give an independent opinion on that point, but there is evidence in support of that view, especially that of Dr. Vincent Richards. I ought to say something more about malaria. The first point which struck me in India was the rooted and unreasonable objection which natives have to be treated with quinine; even now one has to prescribe quinine under a synonym. Often one finds out that the objection is not unreasonable, that the majority of cases of fever in Lower Bengal are of a

kind which is not only not benefited by quinine, but aggravated by it; and we are able clinically to distinguish those cases which are aggravated in this way. This is the common experience of all medical men in India.

Q.—A solution of quinine would not replace opium ?

A —No, not at all, but opium gives considerable relief Dr Birch, late Principal of the Medical College, who suffered considerably from fever, got such relief from opium as he never got from any other drug Brunton, a great authority on therapeutics, mentions the case and gives reasons for it, and so does Garrod, they both mention cases in which the treatment of malaria with opium is beneficial. The same opinion prevails in the fen country in England where people use large quantities of opium both for the prevention and treatment of malaria.

Q.—Now, as to opium being a cause of crime, what is your opinion on that point ?

A —My opinion is that it is not the cause of violent crime or brutality. Alcohol is a cause of brutality, and *ganja* of sudden and uncontrolled violence. Chevers gives one case of *amok*, which was attributed to opium. In all my experience as a Jail Officer and Superintendent of a Lunatic Asylum, and as an expert relating to criminal lunatics, I have never known a case of running *amok* caused by the effects of taking opium. In my experience it is uniformly caused by *ganja*. I know a case of a young Bengali who indulged in a single *ganja* debauch, and, when he returned home that night, slew seven of his own relatives. Cases of killing three or four neighbours under the influence of *ganja* are quite common, but they are invariably produced by *ganja*, and not by opium.

Q.—What do you say of the practicability of limiting the use of opium to purely medical purposes ?

A —I believe those who make a suggestion of that kind are not acquainted with the lives and habits of the people. It presupposes that there are places scattered all over the country where opium can be obtained under medical advice, and that there are medical men available everywhere who are capable of giving that advice with discretion, also that there are means of communication available at all places. I think it is desirable that the Commission should know something of the conditions of life obtaining in parts such as that I have lived in during the greater part of my service—I mean Eastern Bengal. There, when a man wants to build a house, he first digs a tank, and with the earth he raises a mound, and on the top of that mound places his house. The elevation of the mound depends upon the height to which the annual

floods rise, which they do with fair regularity, but sometimes they rise two or three inches higher than the average, and then the inmates have to live on rafts, they paddle about on rafts made of plantain stems. Some of the dwellings are extremely isolated, having no other habitations within four or five miles, and no native doctors within miles, and to deprive these people of the ability to get opium except under medical advice would cause a terrible amount of suffering. It is the only medicine available to them of any value, and I should not like to be the person who would deprive them of it. In most cases the only practitioner available is the Civil Hospital Assistant, educated in one of our Vernacular schools, but his advice is of no value as to the giving of opium on purely medical grounds, they are very poor, and to them a matter of four or eight annas or a rupee would be sufficient to enable any man to obtain opium. Again, here in Calcutta, which swarms with practitioners, with hospitals in every direction where the people can obtain fair medical advice, it is a fact that fifty per cent of the population do without any medical attendance whatever, statistics to this effect were obtained by the Health Office of Calcutta in 1891, and will be found at page five of his report. If it is fifty per cent in Calcutta, it is seventy-five per cent in country districts, and instead of restricting the use of opium more than it is already, I think every household in this part of the world ought to have opium for use in cases of emergency. I myself never travel without opium and, even when I came out from England this time, my wife provided me with laudanum before I started, though I did not have occasion to use it. I wish to add that I am Consulting Physician to the E. I. Railway Company, and I have obtained figures of the number of their native employes. The number of employes is 850 Europeans, 525 East Indians, and 39,750 natives. I have been Consulting Physician for five years, and all the reports from the different medical officers of the districts are submitted to me half-yearly. During these years the name of opium-eater does not appear in any report, and I find that opium does not come before them, either professionally or officially, though the line passes through opium-growing districts. No mention whatever is made upon the point, with the exception that several native doctors had sometimes pointed out to them patients who were opium-eaters, though they were unable to discover the fact.

Q—From your own knowledge do you know whether railway servants have been dismissed owing to the habit?

A.—I asked Mr Wagstaff, who has been in the head office for twenty-eight years, and the reply he gave was this —“During the twenty-eight years I have been in the office here, I don't remember a single case being reported of a Native of any grade being unfit for his duty owing to the use of opium” I am also, in another capacity, Surgeon to three of the Emigration Agencies which send coolies to the West Indies, the majority of whom are recruited from the N-W P, and a considerable proportion from Behar. During the last six years 48,170 coolies have been despatched to the West Indies. The proportion sent is, 100 males, 12 women and 55 children, which leaves 32,000 men or adults. During these five or six years, it has only come to my knowledge, two or three times, that the man I was examining was an opium-eater. It has not been because I discovered it myself, but because he asked for opium, and then it was discovered he was an eater, as regards his physical condition, he was not to be distinguished from the other coolies. I may mention that every coolie is examined by medical men up-country, then by the ship Surgeon, and Inspector of Emigration, all of whom have been medical men. Yet we send a considerable number of opium-eaters to the West Indies. It is against the rules to send opium-eaters, and yet we are utterly unable to detect opium-eaters when we send them. I have made enquiries in reference to the opium question. I have had a great deal of conversation with opium-eaters, smokers, and people who are neither, and I think there is a consensus of opinion amongst all these, including the opium-smokers themselves, that chundu and madal manufactories should be abolished. I distinguish between that and the abolition of the opium trade. I think that measure is absolutely futile, and that it will have no effect whatever upon the consumption of madal and chundu. There is as much opium consumed in Calcutta now as before the opium dens were closed. There would be a little discontent amongst Chinamen, but they are a small number, and what would happen would be that the majority of those who now smoke would eat it. There is no question, I think, that they would avail themselves of this comparatively harmless way of using opium. As regards the trade with China what people ask is, What benefit there would be by such prohibition? and I believe there is a universal belief that the prohibition of opium except for medical use would lead to the increased use both of alcohol and gana. There is a suspicion, which I know to be absolutely unfounded, that the whole of the agitation against opium has been got up in the interest of the English liquor traffic. That I have heard repeatedly, and there is no doubt that the belief is very

widespread I may mention that this very morning I received a letter from a missionary whom I have known for a considerable number of years, which I should like to read in confirmation of that opinion. He is a resident of this part of India. He says —“I have seen no convincing evidence why the Government should deprive the people of opium. I have seen the ill-effects of *ganja* and alcohol both here and in Calcutta, and I have failed to discover the ill-effects of opium. I believe any attempt to deprive the people of this country of that stimulant would prove as abortive as any attempt to deprive the people at home of their beer and their pipe. It was said in a tram-car yesterday that the Government was trying to make the people give up opium for alcohol, that the Government was trying to make the people here what the English people are. ‘What is that?’ I asked. Quick as lightning, the reply came, ‘Drunkards.’”

By Mr Pease —Q —Do you receive any complaints from the West Indies with regard to the inefficiency of the opium-eating coolies?

A —It is made a matter of complaint by the Colonial Government, but I don’t know their reasons.

Q —Do you infer that, in consequence of this habit, they are inefficient labourers?

A —That is the evidently the opinion held in the West Indies.

Q —Does the moderate use of the drug impair a man’s capacity for labour?

A —The moderate use certainly does not.

Q —Do you make a special recommendation that the preparation of *madak* and *chundu* should be forbidden?

A —I should not be sorry to see that done. I should go further, and say it would be a good thing for the people who indulge in smoking opium, if this were put a stop to with a high hand.

Q —Is the manufacture carried on under Government licenses?

A —It is, smoking opium is now carried on privately in clubs.

Q —You think these licenses should not be given?

A —I should be glad to think they were stopped.

By Sir William Roberts —Q —*Chundu* could be introduced from China?

A —It could, and it can be made in India, but it is rather difficult to make, it is made in quantities, and only people able to afford to buy a large quantity at a time could make it. The possession of a large quantity, I believe, is illegal.

By Mr. Pease —Q —You have expressed your opinion as to the difference between *madak* and *chundu* please state them more fully ?

A.—I think that the class of people who smoke *madak* are of a lower moral standard and general physique than those who smoke *chundu* I have seen more *madak* smokers, with deteriorated health without apparent cause, than I have seen *chundu* smokers Yet, I have seen *madak* smokers who have smoked for twenty years retain a good physique, but still, a very considerable proportion are men of poor physique and a very low moral standard I am unable to explain why *madak* should be more deleterious than *chundu* Nevertheless, whether it is from some difference in the preparation, or whether it is because it is smoked in dreadfully hot places I think I could recognise a habitual smoker without difficulty. I could not detect an opium-eater I don't think I could detect a *chundu* smoker, but I think I could easily tell a *madak* smoker

Q.—Do *chundu* smokers belong to the same race ?

A —They are of the same, both Hindus and Mahommedans, but I think the *madak* smoker is of lower social grade

Q —Do you think that opium has less effect upon people here than in England ?

A —I am not quite sure of that, but my impression is that we give more opium here than in England

By Mr Wilson —Q —You said you always take opium with you when you travel, is that for malarial fever ?

A —I had diarrhoea and cholera chiefly in my mind

Q —In reference to the coolies you send to the West Indies, many of them are from the N-W Provinces ?

A.—A large proportion come from there

Q.—Who pays for their passage ?

A —There are local agents, who are supplied with money, and who send them down

Q —If an opium-eater were sent down, who would lose upon him ?

A.—The agent here would lose

Q.—I have a statement here from a medical practitioner at Sohagpur, an M.R.C.P., a Parsee, who says that, in his opinion, as many as fifty per cent. of deaths among native children arise from eating opium ?

A.—I can say nothing about what happens in the Central Provinces I have only experience of Lower Bengal and Burma

Q — Will you state a little more about the opium dens you visited.

A — Perhaps I may read to you an account of one of these visits, which has been condensed in the *Indian Medical Gazette*. I had a companion with me to verify its accuracy, so that it may be taken as an absolutely accurate account of that visit. "I visited the same opium den on the evening of Sunday, the 1st May, 1892. I had visited it the previous evening in company with the Assistant Commissioner of Police, and a European constable. I have to make a confession, which is, that I had read such a terrible amount of opium essays that I considered it unsafe to go alone, and went there under the protection of the police. I found that that was altogether unnecessary. I was accompanied by Dr Walsh, the Resident Surgeon of the European General Hospital. The big shop where there was opium smoking was not so occupied as on the previous evening. The further end was occupied, and only three opium lamps were burning, and round these were grouped fifteen men, one, it was evident, was smoking a *hoolah* of tobacco, only three men were smoking opium, sitting and talking. I may say it is somewhat exceptional to find men in the habit of taking opium asleep in the opium den. I found, however, two or three men asleep, all, with one exception, Mahommedans, the exception being a Hindu. Twelve out of the fifteen men were strong muscular men. One man of sixty-four, when the subject was broached, was loud in his denunciation of the opium habit. He had smoked for thirty-two years, and when it was pointed out to him that he was in very fair condition, he explained that that was due to his having always plenty to eat. There was a very general consensus of opinion that, under some circumstances, the opium habit was very pernicious, but when there was ability to take nourishing food, the habit was harmless enough. Another was a man of fifty-six or sixty who had been smoking for thirty years. He was a thatcher, and after his day's work came there. He had been there for three years, and he appeared intelligent, truthful, and bright. A deafmute, though not in the same rude health as others, was still in fairly good condition, one individual looked much below the others, but that seemed to be due to his not having had much to eat. They said, "Look at us, you find us here after twelve years' opium-smoking, if we had been drinking like the *shahis*, we should have been quarrelling and fighting." We went behind the counter and took a pipe, but without any result whatever. Whilst we were behind the counter, Dr Walsh told us that some twelve persons had come to purchase *chundu*. It was sold to them at the usual cost of three annas."



**Q.—**Was the consumption prohibited at the time ?

**A.—**Not at that time. I visited the same place on Thursday evening with yourself and we saw the sale of *chundu* going on very actively. We asked to be shown the process of smoking it. There was one man asleep, but we were assured that he was not an opium-smoker, and another man lying in bed, but he was suffering from colic. In the premises behind, this description was not applicable. It was divided into rooms, and in each room there were one or two divans. There were three or four of these rooms which were each capable of accommodating four or five men, but there was nobody in them. When questioned, the Chinaman said it was reserved for their own employees. There were four Chinamen behind the counter, there was one taking the cash, another collecting, and about three or four employed in making *chundu*. The room was about fourteen feet by fifteen feet. There were three or four servants, one of them smoking, in which he was assisted by one of the others. There was one woman, who was asleep. One of the men frequenting the place was in extreme bad health. He was a wreck, but I had no opportunity of examining whether he was an opium wreck. *Chundu* must be apparently smoked by three or four people. A *chundu* pipe, when new, costs one rupee, but when it is old and seasoned, it costs from four to six rupees. They smoke, not only for the effects of the opium, but also for flavour, and that might be their reason for clubbing together to smoke through only one pipe. They stated that they purchased the opium at the shop close by. The occupier of the club stated that he made his profit entirely out of the refuse which was obtained from the pipes, and gained nothing from the smokers. The contents of the pipes were gathered, and he sold it to the *chundu* makers, as it seems to be necessary that, to make *chundu*, the refuse should be used. We had a conversation with several of the people, many of whom were opium smokers, and many of whom were not, and the general feeling was in condemnation of the habit in question. Even opium smokers admitted this, and would give it up if they could do so.

**Q.—**Do you think that an opium smoker would be employed in a position of responsibility ?

**A.—**I think he would be so employed, it would be no bar. The most intelligent servants in India are, many of them, opium-eaters, men who do the work in big offices, three out of four of them are opium-eaters.

**Q.—**In reference to the death of children, does the system of registration of deaths enable you to ascertain the causes of death ?

A.—There are no means of getting at the truth. I used to make it a point to go round the villages in my tours, and enquire at each village; I used to take notes, go to the police office, and compare them with the registers kept there, and found that they did not tally. The system in Calcutta is explained in the report of the Health Officer. The returns I referred to were taken at the burning ghats by agents of the Municipality and at police stations. I may add that fifty per cent. of the people die without any medical attendance whatever.

Q.—Do you think that the people of Bengal would ask to be supplied with opium as a remedy against fever?

A.—They never ask me for it, because it is available to them without asking.

Q.—Would you prefer it to quinine in malaria?

A.—I have never prescribed it in malaria. If I were staging in a malarious district I would take with me quinine, but I would also take opium.

By Mr Mowbray —Q.—In regard to opium-eating coolies, I understand the restriction is imposed by the Colonial Government?

A.—Yes, that is one of the conditions under which we work.

Q.—I also understand that if the matter was within your discretion, you would not impose any such restriction?

A.—I would not. If I employed coolies, I would not enquire into the subject of their being opium-eaters.

\* Q.—Referring to your visit to the *chundu* shop, there is no special exception in favour of *chundu* shops for Chinamen in Calcutta?

A.—Not as to shops, this was spoken of as their private residence.

Q.—The manufacture of *chundu* can only be carried on under a license?

A.—I believe so, when you have to make a small quantity, it is open to any one to make it, but it is difficult to make it except in large quantities.

Q.—If you prohibit the license, you would prohibit the manufacture of *chundu*, too?

A.—That is my belief.

Q.—At present they manufacture under a license, whether for sale or domestic use?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Therefore, by refusing to grant licenses, you would make the manufacture illegal?

A.—Y

Q.—You are disposed to recommend it?

A.—Yes, in regard to *chundu* and *nadal*.

Q.—You say you were two years in Rangoon, have you formed any opinion as to the case in regard to Burma, as compared with your experience in India?

A.—I have not had sufficient experience of Burma to make it of any value.

By Mr Fanshawe —Q.—You state the opium-eating habit is a habit which is taken up in advanced life, this remark applies to Eastern Bengal and Calcutta?

A.—Yes, Eastern Bengal and Calcutta.

Q.—From the result of your experience, opium is common in most houses as a domestic remedy?

A.—I would not say it was common, for I believe if a great many houses were searched, no opium would be found. If repressive measures were used, they would very soon become oppressive, so that people requiring opium for legitimate purposes, for disease as well as for old age, would be unable to get it.

Q.—It is commonly used as a domestic remedy in Eastern Bengal?

A.—I believe it is.

By Mr Wilson —Q.—What was the nationality of most of the people in the opium dens?

A.—They were Mahomedans unquestionably, I did not take any note of their nationality. I saw no Chinamen inside the clubs. I think that nine out of the ten present were Mahomedans.

Q.—The Chinamen you saw said that the platform or divans were for the benefit of those employed there. Were you convinced of the accuracy of that statement?

A.—I only saw a certain number of men there, but I don't know how many men were employed.

Q.—It was an explanation given to you of what was, *prima facie*, an illegal position?

A.—I have no ground for saying that it was illegal at all.

**Evidence of Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel J. O'Brien,  
Professor of Surgery and Descriptive Anatomy  
at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital.**

By Sir William Roberts —Q.—You have had many opportunities habit?

A —I have had fair opportunities of doing so, especially when serving as Civil Surgeon in large districts in Bengal. I was Civil Surgeon in Burdwan for three or four years and served at Shahabad for eighteen months.

Q —Did you see a good deal of the opium habit?

A —I had numerous opportunities of observing it, as I lived amongst the opium-eating races in a greater or less degree. It is somewhat more in Behar than in Lower Bengal, but the frequency of this habit was obtruded on my notice. Amongst moderate eaters, in my opinion, it would be impossible to recognise it. You may as well expect to recognise whether a man drank tea or coffee. When opium is taken in moderation, it has no ill effects upon the constitution.

Q —When an excess is taken?

A —I must premise by saying that all I was referring to was the eating of opium, I have had no experience of smoking, because I am not aware that it is smoked at all in the towns in which I have served. I was consulted most extensively by Natives, and I know that they eat opium. I attended dispensaries every day, at which an average of three hundred patients were treated. I know a considerable number ate opium, but it was exaggerated. The number of adult males who use opium in a malarial district like Burdwan don't exceed five per cent of the total population. I never knew a young opium-eater.

Q —Do you agree with the evidence given by Drs Harvey and Crombie?

A —I substantially agree with all that has been said by Dr. Harvey, because his experience was limited to opium-eating. Dr. Crombie gave a good deal about smoking about which I know nothing. There is another point upon which Dr. Harvey gave his opinion, that the people use opium in larger doses generally in this country. I have had no such experience. I have confined my doses to doses according to those administered at home. Of late days, as my experience has enlarged in the treatment of fever, I have come to recognise what Dr. Crombie has stated of its advantages over quinine in many cases, and the remarkable benefit derived from the use of opium. In 1882, when malarial fever

was prevalent in the last quarter of the year,\* it decimated the people, who died at the rate of twelve per cent, as well as I remember. Every single European was laid down. At the time, I had as my assistant a medical practitioner of great intellectual powers and high professional ability. He was a very weakly man, tall and thin, with a little, poor physique. This man escaped through all this illness. I asked him how it was he had escaped, and he said he took three or four grains of opium a day. I have also known an opium-eater who had eaten over a hundred grains of opium, daily for twenty-four years. Another man, a respectable gentleman, connected with the Burdwan Raj, holding a high position in the Raj, who died lately at the age of seventy-five, used to take over 100 grains daily. He was well-nourished, active, rarely ill, and escaped from the malaria so much prevalent. He did not suffer in any degree from malaria. As I look back upon twenty-three years' service, I can only recollect about three or four cases of pronounced opium cachexia.

By Lord Brassey — Q. — From your experience, can you say that the consumers of opium in moderation were many and the immoderate eaters few.

A. — Moderate consumers form the vast majority.

By Mr. Wilson — Q. — In Bengal, opium is a domestic remedy; do people keep it in their houses?

A. — I think they purchase it when they want it.

Q. — You are the medical adviser to an insurance association, what is your opinion as to accepting the lives of opium-eaters?

A. — My experience in connection with the association is, that very few acknowledge the opium habit, and I have no means of detecting it. There is no evidence of it upon the physique. One question is, Do you smoke *ganja* or opium? and everybody says, "No," but, perhaps, one in a hundred would acknowledge it. The sub-agents would never bring in a case of a pronounced opium-eater, he would be stopped before he came to me.

Q. — Practically, except for the question being in the proposal form, you cannot recognise the effects in reference to insurance companies.

A. — I don't recognise it, because I don't see it.

Q. — The point is, whether the company would equally accept a man for insurance if he took opium.

A. — For my part, if I was told that a man was a moderate eater I would feel inclined to pass him. No such case has really come before me. If a man took four grains, I would not consider that to be much.

Q.—Speaking of your practice in Burdwan, did you give opium to people for fever ?

A.—We don't give opium for fever, unless insomnia occurs.

Q —Did you recommend it to those under your charge as a prophylactic ?

A.—I never did so, but I know it was greatly used as a prophylactic.

Q —Do people in Burdwan employ it to cure fever ?

A.—They employ it as a prophylactic.

By Mr Mowbray —Q —You agree with the last two witnesses, not only as to the effects of opium, but as to then impracticability of limiting the sale to what is a recognised medical purpose ?

A —I think it would be absolutely impossible, and it would give rise to smuggling and difficulties of all sorts

~~Evidence of Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. P. McConnell,  
Professor of Materia Medica in the Medical College  
Hospital, Calcutta.~~

Q —By Sir W. Roberts —You have had opportunities of observing opium consumption in India ?

A.—My opportunities have been practically confined to Calcutta, where I have served during the whole time

Q.—Has your experience been confined to any class or grade in society ?

A —It has extended to all grades I have been connected with one of the largest Native hospitals here, and my practice, as a consultant, has been one of the largest amongst Natives

Q —Tell us how far the habit in Calcutta prevails ?

A — I have never inquired into the matter particularly, but I should say, roughly speaking, about one per cent of adults, not more than that, I mean there is not more than one person out of every hundred who takes opium, rich or poor

Q —In the cases you have observed, when opium was used habitually what was the result ?

A —Where it is used habitually and where the use was moderate, it resulted in no harm, moral or physical.

Q —Have you seen opium used in excess, what effect has excess upon health ?

A.—I have seen it used in excess in a few cases, only three or four, and in those cases it has been first used in consequence of disease, and where it has been so used at first the habit has grown

Q.—Do you agree until large amounts have been taken generally with the conclusions arrived at by Doctors Harvey and Crombie ?

A.—Yes, as far as opium-eating is concerned ; I have had no experience of smoking.

Q.—By Mr Pease —In the paper you have put in, you advocate restrictions upon the abuse of opium , have you any suggestions in regard to restricting the sale of opium ?

A.—I don't know how it will be carried out, but I think it will be desirable.

Q.—You say it is necessary to prevent the occurrence of suicide ?

A.—The number of cases of suicide by opium is very great. The drug can be easily purchased There is some sort of restriction on the sale of opium. I understand that a person could not buy more than a rupee's worth of opium at a shop, but it is very easy for a person to go to half-a-dozen shops and purchase a rupee's worth of opium at each shop. A rupee's worth of opium would be about two hundred and fifty to two hundred and sixty grains About eight or ten grains of opium is sufficient to kill a person A man who takes opium in moderation would require a larger dose to kill him than a man who did not take opium Last year I find that I had in my wards fifty-two cases of opium poisoning out of ninety-two

The President here intimated that there was no use questioning the witness further upon this point, as the Government had agreed to present certain statistics on the matter.

**Evidence of Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel R C Sanders, Professor of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery in the Calcutta Medical College, and Superintendent of the Mayo Hospital**

Q.—By Sir William Roberts Have you paid special attention to the opium habit ?

A.—I have noticed people pretty carefully, in the North West Provinces, who admitted having taken opium, but I never noticed any ill effects. These were moderate consumers.

Q.—Did you see many cases of disease, where the dose was increased ?

A.—I think, as people get a little older, they take slightly increased doses, but they don't increase it to a very large extent It is quite an exception to see a man taking large doses.

Q.—Have you seen any injurious effects following in excess of the habit ?

A.—I have never seen any cases of decided excess.

Q.—Do you agree in the conclusions arrived at by Doctors Harvey and McConnell?

A.—I agree with their evidence in their entirety, though I don't know much about smoking. Dr. Ciombie brought forward the common opinion amongst people, that the Opium Commission has to do with distilleries in Europe. Within the last three days, in five different places, I have heard it said that the whole question has been brought up to get more spirits imported into this country. I have tried my best to deny it absolutely, but there is that opinion, and I have no doubt that that opinion will increase.

By Mr Wilson Q.—I think you are the author of a book on malaria?

A.—Yes

Q.—I have a copy of that before me published in 1880. Do you adhere to the views therein expressed or have you modified them materially since you wrote that book?

A.—I have to some extent modified them. I have had 13 years' more experience.

Q.—You say in the second chapter —“The opium-eater enjoys considerable immunity from malarial affections, in the early stage. The first few years of indulgence in the habit, before organic visceral changes are set up to the general shattering of constitution results, which prematurely break down the consumer of opium to render him an easy prey to diseases of every kind.” And further on there is something of the same kind as to the opinion of other surgeons, which would look as if you thought that it did some good at the beginning, but ultimately destroyed the man?

A.—The mischievous effects of it are confined to the opium sot, the drunkard, the excessive habitual user.

Q.—You refer to the “opium-eater” which would hardly convey the impression of an opium sot?

A.—It is to be taken with that meaning, as you will see if you look at the context. I desire it to be so taken.

Q.—Further on you say—“The prevalence of this habit is the curse of our jail populations in Lower Assam. No work can be got out of the long-confirmed opium-eater.” That does not seem to convey to an ordinary lay reader the idea that you speak of an opium sot?



A.—It is the opium sot that I am speaking of, as will be seen from the context in the next few pages.

Q.—Further on you say—“The observations of several surgeons, of extensive experience in opium-eating regions, confirms the popular belief that the opium-eater in the early stages of the habit, while as yet not constitutionally broken by its long continuances does, as a matter of fact, enjoy considerable immunity from malarial affections” I think you will agree that the term “long continuance” is hardly the same as excessive use?

A.—It means excessive and long continued use

Q.—You quote apparently with approval to Dr Garrod in his “Materia Medica” that “there are other remedies which possess greater anti-periodic powers without the narcotic properties” You agree with that probably?

A.—Yes

#### **Evidence of Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel J Purvis**

Examined by Sir W Roberts—Q.—You have had considerable opportunities of observing the effects of the opium habit?

A.—I have, during my service and practice of twenty-eight years in different parts of India I was a short time in the N-W P, three years in Assam, and the rest of my service has been in Bengal

Q.—Do you consider the moderate use to have any ill effects upon health Do people in malarial districts look upon it as at a prophylactic?

A.—That is my opinion, from the experience I have had of malaria A great many of the people take opium to relieve themselves of fever and complications connected with malaria

Q.—What was your experience in Assam?

A.—When I was there first I was prejudiced against the use of opium, and I thought the cases admitted into hospital were from opium, but from more experience I learnt that the people really took it to free themselves from malaria, to prolong their lives and to relieve their suffering

Q.—You have not seen any really bad effects of it upon health?

A.—I have not seen a case in which death was due to opium except when coupled with disease The moderate use is rather beneficial than otherwise, and if they were deterred from opium they would take to drink or ganja to a greater extent than at present.

Q.—Have you any other particulars to give?

A.—The great difficulty is to find out the signs of the opium habit. A great number of respectable inhabitants among the middle classes of

natives take it to a considerable extent and yet carry on their duties. Only a few days ago I met a native gentleman who said most of his friends took opium more or less, and that they had been driven to it by disease and were now doing their work in a way they never did before. I was surprised to find that all my best servants were opium eaters, where I had never suspected it. In regard to opium being a very common form of suicide, I quite agree with Dr Harvey. No doubt in different parts of India there are different methods. The other day I asked a native gentleman his opinion whether the prohibition of opium would prevent suicide. He said the clothing would also have to be put down because there were more suicides from the ropes into which the cloth could be twisted. Out of 385 cases sent in by the police this year, there were two from drowning, six from opium, and twenty-seven from hanging. To stop the growth and sale of opium would be almost impossible, smuggling would go on.

#### **Evidence of Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Russell**

Examined by Sir W Roberts — Q — You have had opportunities of studying the effects of opium ?

A — Considerable. I have been seven years in Lower Assam, since then in Lower Bengal, in the twenty-four Purgunnahs, Hughli, Rajshaye, Nuddea and Patna.

Q — In your note you say that five per cent of the people are probably opium eaters ?

A. — That applies to the province of Bengal

Q — As the total of the population or adult males ?

A. — Adult males

Q. — Have you observed any racial difference in the susceptibility to opium of the different races ?

A. — No, I cannot say I have

Q — What is your experience of its effects on the mass of the people ?

A — I don't think the habit is confined to any special social status.

Q. — What are the effects upon the health of the consumer ?

A. — I think that in the malarial districts its effects are decidedly beneficial, and lead to active habits.

Q. — You don't know of any disease produced by opium ?

A — No, I do not think that any susceptibility to disease is produced by the habitual and moderate use of opium.

Q — Do the experiences of Drs Harvey and Crombie coincide with your own ?

A.—Yes, practically.

Q.—Have you anything to add ?

A.—I should like to confirm what others have said, about the opinion which is extending of the connexion with the opium agitation with the distilleries at home.

### Evidence of Surgeon-Major R. Cobb.

By Sir W. Roberts.—Q.—How long have you been in the service ?

A.—Seventeen years, and the greater part of that time as Civil Surgeon in Lower and Eastern Bengal. I have been in charge of many hospitals, and of the Central and District Jails, and am at present in charge of the Dacca Lunatic Asylum and the Mitford Hospital at Dacca. I have practice among the Europeans and Natives there where I am Civil Surgeon.

Q.—How far does the opium habit extend ?

A.—I estimate 3 to 5 per cent of the Hindus of Dacca as addicted to the habit out of the whole population. It is very common. The Mahomedans of the country take it to a greater extent than the Hindus. It is taken by rich and poor.

Q.—Is there any stigma attached to the habit ?

A.—Not to the moderate use, only to opium smoking.

Q.—It is not fashionable?

A.—The poorer classes may smoke it to some large extent.

Q.—Smoking in an ordinary pipe?

A.—There is so little going on that one does not come across it.

Q.—You have heard the evidence already given, what is your opinion upon it; is the habit innocuous ?

A.—I believe the moderate use of opium to be quite innocuous.

Q.—In your district does it do good on the whole or harm ?

A.—I think in a large number of cases it is essential.

Q.—You think the people's health would suffer without it ?

A.—It would deteriorate if they did not get it.

Q.—What are the ill effects if taken in excess ?

A.—I have never been able to distinguish them from the ill effects of the special disease for which the opium was taken. Men admitted to jail who are excessive eaters beg for opium, but I have always found these were suffering from some other chronic disease.

Q.—Have they ever been in hospital from the effects of opium eating?

A.—Never. I have never had application made for treatment for the habit In nearly all cases the supply of opium to eaters of it is cut off when they are admitted to jail There are a few cases in which I consider it wise to continue the habit, at any rate for a time. In the case of a moderate eater I stop it at once. The common practice is to stop it at once.

Q.—One of the witnesses said that the work done in jails by opium-eaters would be apt to fall short if the opium was withheld?

A.—I have not noticed that except in those rare cases. I think stress has not been laid upon the fact that use of moderate doses as a dietetic Poor Natives are largely in the habit of eating rice in Eastern Bengal, and as a man advances in age digestion fails to some extent, and the food is hurried through the intestines. Opium prevents this, and is largely used among the poor

Q.—Have you noticed constipation in opium-eaters?

A.—Not in moderate users In advanced life it helps them to digest their food I do not think any restrictions should be placed upon it, on the contrary I think it should be got at more readily. I know very little about opium smoking

#### Evidence of Surgeon Captain J. H. T. Walsh.

Examined by Sir W Roberts —Q.—Your experience has been confined to the Lower Provinces?

A.—Almost entirely, as Civil Surgeon of Puri and Health Officer and I am Medical Officer of the Presidency Jail here, and in charge of the Jail at Puri That is where my experience has been, apart from regimental use and use amongst transport coolies

Q.—Your experience is that opium is largely consumed?

A.—I believe the consumption to be very considerable I have seen in Puri several lacs of people, during the pilgrim season going to the temples there, and amongst them opium is freely used They are Ooriyas, the inhabitants of Orissa, and others

Q.—Have you seen any ill effects?

A.—From the moderate use I have not seen any.

Q.—What have you observed in regard to excess in its use?

A.—It has been stated to me that certain persons in jail were inveterate eaters, but I am utterly unable to say from the symptoms that they were suffering from the effects of opium rather than from starvation.

Q.—Have you ever made a *post mortem* of an excessive opium eater?

A.—I have made several of those who were said to have been opium eaters. There is a great difference between opium and alcohol. Opium does not cause the degeneration of one single organ in the body. There is a certain amount of congestion of the vessels of the brain, but that is from poisonous doses, and that was only a temporary, not a permanent, lesion. The use began partly from the tradition that it was useful in disease, and partly from the social habits of the people, who taking opium find soothing effects from it and come to use it, such as wine does among other people. In India the standard of health was always low, and it was used medicinally as a boon in disease. In diabetes it was used

Q.—Have you noticed opium given to infants?

A.—Upon that point I can only refer to the general opinion as to the general custom. I have no instances to bring forward. It is generally stated that it is a common practice for mothers, and I agree with Dr Crombie that the practice extends to Europeans, objectionable as it is. Certainly I think large doses would be injurious to European children.

Q.—Have you had much experience of the effects of the malarial diseases?

A.—In Orissa, yes. There is a large native hospital at Puri and smaller dispensaries throughout the district. Enlarged spleen is common. I have not seen infants, but I have seen young children with these enlarged spleens.

Q.—Do you agree with the evidence given by Drs Harvey and Crombie?

A.—Generally I do. If you cut off the supply you will do more harm than good. I have one or two more points to urge. I agree entirely with Dr. Crombie as to the proper use of opium. A native diet is most indigestible, and taking opium prevents their suffering from diarrhoea. Another point is this. Every Civil Surgeon has sent to him by the Magistrate, opium which has been certificated. It is not easy to say whether it is fit for human consumption or not. It is generally adulterated with sugar or lime. It is perfectly easy to obtain opium and any attempt to prevent smuggling would be mere waste of time.

Q.—By Mr Wilson.—You consider Orissa malarious?

A.—Yes, in parts, but parts are extremely healthy.

Q.—Do you agree with the opinion that where people are very poor opium helps them.

A.—It helps them to bear up; one must admit that it would be far better if they would buy more food and less opium, but we know what

human nature is. I think opium does help them over their difficulties, both as regards disease and the indigestibility of their food.

Q.—You referred to Puri ?

A.—Yes, one of the most sacred cities in India, containing certainly the largest temple, that of Juggernath

Q —Is it healthy ?

A.—The town itself is particularly unhealthy It is kept away from the sea-breeze by high sandbanks, and on the other part there is a large swamp. The people are not very poor, especially in Puri The pilgrims are very poor

Surg.-Lt.-Col. Crombie, M.D., made the following supplementary statement:—

I wish to explain what I meant when I alluded to the stopping of the manufacture of *chandu* and *madak* I was asked if I would advocate the stopping of the manufacture of *madak* and *chandu* I wish to say I am not here to advocate any policy I merely express an opinion as to the comparative deleteriousness of certain ways of using opium When I expressed an opinion as to the closing of those places of manufacture, it had reference to the one thing which is constantly in my mind, that is, that the subject of opium is inextricably mixed up with that of alcohol. If you can close a number of *chandu* shops without increasing the consumption of alcohol, I would do so, but if there is a doubt that they would take to alcohol instead of opium, I would say leave them alone.

Mr Alexander made the following statement—I observe, from the evidence given this morning by Dr Harvey, that, in my cross-examination, I failed to note an important distinction between the suggestions put to me by Sir James Lyall and those put forward by our Society in paragraph nine of its general memorial to Lord Kimberley and thus appeared to accept Sir James Lyall's view as to our proposals We have never urged that opium should be sold only on medical certificate which would be going much beyond the law at present in force in the United Kingdom Our proposal is that the sale of the drug should in India, as in England, be entrusted to responsible and qualified persons, with the additional provision that these persons should have no interest in the sale of the drug

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part VII. 28th November, 1893.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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## Dr. Kallias Chunder Bose's Evidence.

By Sir William Roberts—Q—Will you please state what your position is?

A—I am an independent practitioner in Calcutta, engaged in private practice, and President of the Calcutta Medical Society.

Q—What opportunities have you had of studying the effects of taking opium?

A—I have been practising for upwards of eighteen years in Calcutta, mostly among the people of Rajputana, the North-West Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Madras. I also have had opportunities of watching the effects of opium-smoking on the Chinese stopping in Calcutta. These men are more or less addicted to the use of opium.

Q—How far has your experience led you to consider that the opium habit prevails among your countrymen here?

A—Among the permanent residents of Calcutta only, about ten per cent have acquired the opium habit, among those who come from other portions of the country nearly twenty per cent use opium in some shape or other.

Q—At what period of life is the habit generally acquired?

A—It is commenced after a definite period of adult life, probably after the age of thirty-five or thirty-six years, but this is not the rule with the people of Rajputana, who commence it at a comparatively earlier period of life, opium pilules are put into the mouths of new born babes in the lying-in room.

Q—What is the result of your experience, which is considerable, as to the effect of taking opium on the health and physical condition of the people?

A—It does not exert any deleterious effect on the health of moderate consumers, on the contrary, it promotes health and tends to preserve them from the injurious effects of malaria.

Q—What would you call the moderate use of opium?

A.—I should say from two to ten grains a day.

Q—Is there any tendency to increase the dose?

A.—Not in the least; only in exceptional cases

Q.—Have you noticed any demoralising effect of opium in malarial countries?

A.—The people who take it manifest no symptoms of demoralisation, on the contrary, they are harmless people

Q.—What is your opinion of its effect?

A.—It does not deteriorate the intellect, but rather acts as a stimulant to the brain. The Marwarees, who are noted opium eaters, are the most intelligent class of merchants in India

Q.—Am I to take it that you are speaking from intimate personal knowledge?

A.—Yes I am

Q.—An amount of intimate personal knowledge scarcely to be seen among European physicians?

A.—Exactly so

Q.—No doubt you have seen cases of the excessive use of opium?

A.—I have seen cases of the excessive use of opium, but according to my estimation of excess, not according to theirs. He was a religious mendicant, and took about eleven or twelve tolas of crude opium, and yet he was a perfect model of health and vigour, he could walk for miles together without fatigue

Q.—This is an instance of a high degree of tolerance. Have you seen any injurious effects from the opium habit?

A.—I have not yet been able to trace any deleterious effect, especially among Mahommedans and Hindoos

Q.—Do you consider that there is a higher degree of tolerance among the Marwarees, than among other Hindoos?

A.—I don't think so

Q.—What is your opinion as to the effect of opium as a popular remedy in malarial districts?

A.—It is a powerful antidote against malarious fever, as I can say from experience. During the autumn, every year, people come to Calcutta from the Terai of the Darjiling hills with malarious fever and enlarged spleen, and it is because they do not take the advice of opium-eaters that they contract the disease. The opium-eaters in that place are an undoubtedly healthy people.

Q.—What is your impression of the way in which the opium habit is generally begun: what induces the people to take it?

A.—It is said that it is almost entirely taken as a remedy for suffering, or pain, but I don't believe it. It is the fashion, and is taken as a luxury, just as tobacco smoking.

Q.—But there is an additional inducement in the case of opium, because it is an anodyne and an aphrodisiac, which tobacco is not?

A.—I should say its stimulant effect is the reason why the habit is acquired.

Q.—In a habitual opium-eater its effect as an anodyne does not appear?

A.—Its hypnotic effect has been noticed in many cases; a man might possess his faculties in first-rate order, but still there is a tendency towards sleep in some cases, especially in elderly people.

Q.—Do you regard that as unfavourable?

A.—No, it does not injure his health, he is capable of being aroused at any moment.

Q.—What is your opinion with regard to the smoking of preparations of opium?

A.—There are two methods of smoking opium, one is called *madak*, the other *chundu*. *Madak* is generally taken by the lower classes of Hindus and Mahomedans, while *chundu* is smoked by the comparatively higher classes of men. Only a nominal percentage of the permanent residents of Calcutta smoke *chundu*. Among the people of Bengal opium-smoking has a tendency to deteriorate health to a certain extent, but it is confined to the lower classes who are not blessed with a convenient share of prosperity, they have only one scanty meal a day, they neglect their food, and that is the only reason why their decay is so marked. The Chinese, who commence smoking earlier, do not suffer from any such premature decay.

Q.—Reverting for a moment to opium-eating, have you observed whether the habitual opium-eater, when he breaks down and suffers in health does so on account of poverty, or from the effects of opium?

A.—No, I have not.

Q.—Have you any further observations to make with regard to the effect of opium on the health and the mental and moral character?

A.—Opium-eaters are generally healthy people, even when they take opium in large quantities, they are still a peaceful class of citizens. It is in no way destructive to its consumers, and they are perfectly harmless to their friends. They are in no way prone to criminal offences; as a rule, they are a peaceful class.

**Q.**—In your opinion, as a citizen, will you tell us whether you think the people of this country will view prohibitive measures with regard to the growth of opium with satisfaction, or with disapproval ?

**A.**—They would regard it with dissatisfaction. The poppy is taken by some classes of people as a vegetable, and they prepare curries and chutnies out of poppy capsules. The Marwarees grow the poppy plant as an article of food, and I have even seen people in Calcutta take curries of poppy capsules, and cultivate it for the purpose. In Behar the poppy is generally used by the people of the lower classes as a condiment. It is extensively grown in every part of the country, and you might even see a few plants in Calcutta gardens where it is grown for its beautiful flowers.

**Q.**—Have you anything further to say ?

**A.**—Only one or two things regarding prohibitory measures. I don't think they are at all needed, and if they are adopted, it will simply be encouraging smuggling and the surreptitious cultivation of the poppy. I know that, notwithstanding the strictness of the law and the vigilance of the excise department, smuggling is of daily occurrence. I have seen the people of Burra Bazar get their daily supply from their own native places, so that I do not think any prohibitive measures would be effective. They are besides, not needed. I have known one and-a-half maunds of opium to be consumed in celebrating the funeral ceremonies of a moderately rich man. The use of opium is not restricted to men only, it is also given to domestic animals—camels and horses, for instance. The Kutch people use it largely in their stables, they give it to their horses to make them strong. I have been told this by a trader from Kutch, and I have also seen it stated in books.

**Q.**—We have heard something of opium being used as an aphrodisiac ?

**A.**—I don't believe it is an aphrodisiac here, neither do the Marwarees take it for the purpose, as far as my experience goes.

**By Lord Brassey.**—**Q.**—Can you tell us whether the great bulk of the people of this country are able to obtain the advantage of medical relief in sickness ?

**A.**—Yes, I think so; but I don't quite understand the point.

**By Mr. Wilson.**—**Q.**—Does the greater part of your evidence relate to eating, drinking, or smoking ?

**A.**—Some prefer to take it in the form of crude opium; others make extracts, mixing it with saffron, musk, or other ingredients, and

make it into pills ; others take it in the form of a pure decoction. I have seen Marwarees take capsules, soak them in hot water, and drink the infusion

Q —What I wish to know is whether the views which you have given refer to opium-eating and drinking or to smoking ?

A —They refer to the eating and drinking of opium.

Q —You say in your printed statement that the consumption of opium is daily increasing. Do you regard that with satisfaction ?

A —Yes, because I know that opium acts as an antidote to many diseases, it also acts as a stimulant, and wards off the depressing effect of the Indian climate, especially in all parts of Bengal, where people are subject to malarious fever, rheumatism, and diarrhoea

Q —Would you like to see the present consumption doubled ?

A —I would not like to go so far, but I would allow it to persons who are accustomed to its use, and I think it could be advantageously used in jails by giving it to prisoners who took it before incarceration because it would enable them to work better

Q —You also say in your statement that the abuse of opium is not in the least deleterious to its consumers ?

A —Yes, I mean those who take more than twenty grains a day. I know people who take one tola a day, that is more than 200 grains, and they are still healthy and quite peaceful

Q —And when you were speaking of opium smoking, you say it does not shorten life ?

A —This much I can say, that the Marwarees who are habitual opium eaters, live longer than Bengah gentlemen of Calcutta or Bengal

Q —Do you recommend alcohol for dietetic purposes ?

A —Certainly not. It is decidedly more injurious than opium. I have a special argument against the use of alcohol in this country

Q —My question was, do you recommend alcohol in the shape of wine and spirits for daily use ?

A —I do not.

Q —You have Europeans among your patients ?

A —Eurasians, but no Europeans. I don't recommend alcohol unless I find it necessary for some special disease, such as for neuralgia, or something like it, to give relief from pain and suffering, not otherwise.

Q.—As far as you know, the universal conviction of educated medical men is that for Europeans opium is not desirable for dietetic purposes?

A.—When taken for dietetic purposes, it exercises no deleterious effect on the health of people, so far I am prepared to say.

Q.—My question was, whether European medical men do recommend opium for daily dietetic use to their European patients?

A.—They would not, unless it was required, otherwise, why should they recommend it? If a European patient were to consult me about living in a marshy place, I would recommend him to take small doses of opium daily.

Q.—Would you consider that a medical man who did recommend the dietetic use of opium was doing a very safe thing with his patient?

A.—It depends upon the nature of the disease, and the discretion of the medical man. If he thought it was undeniably necessary for the health and well-being of his patient, he would be perfectly justified in doing so. A medical man ought to prefer opium to wine or alcohol as a dietetic.

Q.—Have you ever known a medical man recommend opium?

A.—No.

Q.—You regard it as a stimulant?

A.—Yes, to a certain extent, not always.

Q.—In that sense you would compare it favourably with alcohol?

A.—As regards a stimulant we can compare it with alcohol, but with regard to the physiological effects, alcohol exercises a dangerous effect on the health of people who drink it. The intoxication of alcohol is prolonged, while that of opium is transitory.

Q.—Have you seen a great deal of the effects of malaria, do you prescribe opium by itself as an antidote?

A.—No, narcotine and nitrate of potash are our best remedies.

Q.—Have you ever prescribed opium alone?

A.—I have prescribed narcotine, not crude opium.

Q.—And when a patient is accustomed to take opium regularly you would have to prescribe opium in very much larger doses to have the desired effect?

A.—Not at all, opium is intended to check pain. When a man accustomed to opium has diarrhoea I would prescribe other astringents, save and except opium. I would not increase the dose of opium.

Q.—Medical men use the word “tolerance.” Where a patient is accustomed to the use of opium, would it not require a larger dose to produce the same effect ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Therefore the more they take it, the larger the doses ?

A.—It depends upon the discretion of the medical man

Q.—If you were in a malarial district where the people do not use opium, would you recommend the use of opium ?

A.—Yes, I would at once advise the people generally to take opium.

Q.—You told us that people generally begin the habit after the age of thirty-five ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Are people of that age more liable to malaria ?

A.—No, malaria respects no age, it attacks the young as well as the old.

Q.—If they take it as a protection against malaria, why don't they begin earlier ?

A.—In the malarious districts if they would commence the habit at a comparatively early age it would answer the same purpose

Q.—If it is usually taken in old age, would you not expect that those more liable to malaria would be the greatest consumers ?

A.—Not necessarily, it depends on the province of India. If they knew that it always succeeded in checking malarial fever they would do it

Q.—I was not speaking of individuals, but taking the people of the districts where there is more malaria, there is most opium-eating ?

A.—I have no experience of malarial districts. I have never been out of Calcutta except once, but people have come from malarial districts, and I have treated them

Q.—You are President of the Calcutta Medical Society ; how many members are there in that Society ?

A.—It has two hundred members

Q.—Do you know the total number of practitioners according to the European system in Calcutta ?

A.—About three hundred

Q.—So that you have in your society the bulk of the medical practitioners ?

A.—Yes



Q.—You have handed in to the Commission a supplement to the *Indian Medical Gazette* for July, 1892; you were present at the meeting when Dr. Crombie read a paper and a discussion ensued. Does what is stated in the report correctly represent what you said on that occasion?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You spoke of the deleterious effects of opium. I have not gathered from your evidence that you thought there were any deleterious effects?

A.—There are no deleterious effects so far as I can see from personal observation of those who take opium habitually. I was before under the impression that opium smoking was injurious, but I have given up that opinion, and I find that opium-smokers are generally an emaciated class of people, and that they belong to a lower class of men, poor and indigent who scarcely get two meals a day. When they get accustomed to the use of smoking they employ their time in preparing the *madak* or *chundu* which they smoke.

Q.—You used the expression that opium smokers suffered more than opium-eaters. Do you say now that their sufferings are not due to smoking but to their general poverty?

A.—Yes, because the Chinese who smoke eighteen hours out of the twenty-four are not so weak and emaciated as the people of Lower Bengal.

Q.—You practically withdraw now what you said of opium-smokers on that occasion, "His complexion and lips become dark, his limbs wasted, his face becomes pinched, his abdomen protrudes, and his voice becomes hoarse?"

A.—Not at all. I have explained that that hoarseness is induced by constant smoking, just as the voice of a cigarette smoker becomes hoarse by constant smoking.

Q.—I don't understand whether you are of opinion that smoking does harm?

A.—No, I emphatically say it does not.

Q.—You refer to the *chundu*-smokers. Have you been in China?

A.—No; I speak of the Chinese who have come here for purposes of trade. They bring precious stones for sale, and stop in the Colootolla section of the town.

Q.—Further on you said that the hypnotic effect is produced more or less in all persons who take opium in whatever form they take it. Is that true?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You referred on that occasion to the question of taking morphia, and gave examples. Did you quote that with any degree of approval ?

A.—No.

Q —You give instances of people who take a large quantity daily. Do you approve of that ?

A —I condemn the habit.

By Mr. Mowbray —Q —You said you think the consumption of opium is increasing. Is it increasing among the people over thirty-five years of age, or is there a tendency for a larger number of people to take it at an early age ?

A —My reason is easily explained, namely, that diabetes has increased to a great extent, and that opium is more used as a preventive, the number of opium takers is daily increasing, at least in this portion of the country

Q —And so far as I understand you, it is increasing for medical purposes ?

A —Yes

By Mr. Haridas Veharidas —Q —You say the people of Kutch generally given their horses opium to make them strong. Who are those people ?

A —They are people who come from the province of Kutch, near Kathnawar, in Sindh ; they are called *Chulhas*

Q —In speaking of the opium habit increasing, do you mean that its use is increasing as a stimulant, or as a protective against malaria ?

A —As a stimulant, and that is the reason why people take to it at an advanced period of life

Q —Do you admit that *madak* can be smoked to excess ?

A.—I have not observed it to be smoked in excess.

By Mr. Wilson.—Q —How many medical papers are there in Calcutta ?

A —Two, the *Indian Medical Gazette*, and another very recently started called the *Medical Record*

Q —Are there any others in other parts of India ?

A —Yes, in Bombay and Madras, there is one paper in each.

Q —Did both those papers discuss the opium question ?

A —I don't know

Q.—Can you refer us to any Indian text-book used in medical schools in which your views on opium are stated authoritatively ?

A.—No ; because most of the text-books are written by men who have lived in Europe, and they have no personal knowledge of the opium habit in India. They wrote their books from the physiological effects they observed amongst their own people, and I am sorry to say that my views are not shared by medical authorities in Europe. But I know instances here of medical men who do not condemn the habit of taking opium so largely.

Q.—Is not Chevers' *Medical Jurisprudence* an Indian book ?

A.—Partly Indian.

Q.—Does that support your views ?

A.—No.

#### **Evidence of Dr Jogge Bundo Bose.**

By Sir William Roberts —Q —You are an independent medical practitioner ?

A.—Yes, I was in the Government service for nearly twenty-five years.

Q —What opportunities have you had of studying the effect of the opium habit ?

A —I was a teacher of the Campbell Medical School, and had charge of the second physician's ward, and then I had ample opportunities of observing the effect of *chundu* smoking. My native place is a malarial district, and I go there almost every year, and there I have ample opportunities observing the effect of opium on malaria, and my pretty large practice in Calcutta gave me ample opportunities.

Q —What have been the convictions which have grown in your mind with regard to the opium habit ?

A.—It is generally first taken by advice or from necessity, or when they hear that it had a good effect on a certain disease, but otherwise I don't think the people of Bengal generally take opium.

Q.—In the case of those who use opium habitually what doses do they take ?

A.—Generally opium eaters take from two to six grains ; that is the general dose among Hindus. Mahommedans take it in a little larger dose, and the Marwaris, Rajputs and Sikhs in even larger doses ; they go up to twenty grains.

Q.—Has it any effect on the general health, as regards people who use opium moderately?

A.—I think it keeps their health in a very good condition.

Q.—Is there a tendency to increase the dose?

A.—Those who commence it under medical advice, and those who suffer from pains and aches, such as the effects of rheumatism, are obliged to increase the dose, and they do increase it gradually.

Q.—When opium is taken in too large quantities it does affect the health, I presume?

A.—Some opium-eaters take as much as two *bhuries*, about five drachms or 360 grains

Q.—Do opium-eaters live as long as other people?

A.—There is an impression in our country from time immemorial that opium conduces to longevity and the promotion of health.

Q.—Have you come to any conclusion as to whether it is a protective in any way from the effects of malaria?

A.—Yes, I consider it a sovereign remedy for malarial fever, rheumatism, asthma, &c, and that is the reason why people take it it also retards the progress of consumption

Q.—Your experience is that habitual users of opium are not morally deteriorated?

A.—Not in the least On the contrary, it sharpens the intellect and fortifies the mind Opium-eaters are great reasoners, but drunkards are not, the judgment and reasoning power are in no way affected even by opium taken in large doses

Q.—Have you seen the effect of opium-eating on the poor?

A.—I have In the malarial districts from which I come many poor people take small doses to keep off the effects of malaria

Q.—Have you seen any facts indicating that the opium habit leads to any form of crime?

A.—No; opium-eaters are never criminals in the way drunkards generally are Drunkards are murderers and don't care for the lives of their wives and children The most opium-eaters will do will be to harm themselves, but a drunken man is a great nuisance to his own people and to society in general

Q.—What do you say about the proportions of adults who eat opium in your country?

A.—I think it is about one or two per cent. of the adult males; females never take opium. In the towns the percentage may be higher; but among Hindus and Mahommedans it cannot be more than four or five per cent. in this town

Q —Have you any suggestion to make why these take to opium, and why the others don't ?

A.—I think they take it because they are hard pressed by disease and are advised to take it. Then others take opium after the age of thirty-five or forty because there is an impression that after that age if you take moderate doses of opium it will conduce to the preservation of health and comfort, and therefore wealthy people generally take it at that age

Q.—Do you think that if measures were carried out for the prohibition of the sale of the opium your countrymen would be willing ?

A.—They will to a man oppose it and will not bear any prohibitive measure. It is a perfectly innocent drug

Q —You say it is necessary to restrict the sale of opium to large towns so as to put a check on its use for the purpose of suicide ?

A —Yes

Q —Opium is a favourite means of suicide ?

A —Not necessarily. Another favourite means is hanging, and another drowning, also poisoning by arsenic

By Lord Brassey —Q —Do you find it difficult to give a general opinion as to the effects of taking opium. Is it or is it not the case that the effects of the opium habit whether taken in solid or a liquid form depends upon the quantity taken ?

A —Yes, it depends entirely on the quantity, but when taken as an infusion in cold water the effect is not so bad as when it is taken in the form of smoking *chundu* or *gooli* or *maxlak*

Q.—Am I to understand that a large quantity of opium whether taken in a solid or liquid form does undoubtedly do harm. In more moderate doses you don't believe it has evil effects ?

A.—When taken in moderate doses I have not discerned any evil effects.

By Mr Pease —Q —You say that opium smoking always does harm ?

A.—Yes, I have seen it in the Chinese, but leaving that race out of consideration, when the habit of opium smoking is taken to by Hindus or Mahommedans it generally does harm. among them it does have bad and serious effects.

Q.—Have you met with any instances where opium eating has done harm ?

A.—Speaking comparatively, even when opium is eaten in excess it does not do so much harm as opium smoking

Q.—You say that an opium eater does do harm to himself ?

A.—The most he might do would be to take a large quantity and thus injure his own life, but he will not harm other people

Q.—Is it your opinion that it would be better to abstain from taking opium except for medical purposes ?

A.—No, I would allow the people to take it of their own accord as it promotes their health I would certainly advise that

Q.—Have you seen many instances of excessive opium eating ?

A.—Yes, I have seen some instances

By Mr Wilson.—Q.—Were you able to hear the evidence of Dr. Kailas Chunder Bose Do you agree with all he said, or do you wish to express your dissent from any portion of his evidence ?

A.—With regard to the eating of opium capsules, I have no experience Poppy seeds are taken in the form of a condiment, but not opium capsules or leaves, so far as I know

Q.—Do you agree with him as to the general prevalence of the practice of taking opium, and do you desire to see it extended ?

A.—Although I do not desire to see it extended, I agree with him that it does not do harm

Q.—In your printed statement you say that the use of opium in moderation is not demoralising in its effects and not deteriorating, then would you consider it beneficial ?

A.—I certainly consider the moderate use of opium to be very beneficial

Q.—Do you take it yourself ?

A.—I am not an opium eater I might take it when advised by medical men. The first effect of opium in moderate doses is that it stimulates the brain and brightens the intellect

Q.—Then, would it not be well for all of us to take it ?

A.—That is a matter for your own choice, but I would not wish to see the people of the whole world taking opium Those who like to take it will themselves take it

Q.—You must think it a deplorable thing that only two per cent of the adult males take opium ?

A.—It is not so much needed when a person is in general good health, although I advise people to take it to preserve their health. I would not advise them to take it as a regular diet

Q.—At the end of your statement you say you think it very necessary to restrict the free sale of opium ?

A.—Yes, as it is sold in towns, not in the country, because very few people in the country take opium to poison themselves

Q.—How do you propose to restrict the sale ?

A.—That I have not thought of

Q.—Are you a member of the Calcutta Medical Society ?

A.—Yes, I am

Q.—Were you present at the discussion which took place on the reading of Dr. Crombie's paper ?

A.—I was not present on that occasion

Q.—As a matter of fact, do doctors prescribe opium in malaria ?

A.—Yes, I think it is extensively prescribed I do prescribe it, and the medical men with whom I have consulted, all prescribe it It is even put down in our books We are taught in College that opium increases and does not hinder the effect of quinine

Q.—Then you would not use it alone but only to increase the effects of quinine ?

A.—I would use it alone too

Q.—Can you give any reason why only such a small proportion of people as two per cent take it if they find it beneficial ?

A.—Those who do not need it should not take it Every one does not take quinine There are many people who don't touch it

Q.—Do you think people in country districts more or less liable to malarial disease ?

A.—They are more liable

Q.—But they take much less opium ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You speak in your statement of the non-medical use of opium, what do you mean ?

A.—I mean the taking of opium by people who are not advised to take it ; such as the rich classes of people who have got an impression that opium does good when a man is advanced in years They commence taking it of their own accord after they attain the age of forty.

Q.—Do I understand that very few women take opium ?

A.—Yes , why should they take it if they don't need it ?

Q.—Are they not subject to the influences of malaria ?

A.—Yes, but they don't like to take opium.

Q.—In cases of people afflicted with dysentery do you prescribe opium ?

A.—In every case you cannot prescribe the same remedy. It will depend on the type of dysentery, on the stage at which a medical man is called in, and on the general health. All these things should be taken into account.

Q.—What are your principal remedies in cases of dysentery ?

A.—Ipecacuanha, opium, *kooi chee*, and other things

Q.—Do these medicines take exactly the same effect in opium eaters as in non-opium eaters ?

A.—In the case of opium eaters you have to give larger doses to produce the same effect

Q.—Do you ever give chloroform in dysentery ?

A.—Very seldom , not in dysentery

By Mr Fanshawe —Q.—What practical experience have you had in country districts ?

A.—As a medical man I have paid visits in Krishnagar, Hooghly, Barisal, to see patients

Q.—Does not the liability to malarial fever vary much at different districts ?

A.—Yes, it does, I consider Hooghly, Burdwan, the 24-Pargunnas, Jessore, Rungpore, Burrisal and Dacca the most malarial districts

Q.—You expressed an opinion that only two per cent of the adult males take opium.

A.—I was speaking generally of the whole provinces of Lower Bengal. I have mentioned in my statement that in Moorshedabad, Bhagalpore, and Gya, opium is much more consumed than in the lower provinces

Q.—Have you founded your statement on any statistics ?

A.—No ; it varies very much in different districts

By Sir James Lyall.—Q.—Dr Kailas Chunder Bose expressed the opinion that opium eating is increasing very much in Calcutta. Is that your opinion too ?



A.—No ; on the contrary I think that opium smoking in the form of *goolee* or *madak*, which was very prevalent when I commenced my medical studies, has not increased considerably Opium eating has not increased generally among Hindoos or Mahommedans

### **Evidence of Dr. Surji Omar Surbadhicari.**

By Sir William Roberts :—Q —Please state your position in the medical profession ?

A.—I am a Medical practitioner in Calcutta, I mix with the people here very largely in my practice and know intimately their ways and habits.

Q.—Has the practice of opium-eating spread very much in Calcutta ?

A.—It is confined to people of advanced age, they take it on advice as a life-supporting drug, it improves digestion and keeps up their vital powers People take it under that impression

Q.—Is it your professional experience that that opinion is correct or incorrect ?

A.—It is correct

Q.—What proportion of people after forty take it ?

A.—About four to five per cent

Q.—So that it is not a very widely-extended habit ?

A.—No, it is not

Q.—Besides that, is it taken as a popular remedy for any disease ?

A.—Yes, it is very much taken for rheumatism, dysentery, diarrhoea, diabetes, and asthma, and I have had to give it (not crude opium, but one of the active principles of opium, narcotine) when quinine was scarce When I was in Bhagalpore in 1856-59 and the Sepoy Mutiny broke out there was a great scarcity of quinine, disease followed in the wake of famine, and we had a large number of patients in hospital; there were no European medicines, and we had to depend greatly on indigenous drugs, opium was then our staple remedy, we also gave curchu, but narcotine as a substitute for quinine I found to be of the greatest use

Q.—Is opium used as a popular remedy for children ?

A.—Not much in Bengal, but I have known it used in Ghazipore. I have there seen infants of five or six years take opium Mothers give opium to infants to put them to sleep, while they themselves go to work, but I have never found any bad effects from it, they give a little bit of crude opium : it might amount to about one-twelfth of a grain.

Q.—It would not be more than a couple of drops of laudanum ?

A.—No.

Q.—Is it customary to give it daily?

A.—In the cases I have seen, it is given daily, only one dose in the morning, it is a popular remedy.

Q.—Among persons who consume opium habitually in malarial districts, is it the popular notion that it preserves health?

A.—Under the belief that they will not get malarial fever, I don't think more than a grain is taken daily

Q.—Are you speaking of the agricultural population?

A.—Yes; men and women go early to the fields to work, and I have known women take opium after the age of thirty-five or forty

Q.—Do women take it as a preventive in the morning?

A.—I don't know

Q.—Have you seen any ill effects follow from the habit?

A.—In moderate doses, none

Q.—Have you seen it taken in excess?

A.—Yes, and, of course, with evil effects

Q.—What evil effects?

A.—When they had taken more than their habitual dose, they were in a narcotic condition

Q.—Have you ever seen the habitual use carried to excess?

A.—Never

Q.—The opium drunkard is not known?

A.—I have practically not seen him, I have seen some amongst the Eurasians, but very few, I have seen them take laudanum in lieu of other stimulants, but not with evil effects

Q.—Have you seen the habit of taking opium either in those who are getting on in life or in those who take it as a protective, affect their morals?

A.—Their health was not prejudiced, it was favourably affected

Q.—Do you attribute the occurrence of cases of lunacy to this habit?

A.—Not to eating opium, but to smoking opium

Q.—Do you think that the habit of smoking is now more prevalent?

A.—No It is diminishing

Q.—Do you happen to know what the abuse of *madal* is?

A.—No.

Q.—As far as your knowledge goes of the opinions of your countrymen, would they object to paying the price necessary to carry out prohibition ?

A.—They would object to pay any increased taxation in any shape.

Q —You would not propose any steps to diminish cultivation ?

A.—There is no necessity whatever

By Mr Pease —Q.—You say that smoking is common among the lower classes of society, and that they often take to pilfering to obtain it. Do you think that, under these circumstances, Government ought to license the sale of *madak* and *chundu* ?

A —I would certainly not advocate the licensing of any system of intoxication which would lead to crime, and an increase to the criminal population

Q.—You said that the abuse of opium has caused serious mischief, in what way ?

A —I mean that opium is a sovereign remedy for disease, when it is taken to destroy life, it is a most serious thing, and it can be obtained in any locality here. I would therefore, suggest that some restrictions should be placed upon its sale, and that persons who are conversant with the habits of the people should be entrusted with the sale, so as to prevent young boys, who fail in the examinations, getting two annas worth and dying. This is a serious thing,—this indiscriminate sale

Q —You don't think there is sufficient care taken by persons to whom licenses have been given ?

A —I don't know anything about licenses

Q —You say more care should be taken as to the persons who sell ?

A —Yes

Q —Do you think that the places in which it is at present sold, should be, many of them, withdrawn from public observation ?

A.—I have not seen many ; I have seen them upon road-sides.

Q.—Have you any further suggestions as to the restrictions you would place on the sale ?

A.—It is very difficult to carry out suggestions. I should like to entrust sales to men who will be able to use their discretion, as to whom to sell to and whom not. Of course, you cannot prohibit regular dealers from getting it

Q —Would you advise licenses to be given to persons who have no direct interest in the increased sale of the drug ?

A —I would prefer to prohibit all sorts of intoxicants, whether it be opium, wine, or *ganja*, or anything, but I know this would not be practicable

[Question repeated]

A —Certainly I would

Q —By Mr Wilson —Is the district where you were born, Ghazipore, a malarious one ?

A —It was not in my time

Q —Is there much consumption of opium there ?

A —There was when I was there

Q —Cultivators help themselves to a little ?

A —May be, but if they did so, it was to preserve their health

Q —Speaking generally, do you disagree in any respect with the gentleman who was first examined to-day ?

A —I don't wish to disagree with him in the main My general impression is that opium is not deleterious when taken under advice or in old age

Q —The first witness desires to see the consumption of opium increased, is that your desire too ?

A —My desire is that no sort of intoxicating thing should be used

Q —Then you don't agree with him in that particular? you attach importance to its medical use ?

A —Yes

Q —Are you aware that what may be called the anti-opiumists have always admitted there must be ample supplies for medical use ?

A —So much the better

Q —Therefore you have no necessity to oppose a view which nobody holds ?

A.—There is no necessity for my doing so

By Mr. Mowbray —I rather gather from you, that if you had your way, you would prohibit the sale of all stimulants, including alcohol and *ganja* ?

A.—Yes, if they are not absolutely necessary for preserving human life and health.

Q.—If you had your way, which would you begin with first—opium alcohol, or *ganja*?

A.—*Ganja*, first and foremost.

Q.—After *ganja*?

A.—Alcohol.

Q.—May I take it that you consider opium as the least harmful stimulant?

A.—A less harmful one.

Q.—Do you consider that if the consumption of opium was put a stop to, without putting a stop to the consumption of alcohol or *ganja*, there would be any danger of the people who now take opium falling back upon some other stimulant?

A.—I believe so

By Mr Fanshawe —In your printed statement you say that suicide by means of opium is on the increase Are you speaking of Calcutta or generally?

A —Of Calcutta

By Sir James Lyall —You say that the abuse of opium has been a prolific source of mischief, are you alluding to suicides only, or other kinds of mischief?

A.—Suicides and also to homicides

Q.—Have you formed that opinion from statistics?

A.—From my own observation

Q.—You said that suicides were increasing, because of the facilities for obtaining opium?

A.—Yes

Q.—Are the facilities now the same as those in former times, or less?

A.—I have not the least idea, when I said facilities for getting opium, I meant it could be got at the four corners of Bow Bazar, Thunthunna, Burra Bazar, and Dharamtala

Q.—The shops are not more numerous, and the price is higher?

A.—The price is higher

Q.—You think that if opium was not so readily obtainable, a certain number of lives might be saved?

A.—That is my belief.

By Mr. Wilson —Q.—Do you agree with the witness who spoke of the effect of opium in brightening the intellect?

A.—I have no personal knowledge of it.

Q.—Would you recommend it to anybody who wishes to brighten his intellect?

A —I never recommend any kind of stimulant except when required medically

Q —You don't agree with the last witness?

A —I do not

### **Evidence of Dr. Hira Lal Ghose.**

By Sir William Roberts —Q.—You are a medical practitioner in Calcutta?

A —Yes, I also go into the surrounding districts, Hooghly and the Twenty-four-Pargannahs

Q —You have been doing large work amongst the people for thirty years, so that your experience has been very considerable?

A —Yes, I know many opium-eaters

Q.—Speaking roughly, what proportion of adults use opium?

A —In all these districts and Calcutta, it may be five to ten per cent

Q —Are you speaking of adults who use it in the latter period of life as a sustainer?

A —Not only as a sustainer but also medicinally

Q —Taking the two classes together, opium-eaters don't exceed five to ten per cent?

A —No

Q —What is the dose for an adult?

A —The average quantity, generally, is from two to five or eight grains

Q —This is taken regularly day by day?

A —Day by day, but this dose of eight grains they come to after using it for some time They gradually increase the dose

Q —Have many cases come under your observation where the quantity has been increased to an injurious extent?

A,—I have seen fifty to one-hundred grains taken and continued for ten and twenty years

Q —It could not have had much effect upon health?

A.—On the contrary, it had bad effects upon health

Q.—Still they manage to live on?

A.—Bad effects will manifest themselves—jaundice, enlarged liver, dysentery, diarrhoea. Of course in those who are well-to-do the bad effects are not so manifest as in those who have not the means of living.

Q.—Have you observed these effects from excessive quantities in persons who are able to live well?

A.—I divide the use of opium into two classes—medical use and non-medical use. For medical use poor people go to vendors. All can't go to apothecaries, which I prefer.

Q.—I take it that, in the ordinary way, they don't consult a doctor?

A.—Not always.

Q.—It is a domestic remedy?

A.—There is an impression amongst them that unless they take it, when above forty, they cannot reach the full period of their lives.

Q.—Do you believe in that theory?

A.—Yes, there is some truth in it, but in some cases I believe it is erroneous.

Q.—Do you recognise constitutional differences between these and others?

A.—The general complaint is as to costiveness and some uneasy sensations, and there is a medicine known to opium-eaters, a decoction of *Convolvulus repens* which is used to relieve these sensations. When there is no disease there is a deleterious effect upon health no doubt.

Q.—Even in those who take it in the latter part of their lives?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Have you noticed it affect the moral character?

A.—No.

Q.—Does it lead to crime?

A.—No.

Q.—You have stated that the habitual consumption of opium, except as a preventive of disease, has a bad effect upon health?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You also said that these people live longer?

A.—On the whole I think those who don't take it live longer. I have many instances before me of men aged 90, 80, and 70 years, who don't take opium, but smoke tobacco. I think therefore the popular impression may be ill-founded.

Q —Have you known whether persons, who take opium as a luxury, shorten their lives ?

A —I cannot say positively, because I have seen persons of eighty take opium. I have conversed with many opium-eaters, and asked them whether opium acted as a prophylactic against fever. All told me that for five or six months after taking opium they were well, not afterwards. When they left it off they were all right, but if they continued the habitual use of it, there was a return of the disease. A year ago two persons, living in a malarious district, came to me, and they had taken opium for twenty years. They were complaining of its bad effects. I advised them to leave it off, they did so, and they are now hale and hearty. There is another man who used it for six years who left it off, and is now quite well.

Q —None of these three had any difficulty in leaving off ?

A —There was some difficulty, but for a few days only—want of sleep and pains over the body. For fear of these they cannot leave it off easily.

By Lord Brassey —Q —You are medical officer to the Eastern Bengal Railway ?

A —Yes.

Q —Have you anything to say in reference to regulations for the supply of opium, do you think they should be more stringent ?

A —Yes, I do.

Q —Do you think there should be more stringency in licensing *chundu* and *madak* shops ?

A —*Madak* dens should be closed, and I wish they were closed for ever. As to *chundu* I have no knowledge.

By Mr Pease —Q —You are of opinion, as appears from your abstract, that the non-medical use of opium is not necessary and is injurious ?

A —Yes.

Q.—You suggest that you would be in favor of the sale being placed in the hands of persons who knew purchasers and had power to refuse the sale ?

A —Yes, my suggestion is not to sell opium except to known men. In towns in each ward there should be a shop, and newcomers would not obtain it, until after enquiry.

Q.—Do you think it well that those persons who sell opium have a direct interest in the increased sale of the drug ?



A.—No.

Q.—By Mr. Wilson.—Do you know any European practitioners in India who recommend opium to their patients as a dietetic as distinguished from a medicine ?

A.—I do not.

Q.—Do you know any Indian practitioners who recommend it ?

A.—I know Kobirajs who give it in disease, not as a dietetic I do not know that any person recommends it for non-medical purposes

Q.—Then you do not agree with the gentlemen who came here before you to-day ?

A.—In general, I do not, we differ very widely

Q.—You use an expression about “ respectable Mahommedans,” do you mean that taking of opium is regarded by them as very respectable ?

A.—No, I mean those who are in a higher state of society

Q.—Are you speaking generally of smoking or drinking, or do you include them all

A.—Eating, I would in some cases recommend, smoking I do not recommend at all

Q.—Would you recommend it for malaria without any other medicine ?

A.—I recommend other things than opium

Q.—Where did you receive your medical education ?

A.—In the Calcutta Medical College

Q.—Did any of your professors recommend it ?

A.—I do not know

Q.—By Mr. Mowbray—Do you agree with the last witness that of all stimulants in general use, opium is the least harmful ?

A.—Yes

Q.—You would propose to give a discretionary power with regard to the supply of alcohol in the same way?

A.—No, not at all

Q.—What is the difference in the case of alcohol ?

A.—My recommendation for the use of opium was not for non-medical purposes, but as a medicine for disease

Q.—Would you propose to give a discretion in the supply for medicinal purposes.

A.—For medical purposes I would recommend alcohol as well as opium.

Q.—Would you prohibit both of them for non-medical use?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Absolutely?

A.—Absolutely

Q.—You say you would allow opium in disease?

A.—To those who are ill, not otherwise Of course there are persons in villages who are poor and who cannot go to apothecaries, and to whom one pice worth of opium represents eight annas' worth of medicine, for these I recommend its use.

Q.—You would require a large number of persons to distribute opium in this way

A.—Not a large number, when cultivation is decreased, and it is used only for medical use, the sale of opium would be less

Q.—Do you think that the number of persons required for distribution would be larger or smaller than at present?

A.—Smaller

Q.—Is it part of your idea that the persons who supply should be sufficiently numerous to have a personal knowledge of the persons who apply?

A.—There should be a vendor in each of the eighteen wards of Calcutta

Q.—Do you think it possible for one person in the eighteenth part of Calcutta to have a personal knowledge that would enable him to supply opium to those who want it

A.—He would gradually gain that knowledge

Q.—By Mr Fanshawe - Do you know whether opium is used as a domestic remedy?

A.—Yes

Q.—And I think you will admit that a large proportion of the population is necessarily cut off from medical advice?

A.—There are many villages where there are no medical practitioners, and for poor people these vendor's shops should be supplied

Q.—Have you had any personal experience among Marwaris?

A.—Very limited, I see them now and then

Q.—Eating opium is a habit amongst them generally?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Does it affect their health ?

A.—Of course it affects their health , but they are a prosperous people and they live well Those who take moderate quantities are well-to-do. Those who take large quantities, their health is affected.

Q.—By Sir James Lyall —It does not affect them injuriously generally?

A —Not so much as the health of Bengalis is affected

Q —Would not your opium vendors have to be medical men ,

A —Of course not.

Q —If you had not medical men how could they tell whether a man who wanted opium required it for the purpose or not?

A —He would have to believe the patients who would come to him for opium

Q —If a patient said he wanted it for his health he would have to give it to him?

A —Yes, even if we don't know sometimes what people are suffering from He may say he has got a little pain or so

Q —What advantage would this have over the present system , everybody would say he wanted it for his health ?

A —Vendors being used to the locality and being resident there, would know all the families in that village , and would know who were ill and who were not

Q —In a country district there is only one shop in fifty square miles?

A —It may be

Q —You must get a very honest man?

A.—Of course

Q.—Or he would get some inducement to give opium?

A —That must be guarded against. Further suggestions I cannot make at present

Q —You say in your printed memorandum that it is not uncommon to find persons ruined by alcohol become useful members by taking opium?

A.—I know many, one a beggar in the streets, now he has left off alcohol and takes two grains of opium and is a clerk in an office doing the work of a regular man

Q —There opium is a very good thing?

A.—In this case of course it is better than alcohol, my meaning is that the use of opium is better than the use of alcohol

Q —Is not there a very great difficulty in drawing the line between the medical and non-medical use of opium ?

A —Of course, generally, as people to get it will pretend that something is the matter with them

By Mr Wilson —Q —I want to have it clear upon the minutes who the Marwaris are I understand they are amongst the wealthiest people in Calcutta ?

A —They are residents of Rajputana, Bickaneer and other places who come to Calcutta to trade

Q —They are amongst the wealthiest men?

A —They are doing pretty well

Q —Are there many of them who are very poor ?

A —Yes, of course there are poor men, but many of them are wealthy

Q —If I understand you rightly, you say that if they are well fed they don't suffer much ?

A —They don't suffer much, but I cannot say they do not suffer at all

Q —If poor they do suffer ?

A.—Of course

Q —In all cases, or when taken in excess ?

A —In all cases almost When they take it in excess they will suffer more severely

#### **Evidence of Miss Lillias Hamilton, M. D.**

By Sir William Roberts.—Q —You are a Doctor of Medicine practising in Calcutta ?

A —Yes

Q —Kindly tell us in what way you have had opportunities of observing the opium habit ?

A —I have been in Calcutta for three years, practising amongst natives, chiefly of the upper classes, I have also seen the lower classes in hospital In the Zenana Hospital I see the upper classes of native females We have also a dispensary where we see sixty to eighty every morning. We don't have a great many cases of opium-eaters. I have never seen anybody who came to me actually suffering from the habit.

In prescribing, I have found out that some patients are in the habit of taking opium, and have therefore, prescribed larger quantities

Q.—Have you formed any estimate of the proportion of adults who use opium habitually in large quantities?

A.—No, I have not, amongst the upper classes it was rare, amongst the lower more common

Q.—What proportion of the lower classes?—About one half?

A.—Yes, perhaps, but not so much among the upper classes

Q.—Were your observations confined to adults only?

A.—I have never seen a child take opium. Amongst the women of the upper classes I don't think I have heard more than half-a-dozen altogether distinctly say they took opium, so as to interfere with their children. I think it is rare among the females of the upper classes. I have never seen them give opium to their children, but they may do so

Q.—Does it ever grow into a frequent habit?

A.—I don't think so, I have never seen a child of ten or so take opium at all.

Q.—So that the habit among the women you have observed is not commenced till adult life

A.—No. Generally speaking, among the upper-class women, it dates from some ill-health

Q.—In these cases, has there been any deterioration of health?

A.—I have never seen such a thing in this country

Q.—So that, as far as you have seen, the habit is continued in moderation?

A.—Yes, continued in moderation, nor do they deteriorate in character.

Q.—How much opium would be taken?

A.—I have had a few cases in hospital, and persons, as a rule, ask for two, three, or four grains, which lasts them for three or four days.

Q.—There is no tendency to increase the dose?

A.—Yes, they do. they begin with the smaller portion, and take a great deal more than that after. There are natives who take a great deal more, but not in my practice. They never admit taking it, unless pressed. It is confided to me. I do not think taking it is considered a disgrace. I have never seen opium-smoking at all

Q —Is it like cigarette smoking amongst ladies in our own country? In what light do people look upon it?

A —I don't think they look upon it in any very favourable light. I have heard people say it makes them more intelligent for the moment.

Q —Have you observed any ill effects?

A —No, neither physical nor moral.

Q —But you think there is a tendency to increase the dose?

A —Yes.

Q —Would absolute prohibition be regretted by consumers?

A —I think they would look upon it as a very great hardship, I think they would think it unwise.

Q —You have not observed any public intoxication, anything which the police could take cognisance of?

A —Never.

Q —Is there any portion of the population which you have had experience of, who are consumers of spirits or hemp-drugs?

A —Yes, they consume hemp, they consume *bhang*, the leaves, but I do not think it is intoxicating at all, except in large quantities.

Q —Have you seen any alcoholism amongst women?

A —Never amongst women, only amongst men.

Q —Would the prohibition alluded to, possibly encourage the use of these other stimulants?

A —I think so, certainly.

Q —You regard that as a change for the worse?

A —Yes, I do, because I have seen the evil effects from the others, but never from opium.

Q —Do you consider the grant of licenses for the sale of opium should be abandoned?

A —No, I do not.

Q —You think the present system on the whole a good one?

A —Yes, I think so.

By Lord Brassey —Do you think, from your experience, that the use of opium in this country is more necessary than in England?

A —I have seen much opium taken in England, and its evil effects.

Q —Would the climate of India make the use of opium more innocuous?

A —I can hardly say , it is taken so much here that I fancy it must be so There are diseases here which require it much more than diseases which are common in England

By Mr Pease —Would you advise opium being taken for dietetic purposes in England ?

A —No

Q —Do you advise it here ?

A —No, I should not advise it in England or here

Q —You think that practice better avoided ?

A —Yes

By Mr Wilson —In your practice here, do you recommend women to take wine or spirits ?

A —Yes, but they are very disinclined to do so

Q —You don't view opium in the same light as wine ?

A —Oh, no

Q.—As far as you know, this is the general opinion amongst Europeans in this country ?

A —I think so

Q.—You never recommend it for dietetic purposes ?

A —No.

Q —If you heard a doctor had recommended it, do you think he would be doing a very safe thing for the patient ?

A —I should not think so

Q —You are not a total abstainer ?

A —No

Q.—You would not recommend a patient to refrain from the use of alcohol ?

A —No except when it was necessary

Q —Would you give opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever ?

A.—I have never done so

Q.—In the case of the children you refer to, you have not actually seen them taking opium ?

A —I have seen children who have had bad digestions, and knowing that the mothers might give it, I have asked the question and have got the answer. I have never seen a child suffering from the slightest symptoms of opium

**Q** —Do you know or suspect the existence of cases, among Europeans, of opium given by ayahs ?

**A** —Not by ayahs, but in one case by a European nurse

**Q** —You have not seen any physical deterioration in your patients from the opium habit ?

**A** —No

**Q** —Have you come into sufficient contact with them to be able to form an opinion as to moral deterioration ?

**A** —I know a good many families quite well in zenanas, I have seen women who have been in the habit of taking it, the upper class ladies don't like to talk about it, as it is not a thing which they would make public

By Mr Mowbray —**Q** —Is this reluctance to confess to the consumption of opium only in the case of women, or is it a disgrace in the case of men ?

**A** —I don't know anything about men professionally I have asked that question, and they have told me it was not considered disgraceful, but they consider smoking rather disgraceful

**Evidence of Rai Bahadur Kanny Lal Dey, C. I. E., F. C. S., a graduate of the Calcutta Medical College ; late assistant Chemical Examiner to Government, and Teacher of Chemistry in the Campbell Medical School**

By Sir William Roberts.—**Q** —What opportunities have you had amongst your countrymen of judging of the effects of the opium habit ?

**A** —As a medical man I had occasion to visit their families among the higher classes, I have a large practice, and there are many amongst them, even ladies, who take to opium with advantage in cases of illness

**Q** —Amongst the people who fell under your notice, do five to six per cent of adult males use opium ?

**A** —I believe so, possibly about that or more

**Q** —They take it, from five to seven grains daily ?

**A** —They generally commence with half a grain, then a grain and gradually increase it provided the ailment is not properly cured Generally they don't exceed four grains for a dose, and one dose is sufficient, or sometimes two, daily

**Q** —What effect has it upon their health and morals ?

**A** —Generally they keep in good health, but those who are underfed lose some flesh



Q —What would you say in the case of poor men ?

A.—If he is a habitual eater, and has not his usual amount of food, he will waste and generally get bowel complaint

Q —So that in the case of a poor man he would be better without it ?

A —Yes

Q —You have not observed any disastrous effects upon morals or health from its use ?

A.—No, no crime or lunacy no opium eater commits crime

Q —In malarial regions what has been your experience ?

A —I have had opportunities to see a good many people coming from these districts, and have learnt from them that many have taken to opium and got well There are many districts in which people take opium as a cure for malaria In Burdwan there are many opium eaters on account of the malaria there

Q —They would be worse if they had not taken opium ?

A —Certainly , there is something in opium which arrests molecular changes

Q —Speaking generally of medical relief, it cannot be said to reach a large proportion of the population , so that as a popular domestic remedy it is of great use ?

A —That is true , a large portion of the population, even in Calcutta, do not get advice or medical relief

Q —You think, upon the whole, that any measures taken to prohibit it, would be injurious ?

A.—Certainly

Q —Comparing opium to alcohol or *bhang*, do you think it less harmful ?

A —Opium is never injurious to health except in large quantities, but the use of alcohol is very injurious, as it produces many organic diseases This I have never known opium to do When I was Chemical Examiner to Government I examined the stomachs of those who died from opium poisoning With the opium I found a purple coloured substance and I was anxious to know what it was I made a research and came to the knowledge that one of the indications of opium poisoning gave this colour. It is known by the name of *porphyroxine* In Malwa opium I found minute traces of this substance, but none in Persian opium It is now used to detect cases of opium poisoning—one of the trial tests for opium ; you can detect the  $\frac{1}{50}$  part of a grain of it with hydrochloric acid,

I think the presence of this ingredient is probably why the Indian opium is preferred in China. Perhaps it tempers the quality of the opium. This is only a speculation on my part.

By Mr. Pease.—Q—Under the influence of opium the labouring classes are capable of great exertions ?

A—Its effects are much less than those of alcohol, but they are more permanent, they last for eight or ten hours.

Q—What is the state of the man at the end of this period ?

A—At the end of twenty-four hours the effects are exhausted, and there is a certain amount of languor when they are incapable of work.

Q—The stimulation would correspond with the depression ?

A.—The effects are more permanent than those of alcohol. In alcohol there is an immediate depression, not so in opium.

Q—Has it injurious effects upon the constitution ?

A—I don't think so, after a certain age the force is restored and digestion improved. If people suffer from various chronic diseases they get over them by taking opium because they can digest their food.

Q—Have you known many cases in which persons who have taken considerable quantities have given up the habit ?

A—Very few

Q—Does it require much effort ?

A—Yes, the nervous system becomes irritable if the dose is diminished, people become depressed and there is a general waste.

Q—By Mr Wilson—Where were you educated ?

A—In the Calcutta Medical College, I have practised in Calcutta for forty years

Q—You have retired from the position of Chemical Examiner ?

A.—Yes, ten years

Q—In reference to your views about the special properties of opium, are you supported in them by other authorities ?

A—Yes, but I think my view as to the tempering the quality of the drug by *porphyroxine* is my own

Q.—Why is milk taken so much by opium-eaters ?

A—The assimilation of milk food by opium-eaters is thorough, and so it becomes conducive to their health.

Q.—Their stomachs are not in very good condition ?

A.—Those who take milk are always in good condition and milk is retained more easily by opium-eater. There are many who cannot take milk

Q.—Do they take opium to help the milk to digest ?

A.—Opium-eaters take milk, not so much for assimilating milk, as for counteracting the evil effects of opium

Q.—By Mr Fanshawe —You say that the habit of taking opium in moderation generally grew out of some disease.

A.—It is first generally prescribed in certain diseases and then the patient gets into the habit of using it

Q.—Then it is a habit taken to in elderly life

A.—Yes

**Evidence of Dr. Khurgeshur Bose**

Q.—Are you Medical officer to the Eastern Bengal State Railway ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Your official work is done at Sealdah ?

A.—Near the Railway Station in a little hospital and I am in charge of a dispensary I have only a few private patients to attend to

Q.—Your experience of the opium habit is confined to that district ?

A.—No, I have always lived amongst the people

Q.—What is your impression as to the effects of using opium ?

A.—The effect of moderate doses is not marked

Q.—You mean to put it that you cannot tell whether it does any harm, or that the opium habit harms ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—It does not effect the moral character ?

A.—No

Q.—What is a moderate dose ?

A.—One to eight grains daily.

Q.—Is there a tendency to increase the dose ?

A.—They generally increase it

Q.—Does that increased dose do them harm ?

A.—No, it does not do them harm.

Q.—You have also seen the effects of alcohol ?

\* A.—The abuse of it, opium is not so bad for the health.

Q.—Opium is used for medical purposes by adults ?

A.—Yes, some take it at about forty. These include residents in both villages and towns.

Q.—What do the people think of prohibition ?

A.—The growth of the poppy should not be prohibited and any change is not desirable

● Q.—By Mr Pease —You have spoken of people taking a moderate quantity, is not four grains a fatal dose to a person not habituated to opium?

A —Not to habitual eaters generally

Q —What is a fatal dose in a person not used to the habit?

A —Six grains

Q —By Mr Wilson —Who, in your opinion, suffer most from malaria, ryots or people in towns?

A —The villagers

Q —Yet you say they very rarely have recourse to opium?

● A —Very few poor people know that it is a preventive of malaria.

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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## Evidence of Donald Morison, M.D.

In reply to the President, Dr Morison said —I have been a Medical Missionary in the town of Rampore Beaulah for about sixteen years I have taken a deep interest in the social, moral, temporal and spiritual condition of the people I was for years a member of the Municipality and District Board I mention this to show that I was not indifferent to their temporal welfare, and I endeavoured to aid the Government and local bodies in every attempt made to improve the condition of the people, or alleviate their sufferings

I have had two dispensaries under my charge for nearly all these years I also itinerated all over the District of Rajshaye twice a year in the rainy season, and during the cold weather, and visited the adjoining Districts of Maldah and Pubna occasionally During the rainy season when the rivers were in flood and the rice fields inundated, I itinerated among the villages I may say that I have during those itinerations visited more than once most parts of the District In my double capacity as Physician and Missionary, I have been brought into the closest contact with all classes of the people, especially the poor

During those years from six to ten thousand patients annually were treated by me

Rajshaye District is everywhere malarious, in some parts intensely so When fever is very severe as during September, October, and November, I have found sixty to eighty per cent of my patients suffering from malarious fevers or their complications The use of opium is by no means common among the ryots of Rajshaye, I should say it is quite exceptional to find an agricultural labourer an opium eater In the towns, smoking opium is prevalent among day labourers and other workmen who are disreputable, and, some of them are very young men Opium is not used by the people of Rajshaye either as a prophylactic or for the cure of fever. My former remark applies to the districts of Maldah, Pubna, and, indeed, I may say to all Lower Bengal The malarial theory so diligently put forward to account for the prevalence of the habit of opium eating is not founded in my opinion on actual ascertained facts I am absolutely sure that it is purely mythical as regards Lower Bengal



**Q.—**Have you anything to say as regards the view which is taken among the people with whom you have been in contact in Lower Bengal as to the opium habit. Is it regarded as a disgraceful habit?

**A.—**The habit of using opium in young people is always considered a disgraceful thing in elderly people it is excused on the general ground of failing natural powers

**Q —**Would you say that the use of opium was common?

**A —**It is by no means true to say that as a rule elderly people take to opium. Among Mahommedans, a few headmen in villages, a few shop keepers, tailors, merchants, and house-servants generally in European employ, take to the habit, and among Hindoos a few elderly people. That it is considered disreputable in most cases, is manifest from the secrecy with which they eat it, and the fear they have of being branded as "opium-eaters."

**Q —**Have you any explanation as to when the habit is first contracted?

**A —**Young men begin it from vicious habits, or from seeing others take it. Old men or middle-aged men from forty to fifty years begin the habit by taking it to restore or revive the failing natural powers.

**Q —**Is opium used as a domestic remedy?

**A —**It is used very little, if at all as a domestic remedy in Rajshaye, but I have seen men who began it on account of chronic rheumatic pains—pains of various kinds common to the labouring classes in all countries. Some begin it for pleasure, some for pain, others from curiosity, most from the contagion of bad example, but I never heard of it being recommended by any doctor, European or Native, either to ward off or cure malaria, and, as I have stated above, the people themselves never take to it as a 'prophylactic'.

**Q —**Do you consider as a medical man that the use of opium is generally injurious?

**A.—**I consider that no one can take to eating it without increasing the dose, and suffering deterioration of bodily vigour. The progress may be slow, and undoubtedly is so in some cases, but in the majority of cases emaciation is speedily manifested, and the bodily vigour deteriorates. The opium-smoker is so demoralised that his very surroundings suggest how low he has fallen, but the opium-eater with ample means keeps up a fair exterior for years. The poor man cannot afford suitable food to counteract the injurious effects of the opium, but must encroach upon his already too scanty meal to supply his unnatural craving.

**Q**—Have you anything further to say with reference to the use of opium from a medical point of view ?

**A**—I should like say something in regard to the tolerance created by the drug in the system when taken in the form of smoking or eating, and with regard to the opium given by Dr Russell, who has been a witness before the Commission, in his book on Malaria, which was written about thirteen years ago

[ Some discussion ensued as to the desirability of quoting a passage from a work by a medical man, who had himself given evidence before the Commission. Dr Mouison was, however, allowed to continue, and read a passage from Russell on Malaria, page thirty-eight, as to the action of opium on the habituated healthy organism in producing tolerance of the drug. He also asked leave to read a passage from Sir William Roberts' book on Dietetics, page sixty-eight, as explaining why people say with such unanimity that opium-eaters must take milk if they are to resist the debilitating effect of opium. The witness was, however, not permitted to read the passage on the ground that Sir W. Roberts, being a member of the Commission, could explain what his meaning was ]

**Q**.—Have you anything to say as to the influence of opium-eating upon the physical energy ?

**A**—There is a common fallacy as to the stimulating effect of opium. It is not analogous to liquor as a stimulant. It is said that an opium-eater can do a great deal of work under the influence of opium. Among the many labourers I employed there were a great many opium-eaters, and I put the following question to two gentlemen who were in a position to form an opinion—given two men of equal physique, one an opium-eater, the other not, would you find in your experience that the opium-eater would do more work and endure for longer hours than the other ? One of these men was the captain of a ship, the other the Agent of a steamer going through in Orissa. They both said they could not say so, and the captain's distinct opinion was that opium-eaters were not able to perform the same tasks as the others.

**Q**.—Have you any remark to make with reference to the difficulty of giving up the habit when once acquired ?

**A**.—The difficulty of giving up the habit is very great, and to a Native of Bengal almost insuperable, but some have given it up. I have experience of attempts that are made by many opium-eaters, and I find in my notes of a native Christian suffering from disease of the bones of the leg (Tibia) who was recommended to abandon opium-eating by a doctor

in Calcutta; he would not give up the habit, and died a confirmed opium-eater. The second case was that of a young man in my service as a dispenser; as long as he could get opium, he would do his work, but not satisfactorily, and when urged to give up the habit he said he would rather give up work than undergo the agony. While I was in Orissa, I heard of an opium-eater of the name of Rundoo, a native Christian in Cuttack, forty or forty-five years of age. He was a day labourer, but he became feeble, and could no longer work. When he could no longer get opium, he committed suicide by hanging himself. The fourth case was a case in Glasgow, of a man who consulted Dr Garrow Leeds, who told me the incident; the man endeavoured again and again to give up the habit, but failed, and then delivered himself up to Dr Garrow Leeds. He confined him in a padded room like a lunatic, took away his opium, and cured him in eight or ten days.

Q.—Have you any experience as to the effects of opium on children?

A.—I was lately told of a case in which an officer of the Bengal Medical Service gave a child an overdose of opium, and he died. I think that we medical men ought not to depart from the instructions we have received from our Professors of Materia Medica, that the result of giving opium to children is always risky and dangerous. No doubt some do give it in very minute doses, but that heroic treatment cannot be calculated upon with safety, without one day regretting that they began it. There is another case in which opium was given to a child four or five years of age, the ayah gave it opium in minute doses, the child withered away and when it was on the point of death the medical officer discovered that its condition was due to taking opium. The ayah was charged before the Magistrate with poisoning the child, but I understand that had it been her own child, she would have gone without punishment, because it would not have been known that she had done it. I think there should be some control exercised over the sale of opium so that women could not possibly obtain it to drug their children. I learn that in other parts of India there is a heavy mortality from this habit.

Q.—Have you anything to say with reference to the facilities which now exist as to the system of licenses for the sale of opium?

A.—The facility with which opium can be purchased places great temptation before morally weak people; hence a great number of suicides. Only a few months ago the little town where I labour was thrown into it state of excitement by the news that a boy, sixteen years of age, had poisoned himself because he was unable to pass an examination; and quite recently, a young widow of eighteen or twenty took opium, with fatal re-

sult, on account of some domestic trouble; the third was a case which occurred only a few months previously of a woman who quarrelled with her husband and took opium, and died. I think that the sale of opium should be more restricted, so that it could not be purchased by ordinary persons.

Q—You have said all that you had to say in your evidence-in-chief on the subject in its general aspects. I understand that you have recently visited Orissa, how long were you there?

A—I was in Cuttack for about one whole day.

Q—You visited Cuttack with the view of obtaining information, as far as the length of time admitted with reference to the subject which has been referred to this Commission?

A.—Yes, that was my object.

Q—And you desire to make a statement to us which which will represent the result of the enquiries you made at Cuttack.

A—Yes, I would like to give the evidence given to me by natives as well as Europeans both private and official in Cuttack.

[After some discussion as to the admissibility of the statement, which was objected to as being only hearsay evidence, Dr. Morison was permitted to read the following statement—

On my way to Orissa by steamer, on the 15th November, I met on board a number of native gentlemen (Hindoos) returning to Orissa. All except one were connected with the Government. They were all men of intelligence and education. Two of them were M. A's and two had read up to the B. A. of the Calcutta University. I explained to them in a few words my object in going to Orissa. Their answers to the following questions are as follows.

Q—Is opium generally believed to be protective against fever?

A—No. We never heard of this before. We have ourselves used tea, and quinine for fever in Bengal, but we never heard of opium being used for this purpose either in Orissa or in Bengal.

Q—Is it in fact protective against malarial fevers?

A—No. We have never heard of any one being advised by any medical man or native Kobiraj to take opium to prevent fever.

Q—Is it specially useful in malarious districts, or believed to be so?

A.—No. We never heard of it being so used, and Orissa, we consider, is peculiarly free from malaria as compared with Calcutta, Burdwan, Muddes, and other parts of lower Bengal with which we are acquainted.

Q.—Is it necessary or believed to be necessary to enable working people to get through their daily toil ?

A.—No, unless the labourer is in the habit of using opium, either eating or smoking it. If an opium-eater, he cannot work without it but if not addicted to opium he can work, we consider, better without it.

Q.—Is the habit of taking opium looked upon as disgraceful ?

A.—Smoking in old or young is always considered in Bengal and Orissa as disgraceful. The habit of eating opium by old men is not considered to be disgraceful as it is believed to be taken by them as a medicine to invigorate their bodies or to relieve pain.

Q.—What motives induce people to form the habit ?

A.—Sexual debility, and general failure of bodily vigour induce men at the age of forty-five to fifty years to begin the habit. Young people take to it from the contagion of bad example.

Q.—What are the results of the habit physically, mentally, morally ?

A.—(1) Emaciation of body is rapid if not counteracted by rich food, milk, ghee and sweetmeats. (2) Mentally—Sleepiness and dullness generally. (3) Morally—Smoking, utterly debasing, but eating less so, probably as the eater is older in years. The use of opium we have heard leads to impotency in smokers in three to four years, in eaters five to six years.

Q.—Is there a general tendency to increase the dose ?

A.—Yes, generally.

Q.—Is the habit easily relinquished either at once or gradually ?

A.—No. It is very rarely relinquished, almost never in our experience.

These gentlemen signed the following statement.

“ We deliberately state that our experience of Cuttack, and generally over most parts of Orissa, has led us to consider Orissa peculiarly free from malaria with spleen and fevers, as compared with Calcutta, Burdwan, Nuddea, and other parts of lower Bengal, with which we are acquainted. We even know some friends of ours who have settled in Cuttack, Orissa on account of its freedom from malaria. We know that in Angul, and other parts there is fever, probably malarious, but Orissa generally is not considered by us to be malarious. We are decidedly of opinion that the habit of taking opium in Orissa is not due to malaria as the people themselves do not attribute the habit to that cause.”

This statement was signed in the presence of Babu Hari Dass Bannerjee, of Calcutta, a Zamindar having estates in Orissa

Another gentleman, a Government Official, a European, made the following statement —

“ I have been all over Orissa, visited most parts and had occasion to travel in unhealthy parts I have resided in Balasore and Cuttack (not in Puri) It is my deliberate opinion that the excessive use of opium by the people of Orissa is not due to malaria but to one learning the habit from another I recently had a conversation with a Deputy Collector on this point and he too was of opinion that the excessive use of opium was due to bad habit contracted by seeing others use it I have heard it stated by the people that opium was long ago cultivated in Orissa, especially in the Balasore District I have known gangs of workmen under me of which at the beginning only one took opium but in a few months most of the others also became opium eaters from the bad example of the first victim ”

Again, on the Kendrapara Canal, a Hindoo gentleman, manager of a large state in Orissa come to me of his own accord and said “ I hear you are taking evidence in connection with the opium commission.” “ No,” I said, “ I am not connected with the opium commission, but I am collecting facts regarding the opium habit of Orissa ” He made the following statements in answer to my questions —

“ I am a native of Orissa I am manager of a large estate I am also a zamindar—I have estates of my own as well—not large I have observed the opium habit from my youth The habit is formed more by example than from any other cause—seeing others use it, they are led to begin it Sometimes among the poor the habit begins in infancy Aged people begin the habit when they feel the natural vigour abating ”

Q—“ Do you mean the sexual function or the body generally ”

A—(Hesitatingly) “ The body generally ”

Q—“ Explain this ”

A—“ I mean that among us Hindoos it is considered not so disgraceful for old people to take opium ”

Q—“ Do you encourage opium eating in your family or among your servants ”

A—“ Oh no We take care that none of our family or servants take to opium if we can prevent them An opium eater must have his opium, if not able to buy it he will steal petty things to get pice to buy it when nourishing food is taken, milk, ghee, sweetmeats &c it wards off its evil effects for sometime ”

Q—“ Is opium generally believed to be protective against malaria fever ? ”

A—“ I have never heard of it being used for that purpose, but quinine and cinchona are used for that purpose ”

Q.—“ Is it protective against malaria ? ”

A.—“No. For opium eaters get fever like others: but Cuttack is not malarial”

Q.—“Is it necessary to enable working people to get through their daily toil?”

A.—“I do believe it helps men to do hard work if they are opium eaters not otherwise”

Q.—“Is the habit of using opium considered as disgraceful?”

A.—“Yes, except in old men who take it for failing health or for some ailment”

Q.—“Is it desirable to prohibit the sale of opium except for medicinal purposes?”

A.—“Yes”

Q.—“How?”

A.—“By increasing the cost to the consumer”

Q.—“Is the habit easily relinquished either at once or gradually?”

A.—“No, not easily, but I have heard of some who have given it up”

In Cuttack, on the 7th November, I was taken to see a retired Deputy Collector who is interested in this question. He said in answer to my questions —

“I am a Hindu, a Native of Orissa. I have been for many years Deputy Collector and have had occasion to reside in Balasore and Cuttack. I never heard of opium being given to cure or ward off malaria, for here in Cuttack we have little or none. I have known families come to Cuttack from Bengal with their members suffering from spleen and fever and after residing here for some time without taking medicine they have been cured of their malarial ailments”

Q.—“Were you aware that opium was cultivated in Balasore or in any part in Orissa in the time of Warren Hastings?” “No, I was not aware of that, that may account for the prevalence of the habit. At Balasore a friend of mine, a Government official, complained to me that he could not get his clerks to work after 5 P.M. however great the pressure of work. He said all his clerks took opium, and as that was the hour when they took their opium they could not go on without it”

Q.—“Had you any experience of the Orissa famine (of 1866?)” “Yes I was on relief works and gave the starving food”

Q.—“Did you ever hear the starving people ask for opium to allay the pangs of hunger?”

A.—(Laughing) “No, I never heard of that, their one cry was ‘Rice! Rice!’ But I have seen many of the starving who had come in to the sudder station from the interior after they had been fed spread their cloth on the road side and lie down and die quietly. That astonished me very much, but I enquired of the doctor why it was, and he (Dr Jackson I think) said it was

because of their having taken too much food The people he said should have been gradually fed "

Q—"So, you do not think the people could buy opium (a dearer article than rice) when they had no money to buy rice?"

A—"Certainly not He then asked me if I had seen his note on opium which he gave to Mr A C Das "

I quote from that note, as follows —

"I know of many instances in which heirs to large estates brought ruin upon themselves by smoking and eating opium not that the expenditure attending the habit was great enough to cause the ruin but that the vice made the man on the one hand so lothargic, and weakened their intellects so much that they almost entirely neglected the management of their estates, leaving them in the hands of their servants, who robbed them right and left, and on the other hand they were made exceedingly fond of carnal pleasures of all sorts, in which they indulged freely and most extravagantly I have known the want of means to buy the drug turn men into thieves and burglars in numerous cases which came before me officially People have let their wives and children starve rather than do without the drug

"The drug is used by men of all classes everywhere in Orissa that is to say, the use is not confined to any particular race, class or district *It is regarded as a curse by all, except of course those who are eaters or smokers of the drug* Anything short of total prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy, except for medicinal purposes, would be a partial measure ill calculated to save the country from the destructive effects of opium As regards the Native states, those in Orissa draw their supplies from the Government stores, in none of these States is the poppy grown or opium manufactured I think the sympathies of the rulers of these states could easily be enlisted in the noble cause of abstinence from this drug There need be no special police force to detect smuggling in the case of opium in this part of the country It would not be easy to grow the poppy or manufacture opium without being noticed by the ordinary police The existing police force considered sufficient to prevent illicit preparation of the drug in districts under the Government would prevent its being smuggled into them from Native states where it is freely grown without any restrictions Should the rulers of these states be induced as they easily could be to prohibit its growth in their territories the need for providing against smuggling would be reduced The prohibitive measures recommended are not therefore likely to increase the charges on account of a detective force as far at least as Orissa is concerned

"One of the grounds of objection is the loss of revenue to Government which would certainly result from it, supposing that such measures are enforced I would simply answer that where body and soul are at stake, as they undoubtedly are in the case under notice, no pecuniary consideration should stand in the way of reform If opium eating and smoking is a vice, as it is on all hands admitted to be, the traffic in the drug cannot but be considered immoral This being so, there can be no justification whatever for the Government continuing the trade for the sake of filthy lucre The revenue derived from it every righteous man would look upon as ill-gotten money, as the gain from gambling houses and those worse than these would be It is for the statesmen who are at the helm of Government to devise means by which the charges of governing the country could be met from legitimate sources, without having recourse to measures so immoral and so unrighteous as the opium traffic.

"JOGON MOHON ROY *Late Deputy Collector.*"



My next visit in company with Mr. A. C. Das was to Babu—  
in Government Service. He stated

"I am a Hindoo. I have been nine years a Deputy Inspector of schools. I am a Native of Orissa and have lived all my life in Orissa. I have visited most parts of Orissa. I have had occasion to visit the malarious tracts of Orissa but never felt any necessity to take opium. I consider the habit of opium-eating injurious. It is more prevalent in Balasore than in Puri or Cuttack. In Balasore it is given to children up to the age of ten years. I have had one such boy in my school, their parents cause the children to break off the habit at nine or ten years of age. The habit is not easily given up, I only know of two or three instances where men addicted to the habit have given it up of their own accord. Excessive consumers become rapidly emaciated if unable to get milk, ghee and sweetmeats. A smoker may and often does consume one-half his earnings in opium, moderate eaters one eighth or one-tenth of their income, if poor. There is a constant tendency to increase the dose. I have known men who began with one pice worth of opium per day and who in ten years or fifteen years increased it to ten pice per day. I consider the habit of smoking opium morally degrading, eating it makes the consumer indolent, sleepy, unreliable. I do not believe opium to be a protective against fever, nor is it ever given here for that purpose. I have resided in feverish tracts in Orissa, but never took opium. I also know a friend of mine who is frequently in these tracts, and he does not get fever and is not an opium eater. The habit of eating opium is invariably looked upon with aversion by respectable people, but smoking is always considered disgraceful. You may use my name in this matter as I am only telling the truth, and I am not afraid to tell the truth."

Dr. Morison also read a letter from Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, retired Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, to Mr. Alexander, stating that he and other members of his family had more than once visited Cuttack as a health resort, that the climate had never disappointed him, that Cuttack was much drier than Bengal and in his belief from free malaria.

Q—In what way do you connect this letter with the enquiry of the Commission.

A—As corroborative evidence that Orissa generally is not malarious, whereas it has been asserted again and again that it is extensively malarious. I have also the evidence of Mr. McMillan, who was for over thirty years executive engineer in Orissa. He says. "I was executive engineer for over thirty years, but have now retired and live in Cuttack. I have travelled over every part of Orissa, at all seasons, and along the low-lying coast-line as well as in the higher plains towards the hills. I had charge of all the Public Works in the District, and many of the roads and bridges were designed and executed by me. I constructed that large breakwater you saw on the river as you approached Cuttack on the Steamer. I have come to know the people and their habits well. I know the malarious parts, but Orissa is not considered malarious by

those who live here During all these forty years I have never had fever except once, and that not very severe. In all my intercourse with the people I have never heard them say that they took opium as a prophylactic, and I am sure they do not use it either to cure or to ward off fever I have heard some say they began it for rheumatism. The habit here is merely a vice. I can remember two instances where the habit, after long continuance, was abandoned One a good workman, a mechanic who was called "pagol" or fool, by the others on account of the effect of opium upon him He was unreliable although naturally a good workman. He dreamt a dream, and on that account, so he said, he gave up the habit. Soon after leaving off the habit he became a steady and industrious workman, and began to look quite different in appearance—even the very colour of his face was changed—he looked fairer and became sensible and reliable The second man a merchant and was also called "pagol" or fool an account of his manner from excessive opium-eating He had neglected his business and things were going to the bad, but he left it off and became a competent and prosperous man "

While I was in Cuttack there was a meeting of the Total Abstinence Society at which I asked to speak a few words, and I put the following resolution to a crowded meeting of between 800 and 900 people It is a society for the total abstinence from drugs and alcohol as well. The following is the resolution —

*Resolved*, "At a public meeting of the Total Abstinence Society of Cuttack convened on the subject of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors and drugs, we hear with surprise that the cause of opium-eating and smoking so prevalent in Orissa is due to malaria We believe the habit to be due to bad example, so contagious an evil, and we have never heard of opium being used either to prevent the influence of malaria or to cure an attack of malarious fever in Orissa

(Signed) A H YOUNG, Chairman.

(Signed) A C DASS, Secretary

A meeting of the Baptist Missionary Conference happened to be held at the time of my visit, at which I was present, when the following resolution was passed — "We, the Baptist Missionaries from various parts of Orissa at present in Conference assembled, hereby affirm what we have hitherto acted upon, that opium-eaters or smokers are not eligible for baptism or admission into church fellowship in any of our churches scattered throughout Orissa."—ALEX. H YOUNG, CHAIRMAN *Cuttack,*  
18th November, 1893.

The Conference represented a Christian community of from 2000 to 3000 members.

Q.—Having dealt with the general question and your experience in Lower Bengal as well as your visit to Orissa, is there any other point on which you would like to speak?

A.—I should like to have discussed the question whether malaria is the real cause of the excessive consumption of opium in Orissa. That this theory has been accepted by the Government of India will be proved from the following extract from the Blue Book on the consumption of opium in India presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1892. In their despatch the following sentence occurs, "We reserve our remarks on this question, that is the question of the closure of shops for consumption on the premises, till the concluding paragraph of this despatch, and it is only necessary to say that we regard the effects in Bengal as on the whole satisfactory. When the enormous area and population are considered, and further it is recognised how large a proportion of that area consists of alluvial malarious tracts in which the use of opium by the people is not a vice or even a luxury, but to some extent a necessity of life."

I had occasion to bring this matter before the Anti-Opium Society in London when a discussion was held on the 31st May, 1892, on the medical aspects of the opium question. I stated in that discussion that the assertion that the use of opium as a prophylactic accounts for the excessive consumption of opium in Assam and Orissa, and is due to the fact that those tracts are more malarious than other parts of India, and that it is taken as a prophylactic by the ryots is incorrect. And I further stated that there are three outstanding facts which show that the above theory is not the true one. First, that there are many districts in Bengal which are as malarious as Orissa and Assam, and which did not consume opium in anything like the proportion of those oft-quoted districts. I instance the district of Rajshaye which I know well, and some parts of which have been depopulated by malaria, yet opium is not consumed there by the people as a whole. Secondly, that malaria is not confined to malarious tracts, which it would be if the malarial theory was true, either as regards India or China. In both these countries people who live in parts comparatively free from malaria are excessive consumers of opium. Thirdly, high above the malarial zone, where malaria is endemically unknown, opium is consumed to excess. In such places as Simla, the highest town in the Himalaya Range, we find the habit established, and the drug consumed to excess. It seems clear from these facts, that, whatever causes have brought about the excessive consumption of opium in Assam

and Orissa, it is not malaria alone. We must find causes equally applicable to other parts of India, very different in climate, race, social habits, and religious restrictions

Dr Watts, in his article which has been handed in to the Commission, mentions that the cultivation of the poppy at one time existed in Orissa, and that the "East India Company ordered that its cultivation should be restricted to Patna and Benares" The evidence I have obtained from Orissa enables me to say that the following points as far as Orissa is concerned have been proved First, that Orissa, instead of being a malarial district as generally believed, is a sanitarium for Bengal, and that persons afflicted with bad health go there for improvement; secondly, that opium is not taken as a prophylactic, and that the people do not entertain that view in Orissa, thirdly, that it is not taken by people as a cure for fever, fourthly, that opium-eaters are at least as liable to malarial fever as non-opium-eaters, fifthly, that it is considered to be a curse by all intelligent natives who have the welfare of the people at heart, and sixthly, that the Balasore district where opium was cultivated, as might be expected, is most deeply tainted with the vice

By Mr Wilson —Q —Are you acquainted with a book on Malaria by Dr Russell, which has been mentioned?

A — I am

Q —Is there anything in that book which confirms or contradicts your views?

A —I think there are things in that book which confirm my views.

Q —Will you refer to them?

A —Speaking of opium-eaters, he says "The opium-eater obtains considerable immunity from malarious affections in the early stages The first few years of indulgence in the habit, before the organic visceral changes are set up, and the general shattering of constitution results, which prematurely break down the consumer of opium, and render him an easy prey to diseases of every kind" He then goes on to say. "In the plains of Assam this habit is almost universal In this district the writer has made a series of exact observations on the prevalence of this habit among the large circulating population of the jail He finds that nearly four-fifths of the men of the plains who enter jail are more or less addicted to this habit, consuming from five grains to three drams of the drug daily..... The prevalence of this habit is the curse of our jail population in Lower Assam No work can be got out of the long-confirmed opium-eater. He can digest nothing but light food, milk,

or soups. On ordinary diet he suffers from diarrhoea, tending to rapidly run to dysentery. His system has very slight heat-making power. He is extremely susceptible to any changes of temperature, and cannot stand cold; he is thus specially liable to chest and bowel disorders. Again and again he may be nursed, by a system of milk diet, gradually on to ordinary food; again and again he recurs to hospital, suffering from diarrhoea, dysentery, or dyspepsia. The emaciation of the opium-eater is characteristic and extreme. Eventually, after having been a source of infinite care, after having caused large expenditure in sick diet, extras, &c, he perishes, usually of a chest or bowel disorder, or perhaps from practical starvation from eventual inability to digest any kind of food, even the lightest and most delicate. On post mortem examination, all the viscera are usually found wasted and anæmic except the liver, which is commonly large, pale, and very fatty."

Q.—Have you anything more to say on that particular point in reference to that view?

A.—There are other passages which I might quote to support my view of the matter

Q.—Were you present when Dr Russell gave his evidence here?

A.—I was

Q.—Did you hear his explanation?

A.—I heard him state that it referred to the opium sot, but the words here are "opium-eater," and four-fifths of the jail population could hardly have been opium sots.

Q.—Is there anything in the context or connection in that book which would lead the ordinary reader to suppose that it alludes to the opium sot?

A.—I think not, because he calls the opium-eater the curse of the Assam jails.

Q.—You have given us several statements and conversations you had on a recent occasion on the way to Orissa and back in reference to the opium habit. Did you hear any evidence of a contradictory character?

A.—I did not. I heard expressions from the Europeans on the Steamer that the revenue difficulty was the great question, and that they they had no sympathy whatever with this agitation against the opium habit.

Q.—You have been combating the doctrine of the connection of malaria and the consumption of opium?

A.—I have.

Q.—Can you give us any information as to when this doctrine first arose ?

A —I cannot exactly state who first started the theory, but it is only within recent years that it has come before the public. I think it was coincident with the agitation against opium.

By Mr Mowbray —Q —With regard to your personal experience in Rampore Beaulah, how long were you there ?

A —I was there sixteen years, excluding two visits to England.

Q —What is the population ?

A —It is a town of 20,000 inhabitants. It is the administrative head-quarters of the district of Rajshaye.

Q —What would be the population of the surrounding district ?

A —The whole district of Rajshaye has about 1,500,000 souls.

Q —It is somewhere in the same locality as Moorshedabad ?

A.—It is on the opposite side of the river Ganges

Q —And since you have been there, you have devoted your attention largely to the subject of opium ?

A —Only within the last four years

Q —Then the evidence you have given from personal knowledge is based on four years' experience ?

A.—No ; my experience and a large medical practice in Rajshaye for sixteen years My attention was specially directed to the opium question about four years ago

Q —You remember Mr Donald Matheson, chairman of Committees of the Anti-Opium Association, writing to the *Times* a letter in which he referred to some letters he had from you I think he says "I wrote to Dr. Morison, the excellent medical missionary in charge of the station for the last ten years", and that is why you say that it was only about four years, ago that you began to make enquiries.

A —Yes

Q —You said also that some control should be exercised over the sale of opium In what direction could that control be exercised ?

A —It would be for the interests of the community at large that the quantity of opium procurable by one person should be reduced very much. I should say to non-poisonous doses.

Q.—What would you call a non-poisonous dose ?

A.—Under four grains.

Q.—What is the present quantity anybody can purchase in Rampore Beaulah ?

A —I believe it is five tolas.

Q.—Were you not aware that within the last twelve months the quantity can be purchased at any one time by any person has been reduced from five tolas to one tola

A —I am not aware of it I would make it difficult for any one person to obtain opium except for very necessary purposes

Q —How would you define very necessary purposes ?

A.—I mean medicinal purposes—opium taken for the alleviation of bodily suffering

Q.—We have been told by many witnesses that a large number of people take opium, as a domestic remedy for the alleviation of pain Is that the taking of opium for medicinal purposes ?

A —It is, and I would not interfere with it I would simply guard against the abuse of it

Q —You are aware also that the quantity taken by the people medicinally in that sense of the word is far larger than two grains ?

A.—Yes, because they become accustomed to it

Q —For medical purposes that is a large quantity to be taken as a domestic remedy ?

A.—Yes, it is a large quantity to begin with I should say half or a quarter of a gram

Q.—I am speaking of the maximum limit you would impose on the restriction of sale ?

A —I would guard it in this way, that those eating it at present should not be deprived of it, and in order that they should receive what they consider necessary for themselves, they should be allowed to have larger quantities But it should be known by those in charge of the shop that they were habitual consumers of opium, and for those people there should be an exception made certainly

Q.—Do you think from your practical experience that it would be possible to rest that discretionary power in persons selling opium ?

A —I think it would be quite possible I see no difficulty ; I think the Government could do it easily

Q.—In order to apportion the amount of opium which any person is entitled to buy you would have to keep an account of the quantity he

was in the habit of consuming. You would require a very large number of persons for the distribution ?

A.—I think not

Q — Would it be possible for a small number of people to know the habits of a great number of people ?

A —Yes, in a very short time Certain shops are placed in certain places and the shopmen will soon be able to know who are his regular customers

Q —How many shops are there in Rampore Beaulah ?

A —I think three or four

Q —Do you think it would be possible for three or four shopkeepers to know that this man should get one grain and that man two grains, without risk of serious abuse ?

A —I am not prepared to go into details, but I think in some parts of India a register of opium consumers would be necessary

Q —Is it not necessary for those who say generally that sales should be restricted, or that more control should be exercised, to think out the details by which that control would be exercised ?

A.—Generally speaking, undoubtedly one should think out as many of the details as he can, and I have thought of some of these; but I don't think that stage has arrived Generally, however, I think there would be no difficulty in manipulating the details in Lower Bengal.

Q —Your view is that the maximum limit for one person should be reduced to a very small quantity ?

A —I mean for any person not accustomed to take opium, and a discretionary power should be rested on the distributors of opium who should know who are habitual consumers and therefore entitled to have larger doses.

By Mr. Fanshawe.—Q.—Speaking from your personal experience you said you had no knowledge of the use of opium in Rajshaye as a prophylactic ?

A.—None whatever.

Q.—You also said it is known as a domestic remedy ?

A.—It is.

Q.—Is it not known in connection with fever of enabling a person to withstand chills or pains caused by chills ?

A —I have not heard of that, but I have heard it used for rheumatism and other pains Not in connection with chills



Q.—You have not heard of the use of opium in connection with fever?

A.—I have not

Q.—You said, that eating opium is always considered disgraceful. Is it even so considered even among elderly men?

A.—It does not apply to elderly men, because public opinion among Hindoos and Mahommedans admits that elderly people who are failing in health from numerous causes may take opium without being considered to be addicted to a very demoralising habit

Q.—You also mentioned that the habit of eating opium existed among young men in the Rajshaye district?

A.—I think it is very unusual. I meant that remark rather in regard to smoking. There are three *madak* shops in Rampore Boaleah, I am not aware whether there are any *chandu* shops

Q.—You stated that in opium-eaters there was a tendency to increase the dose?

A.—That is my deliberate conviction

Q.—Is it not the case that some persons who begin the habit at an early age use the same dose when they come to old age?

A.—I think that when opium is not taken for pains of any kind, the tendency is to keep to the original quantity, but when it is taken to alleviate pain, they have to increase the dose

Q.—In such cases the quantity taken is not so inordinate as to interfere with health?

A.—I would not say that it does not interfere with health. I believe it does exercise a certain amount of influence on health, but not very marked in some cases. In young men, who are confirmed opium-eaters it does exercise such an influence upon health as to make it noticeable.

Q.—It is a question of quantity to the individual?

A.—In my experience it does usually go to excess ultimately. It usually goes to five or six grains a day

Q.—I mean excess with regard to each individual's health, they are generally long-lived men?

A.—A man cannot be an opium-eater without suffering in health, be he young or old

Q.—Do you think it would make any difference in the number of suicides if opium was not easily obtainable?

A.—I think it would.

Q—You are aware that suicide is common in the country and that there are many other means ordinarily used besides taking opium? For instance, if a man is a cutler by trade, and left his razors knocking about, and his children took them up and cut their throats?

A—I think that man ought to remove the razors from the reach of his children. Opium has been such a prolific cause of suicide that the Government should remove it from the reach of the people.

Q—Are you speaking of the Rajshaye district?

A—I am speaking of India generally. I have heard that it is a prolific cause of suicide in Calcutta as well as in Gya and other opium producing districts.

Q—In the report on opium of last year in the Lower Provinces it is stated that in the district of Nuddea, 142 women committed suicide and that they did it in every case by hanging, what would you say to that?

A—I would say that opium was not at hand, or they would probably not have hung themselves.

Q—I mean that there are always means of putting an end to one's life?

A—It is my opinion and the opinion of the native public generally that opium should not be so easily obtained for suicidal purposes.

By Mr Wilson—Q.—Mr Mowbray asked you what was a poisonous dose of opium, what did you say?

A.—Four grains is the usual dose put down in text books as a fatal dose. I have no doubt that there are persons who take a great deal more.

#### **Evidence of Dr. G. R. Ferris.**

I am a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and have been in India forty years. From early in the year 1856, I have been in private practice in Calcutta as medical officer connected with the dispensary known as Messrs R Scott Thomson and Co. I have, therefore, had nearly thirty-eight years of experience in this country. During the whole of this period I have had daily to attend to the ailments and prescribe for all classes of patients, Europeans, Eurasians, and natives from all the Indian provinces, as Burmese, Bengalees, upcountry men, Punjabis, Afghans, Goorkhas, Sikhs, and indeed men of all castes, races, and religions. This large practice has made me familiar with Indian diseases and the habits and customs of the people and, among other things, has drawn my attention to the habit of opium-eating. I

have had no experience of opium-smoking except that many years ago I visited an opium den. In that den I found a mixed lot of men, but they were all orderly, respectful, and in possession of all their faculties. Very early in my practice, I noticed that many patients were opium-eaters. My attention was first called, early in 1854, to this habit when, as Surgeon in the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Marine, I had medical charge of troops and followers being transported between Calcutta and Burma. On a voyage in the Honorable Company's S.S. *Tenasserim*, carrying a large number of Sikhs who exhibited a special immunity from sea-sickness, this appeared, considering the weather, so unusual and so peculiar, that I made enquiries, and to my astonishment I found that these men, who I also noticed took but very small quantities of food, were all opium-eaters. From that time I have never ceased, in the course of my practice, to investigate, so far as my opportunities allowed, the opium habit and the effect of opium on those who use it.

Before going further, I may say I have never known Turkey opium to be used by an opium-eater, and I should regard four grains of such opium as a dangerous dose, that is, pure Turkey opium. The opium which I have known to be eaten by my patients is Bengal opium, and as to this class of the drug, I should consider pure opium in eight grains to be dangerous, that is, eight grains in one dose. When the habit is commenced, usually one pice worth of opium is purchased. This is about four grains, and I may mention that this rate of sale has, so far as I know, not varied in all my experience. At the beginning, the opium-eater will divide his one pice worth in various ways, taking the dose morning and evening; the maximum dose being taken in the evening. After a time he may increase the quantity to six grains, and even eight grains, but I have noticed that a man will continue to take the same quantity daily for a very long time. There are cases where the quantity taken may be as much as twelve, and even sixteen, grains per day, but this I regard as extreme, and connected with some special disease—it may be diabetes—against which the patient is combating. In one case, which has recently been before me, a Native, remarkable for his intelligence and physique, but suffering from diabetes, actually got up to forty-five grains of extract of opium per day. The effect he desired having been produced, he is reducing the quantity. No one would be able to tell from that man's appearance, from his conversation, or his business aptitude, that he was an extreme opium-eater.

It is a common rule with me to ask my Native patients if they take opium, and in this way I have become acquainted with a great many circumstances not ordinarily known to medical men in connection with

the opium habits and with its effect upon diseases. Generally, I may say that it has never made any difference in my treatment, whether the patient took opium or not.

I have not found opium deleterious in the use, or interfere with the exhibition of any other drug. I have not found opium taken as a habit productive of any disease. I have not found it induce emaciation or dulling of the mental faculties, or a withering of the tissues, or of the patient's physical strength. I do not know of an instance of what may be called an opium drunkard from the eating of opium, though there may be opium drunkenness as the result of excessive smoking, especially if the opium be adulterated, but no such case has come under my observation.

My experience of *chandu* and *bhang* is so small that I must refrain from expressing any opinion as to their effects. As a rule, the opium habit is not common to young men, but I have to point out that, when, for any cause whatever, young men have taken to opium, they become in a marked and peculiar manner, protected, so to speak, against diabetes and dysentery, that is, against two diseases which are, so far as my experience goes, the most fearful scourges and the most feared and dreaded by all Natives of this province, and indeed by all natives of India with whom I have been brought into contact. I have noted that a great deal is due to the food common to the people of India, the Hindoos particularly, whose main food is rich in starch. The Mahomedans, who take more animal food, are not so prone to diabetes as their Hindoo neighbours, but all Natives suffer enormously from the effect of poor food, damp, cold, and the exposure inevitable from their ordinary avocations. It is very remarkable amongst the poorer classes, as proof that opium prevents a waste of tissues—that an opium-eater can do with much less food than a man not given to the habit, and this being so, it may possibly be that the poverty of the man may maintain the habit at a given minimum as to quantity, say four grains per day.

Besides dysentery, Natives suffer from a variety of intestinal complaints and from the results of malarial poisoning. I have noticed that in such cases the patient invariably seeks relief from opium, and I have also noticed that when opium-eaters are subjected to the same malarial influences as non-opium-eaters in cases where such remedies as quinine and arsenic and other preparations would be useless, the opium-eaters enjoy an immunity which is remarkable when contrasted with the condition of non-opium-eaters in exactly the same circumstances. I have never hesitated in cases coming before me to recommend my patients to continue it,

and I have found that where Natives have come to me suffering atrociously from the effects of alcohol, and I have been able to substitute opium for the alcoholic habit, the patient has recovered his status in society exactly in the same proportion as the substitution of opium for alcohol has been less or more complete. This I consider a very note-worthy fact to the credit of the opium habit. So far as I can judge, crime is very rarely met with amongst opium-eaters. I can never tell an opium-eater by casually looking at him ; his habits and his appearance will not guide me. Of course, I should know if I examined for this particular matter. I find that opium-eaters are healthy men, that their muscular development is good, and that mentally and bodily they contrast favourably with non-opium-eaters. The conclusion I have been obliged to come to is that, in a country like India, having regard to the habits of the people, the character of their avocations, the peculiarities of the climate, and the particular character of their food, opium is distinctly beneficial, that it is not harmful, that it is not a vice, that it does not promote in any way immorality, that it does not increase but distinctly decreases mortality, and that without it the vital returns of many parts of the country would be simply appalling.

My experience is that men, as a rule, with rare exceptions, will resort to either a stimulant or sedative, and as far as Europeans are concerned, the majority use a stimulant ; natives are so constituted that, when they resort to stimulants, they do so to a degree almost incredible to ordinary European experience, and the extreme way in which they indulge renders them, as Native reformers continually urge, pests of society, and dangerous to themselves and all about them. Opium, on the other hand, because it is a sedative, absolutely prevents them from becoming obnoxious in any way. I am convinced that the Native will have one or the other, the sedative or the stimulant. If the Government prevents the resort to the sedative, then we must expect to find the wealthier classes giving themselves up to the more refined forms of alcohol produced by Europe ; while the poorer classes will develop a very wide use of native rum, arrack, and spirits, and the result will be widespread vice, misery, crime, and increased mortality, at the very idea of which I, as a medical man, stand aghast. No doubt distillers here and in Europe would look not to the effects to be produced, but to the profits which such a tremendous demand would yield, but I doubt if Government can take this view, and as a man who knows something of India and its people, and who has learned to take a strong interest in their welfare, who has at stake the prosperity of the country, deprecate such wholesale degradation as this

would be ; and as I cannot imagine a cheap, a good, and a harmless substitute for opium, I am as convinced, as any one can be, that it should be let alone, and that it has been not only a necessity, but I would even go to the length of saying, a blessing to the people . .

By Lord Brassey :—Q.—I gather from your statement that you are in private practice ?

A.—I have been so for thirty-eight years ; I have been in practice in India for forty years, without leaving the country for one day I ceased Government employ in March 1856, when I joined my partner in private practice

Q.—So that your testimony is given as that of an independent practitioner.

A.—Perfectly so.

By Sir William Roberts .—Q.—You have given a very full account of your opinion in regard to the opium habit ; have you endeavoured to divide the effects of opium into what is medicinal and what are its other effects ?

A.—No, I have not gone into separating the effects , I have taken them generally, as the effects of opium upon eaters, because I sometime ago gave it as a hypnotic I am speaking of the use of it amongst Native eaters

Q.—How do you explain the effects of toleration ; does an eater continue in good health ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is it of medical service as an anodyne ?

A.—Yes

Q.—What has been your experience in regard to increased doses ?—we have been told that the general tendency has been to increase the dose

A.—I have known opium-eaters for twenty years, and they now take the same doses It may be they began taking it as an inducement to further efforts, not for any ailment This man went from the first dose gradually up to six or eight grains, which I look upon, in the majority of cases, to be the maximum.

Q.—This is the limit to toleration ?

A.—They take it with perfect impunity ; if a man goes on with very large doses, he becomes tolerant of larger ones.

Q.—There is a great difference of degree, as regards individuals, in the toleration ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is the habit common among Europeans in Calcutta?

A.—Very rare

Q.—There is a marked difference between the eating habit amongst Europeans and amongst natives of Calcutta, what is the cause of that?

A.—Europeans, as a rule, are considered wealthy They have the means, and can afford to buy stimulants—alcohol, natives are so poor that they can not spend more than one pice upon a dose or two of opium. He cannot afford alcohol, so he takes to a sedative

Q.—The practice is amongst the rich as well as the poor?

A.—I am of opinion that opium was eaten here long before any alcoholic stimulants were known to the natives

Q.—How do *Maiwaris* become opium-eaters?

A.—They take to opium, but they are a peculiarly satisfied, docile, harmless race of men

Q.—I want to know about the fact that Europeans don't, except in rare cases, become eaters, and here in India the people very frequently become so; what is the reason?

A.—Europeans have some means at their disposal, if he has any ailment he will consult a European doctor who does not make an opium-eater of him Very few Natives can afford to get a prescription, and his *kobiraj* friends recommend opium

Q.—There is a difference of toleration, dependent upon race or climate or food, between the Europeans on the one hand and natives on the other?

A.—No, I have seen greater excess, where it has been rarely taken by Europeans The maximum I have seen has been taken by Europeans

Q.—To the injury of health?

A.—I cannot say

Q.—You merely consider it from a speculative point of view?

A.—I have not seen any injury to health from opium.

Q.—Have you had experience amongst poor Natives, or rather the better class?

A.—Any member of the Commission would be astonished, if unknown to me, he sat down and saw the classes of people for whom I prescribe daily The very poorest, the middle classes, and the richest I see every day I sit down for six or seven hours daily, receiving people. Persons are treated as they come in in their turn You would be aston-

ished at the multifarious classes of people, Bengalees, from the highest *Kulin* to the *Mehtur*, Afghans, up-country men, Sikhs, poor unfortunate women, who sell their last piece of jewellery to come—all these I treat. This happens day after day, month after month, year after year

Q —From your experience you don't know any mischief to health produced by opium?

A —I do not

By Mr. Pease —Q —You state, "I am unable to tell an opium-eater from casually looking at him, but I can do so by examining him;" in what way do you examine him?

A —If you examine him, you will find the iris dilated, which makes the pupils contract. This shows a *bhāng* or opium-eater. I have travelled outside Calcutta in the country districts, Dacca and Syhlet, and saw the people there. I have had people constantly coming and troubling me, saying that quinine does nothing. I have proved that I have given arsenic and it has acted. If it were not for opium, the death-rate without doubt, would be tenfold. For instance, we will say a man earns an anna a day, he will spend one pice upon opium and three upon food. He neither loses weight, and will come out well. This opinion regarding times of famine is very generally known.

Q —The consumers would be about two per cent?

A —I should think it is far greater amongst my patients, it is certainly not less than thirty per cent, and I cannot say how much more. Yesterday, a gentleman, a wealthy zemindar, came to me, and I asked him whether he took opium, and how much. He said he took a two-anna dose, that is, sixteen grains, daily. This man was fifty-five years of age, and a powerful man. I did not consider it necessary to stop it. This thirty per cent is exclusive of Eurasians and Europeans.

By Mr. Wilson —Q —You have used the expression "made people peaceable." I have heard it said it makes people cowardly?

A.—I have not seen that, The Sikhs and Rohillas are the most fearless men we have in India.

Q —Are you a member of the Calcutta Medical Society?

A —No, my time is so fully occupied that I really have no time.

Q.—In reference to your dispensary, Messrs. Scott Thomson and Co., you admit all classes?

A.—I make no distinction; any man can obtain medical advice. I receive no fees from rich or poor.



Q.—Are medicines also supplied ?

A.—No ; my prescriptions are made up in the dispensary.

Q.—Speaking generally, are you in favour of increasing the facilities for getting opium ?

A.—I think the supply and demand, after this Commission, will be greatly increased

Q.—Would you do anything to further the increased consumption ?

A.—No, I think people would take it themselves.

Q.—We had a witness yesterday who wanted further facilities ?

A.—My view is that it is so beneficial that I would prefer an increased consumption to a decrease

Q.—Are you in favour of increased facilities for consumption ?

A.—I am.

Q.—I notice in your statement that you find the Sikhs have a special immunity from disease ?

A.—Yes, I bring that forward as the starting point of my enquiries which induced me to continue

Q.—Do you occasionally recommend alcohol ?

A.—In certain cases, of course To a healthy man I would not say he must take it I prescribe it medicinally

Q.—Do you prescribe alcohol for daily dietetic use ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Would you do the same as regards opium ?

A.—In disease only

Q.—Do you prescribe it in the same way as alcohol,—daily dietetic use ?

A.—No

Q.—You would not look at opium as of the same dietetic value as alcohol ?

A.—No

Q.—So far as the people of this country are concerned, you would say the same ?

A.—No

Q.—I suppose I may take it, that you think there is a marked difference between the two ?

A.—Europeans and Natives, yes

Q.—Between alcohol and opium ?

A.—Very marked.

Q.—Suppose you heard a medical man recommending opium for daily dietetic use; would you think he was doing a safe thing or a dangerous thing?

A.—Before answering this question I should wish to know what the medical man had in view before he prescribed it for dietetic use.

Q.—Did you ever hear a medical man prescribe it so?

A.—Simply as an article of diet, no.

Q.—By Sir James Roberts—Did you ever hear a medical man prescribe tobacco as a dietetic habit?

A.—As a medical man, I have known it used in chest affections.

Q.—And the habit also applies to tobacco?

A.—They are very different, opium and tobacco.

Q.—You were asked whether you ever knew a medical man who advised a man taking opium as a dietetic habit, does that apply to tobacco?

A.—Certainly not

#### **Evidence of Kobraj Gunga Prasad Sen Gupta :**

1 Opium is considered to be a beneficial medical ingredient, especially for the poor classes of the various districts in this province. It has been generally found to do good in bowel-complaints, asthma, rheumatism, &c, which require a costly treatment, but opium alone, when used in such cases, proves a specific remedy for those who can ill-afford to meet the expenses of the generally costly medical treatment. The use of opium also enables persons to give up drinking liquor.

The moderate use of opium increases appetite, power of digestion, energy, and enables persons to adopt a practice of hard working. It also prevents people becoming old before their time, and increases vital power. From time immemorial the native physicians have been using this article with other ingredients in innumerable cases, with great success. Both higher and lower classes, under these circumstances, use opium.

I do not think the use of opium degenerates the moral and physical condition of the people, though excessive use sometimes brings drowsiness, but such cases are rare, and found to exist in the lower classes only.

2. (a) Generally no one uses opium unless suffering from such disease, where its effects are marvellous, although some take it to keep up health.

In my opinion no one views it as a hated practice, as the use of other intoxicating things is regarded.

2. (b) The expense of using this article is generally met by the consumers themselves. This being a poor country, the prohibition or restriction of the traffic in opium by the introduction of a heavy duty will be keenly felt by the poorer classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and make them starve.

3 As opium is very extensively used in this province, and it is very difficult to give it up when once practised, it is difficult to prohibit the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium, and it is impossible to do so.

4 No change short of prohibition in the existing arrangements for regulating and restricting the opium traffic in Bengal need be done, but some measures should be adopted to discourage the manufacture and use of *chandu* and *goolee* which are made of opium, and doing injury among the poorer classes to a great extent.

By the President.—Q—I notice that you recommend that some measures should be adopted to prohibit the manufacture and use of *chandu* and *goolee*, which are made of opium, and which are doing injury, can you suggest any practical measures for carrying out these representations?

A.—The habit which people contract by smoking is bad and intolerable. The shops in which they smoke have company which induces smokers to spend more time there, hence these shops ought to be closed. For anybody who has contracted the habit, he should be allowed to smoke in his own house, but not in places where there will be a congregation of opium-smokers.

Q.—You desire to see the abolition of smoking shops?

A.—Yes. [There were three other koirages present, who agreed in what the witness said.] All three were in favour of the abolition of licenses for smoking opium and *chandu* upon the premises.

By the Maharajah of Durbhunganah.—Q.—Would you object to people clubbing together to form a club to smoke opium?

A.—I object to people smoking together, but when people take opium in their own homes, no law should be passed to restrict them. The rules regarding the sale of opium, now in existence, should not be changed, but should any change be made, I would suggest the change should apply only to public smoking of *madak* and *chandu*, where there are temptations.

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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## Evidence of Sudam Chunder Nalk.

Examined by Mr. Fanshawe.—Q —To what district do you belong?

A —Cuttack, South Balasore district.

Q —How long have you been there?

A —Twenty-two years

Q —You are in Government employ?

A —Yes, for seventeen or eighteen years

Q —You have experience not only of the Cuttack district, but of the Tributary States, also Balasore and Puri?

A.—Yes

Q —What do you know about opium-eating amongst these people; first as to the hill tribes?

A.—I have come from Orissa, and I may say that both as a Government officer and as a resident of that province, I possess some knowledge of the nature and habits of the people, not only of Orissa proper, but of its hill tracts known as the Gurjat or the Tributary Mehals. So far as my knowledge extends, I can say that the consumption of opium by the people of my province has had no bad effect on them either morally or physically. On the contrary, I know people taking opium for twenty years or more to have kept very good health. They never use opium for non-medical purposes. At least I have no knowledge of this, though opium-smoking is resorted to by some for pleasure or for other purposes, an excessive indulgence of which leads to some mischief. But such cases are few and far between.

Q.—Is the habit common among the people?

A —I cannot say it is common

Q —What opinion can you give, say about what?

A.—The percentage is five to ten per cent

Q.—Amongst the Hill population?

A.—About five to ten per cent.

Q.—At what age do people take to this habit?

A.—They take to it at forty, there are some also who take it at twenty.

Q.—Can you tell us the amount people generally eat ?

A.—I know people taking more than two grains daily on the average, there are others who take it in excess

Q.—In the morning or in the evening ?

A.—Both morning and evening

Q.—They take it during the day also ?

A.—As a rule in the morning and evening

Q.—Is there any tendency to increase the dose ?

A.—No.

Q.—Do you consider that it has any bad effect upon their health and morals ?

A.—No.

Q.—You have some remarks upon the classes of people called the Pans—what would you say about them ?

A.—Of a class of people called Pans, known as the criminal class in some of the hill states, I can say that seldom a Pan takes opium, and I never saw one who committed any crime, the cause of which could be attributed to his habit of opium-eating, I may here state that opium has, on the other hand, a very deterrent effect on crime. Of all people, opium-eaters and opium-smokers have a terrible dread of jail, which deprives them of the free and timely use of the drug, and it is an intoxication which brooks no delay

Q.—Do all these tribes eat opium ?

A.—Very few

Q.—Do they indulge in country liquor ?

A.—They do

Q.—For what reason do the people take to opium ?

A.—For medicinal purposes, for bowel complaints, for fever, and for the disease known as elephantiasis and sympathetic fever, which it brings on, and for dysentery.

Q.—Is elephantiasis common ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—How is the habit regarded in Cuttack and the Mehali—disgrace-  
?

A.—It is not disgracefully regarded

Q.—In what light do people look upon it ?

A.—They are in a manner indifferent. They don't think ill of one who takes opium, nor is it a disgrace—unless a man here and there is known to have taken it to excess.

Q.—Does the habit extend to women as well as men ?

A.—Women form the exception, very rare

Q.—What would be the general feeling there as to the prohibition of opium ?

A.—With every deference to the Commission, I should say that it will not only be highly impolitic, but extremely unwise to introduce any prohibitive measure for the suppression of consumption either entirely or to a limited extent. People of my country are not and will not be prepared to bear in whole or in part the loss of revenue that would inevitably be the result of such a measure giving thereby rise to widespread discontent

Q.—Have you any remarks upon the licensing system ?

A.—The existing system I consider in no way bad, because the Government has already devised good measures for licensing the sale of opium

Q.—Can you tell us anything about opium-smoking ?

A.—It is not common, but there are people who do smoke it

Q.—What do they smoke ?

A.—Only opium, it is called *gooli*, and *madak Chandu* is not common in my part

Q.—Have you anything else to say ?

A.—I ask permission to say this —I heard it yesterday stated by Dr. Morison that Cuttack was not a malarious district. He, I think, meant the town proper, as I would say the district was malarious. Cuttack is not malarious within a radius of seven or eight miles, but the greater part, not the whole tract, is malarious. The western part of the district is regarded as malarious

By Mr. Mowbray —Q.—You say that the people in Orissa use opium for non-medical purposes, will you explain what you mean by non-medical purposes ?

A.—I mean that after a certain age, people of my country take it for the sake of their health. For medical purposes I mean for complaints, such as bowel complaints, fever, rheumatism, dysentery, or something of that sort.



Q.—About what number of European medical men are there in Orissa ?

A.—The number will not be very large, not more than half a dozen.

Q.—Can you tell how many opium shops there are in Orissa ?

A.—I cannot exactly say that.

Q.—What is the price of opium in Orissa now ?

A.—The Government upset price is Rs 32 per seer, and it is sold at from ten to twelve tolas, which is equal to 180 grains for a rupee.

Q.—Do you think if the number of shops were further reduced, that the people would be able to get opium if they wanted it for medicinal purposes ?

A.—No, I do not think so, because the Government provides shops according to the number of people for local wants and increases or diminishes them accordingly.

By Mr. Wilson — Q — What are your duties as Assistant Superintendent ?

A.—I assist the Superintendent\* of the Mehals in all executive work and correspondence work I am a Deputy Magistrate and try criminal cases and boundary disputes, and I have to assist the Sessions Judge.

Q.—Are you aware whether anyone has objected to or challenged the use of opium for medical purposes ?

A.—No.

Q.—The question we are discussing is chiefly the dietetic use ; you said that smoking is not respectable , do they respect people who smoke ?

A.—Smoking is not considered respectable

Q.—What is the general opinion in respect to smoking *chandu* ?

A.—*Chandu* smoking is not prevalent

Q.—In reference to smoking *gooli* ?

A.—The opinion is not good

Q.—Do they approve of opium-eating ?

A.—I don't think they approve of it, but they are indifferent. If anybody takes to opium, they don't think ill of him

Q.—Which parts of the district are most malarious ?

A.—The Western parts and Eastern parts of the Cuttack District? the North-Eastern part of the Balasore District, and certain parts of the Puri District.

Q.—What is the consumption of opium in these different districts ?

A.—I cannot say.

Q.—In which district is the sale of opium the largest?

A.—The Balasore district, and in Puri and the Tributary Mehals, less.

Q.—Is there any relation between the consumption of opium and the prevalence of malaria ?

A.—I think there is, because the population being less, opium is consumed more largely.

Q.—Do European Medical officers recommend people to take opium regularly ?

A.—I am not aware

Q.—Do the Natives ?

A.—Yes, they do.

Q.—Do Native doctors recommend it to prevent attacks of fever ?

A.—Not only fever but also other diseases

Q.—I want to know, not whether they give it as a remedy, but do they recommend it to be taken regularly ?

A.—Yes, they do

Q.—Who are the Pans ?

A.—They are a tribe, and they also form a caste They are a criminal tribe

Q.—In what respect are they especially criminal?

A.—They are robbers and thieves

Q.—May I take it that the population of the district take it for medical purposes ?

A.—Yes, but others take it for pleasure. A large proportion take it for medical purposes

By Lord Brassey—Q.—You refer to cases of excess, are they numerous ?

A.—No ; they are few and far between

**Evidence of Gauri Sankar Roy.**

Examined by Mr. Fanshawe.—Q.—Are you a resident of Cuttack and have you lived there all your life?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Are you connected with the Government ?

A.—I was formerly a translator in the Judge's Court, but I am now on pension.

Q.—Has your experience been entirely in the Cuttack District?

A.—Entirely

Q.—What do you know of the opium habit; is it common in that district?

A.—Opium is largely consumed in the District of Cuttack, of which I am an inhabitant, but I have not noticed any marked ill-effect on the physical or moral condition of those who use it. The generality of opium-eaters take it moderately, and they not only keep good health and enjoy long life, but are as sober and well-behaved as those who do not take it. I have seen some of my friends restored to good health after long suffering by taking opium. There is no doubt some persons abuse it by indulging in excessive smoking for pleasure or immoral purposes, and suffer in consequence in health and reputation. I have seen some persons give up drink by taking opium.

Q.—What quantity is taken?

A.—Those who use it moderately, take about half a pice or one pice worth daily, but most of the people take less than one pice.

Q.—When do they take it?

A.—In the morning, some twice.

Q.—What is the general practice?

A.—Some in the evenings and some both in the morning and evening.

Q.—At what age is the habit generally acquired?

A.—Some take it after twenty, and many after thirty-five and forty.

Q.—Have you any knowledge of women using opium?

A.—Very few.

Q.—These would be amongst the cultivating classes?

A.—Not the cultivating classes, only artisans.

Q.—I am speaking of women now?

A.—The women of the town only.

Q.—Are cases of taking in excess common?

A.—It is difficult to make out an excessive opium-eater. I know some persons who take two annas' worth daily, they take it to excess.

Q.—Does it do them harm?

A.—I have never seen opium-eaters suffer in health.

Q.—How is this habit generally regarded ?

A.—Opium-eating is generally excused. People don't think much of it. Taking an intoxicant is regarded as bad, but they tolerate opium.

Q.—Is there any tendency to increase the dose ?

A.—In very exceptional cases.

Q.—For what purpose do they take it ?

A.—Mostly for the sake of health. The prevalent opinion is that opium-eating conduces to good health. After forty years, if a man takes to opium he keeps good health. I have seen some persons suffering from sickness, who have tried all sorts of medicines and not get well, take to opium and get right again, and continue so for ten years.

Q.—Is it used amongst the people as a domestic remedy ?

A.—Yes ; both for use and as an external application.

Q.—For what class of disease do they use it ?

A.—Bowel complaints and a fever called *baghdal*, and elephantiasis. This is a very common disease.

Q.—Is there any belief amongst the people that it protects them from fever ?

A.—It is a very common belief.

Q.—Have you anything further to say ?

A.—At one time, there was much tendency to use opium for non-medical purposes. It is not so now, and I attribute this to the beneficial measures taken by Government to check its consumption, especially the prohibition of smoking in licensed shops. No more prohibitory measures are called for.

Q.—What do you mean by the abuse of opium for non-medical purposes ?

A.—For luxury.

Q.—Is it used as a stimulant ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Amongst the poorer classes or wealthier classes ?

A.—Amongst the better off as well as the artisan classes. After finishing their day's work, they come to the shops and smoke.

Q.—Are you referring to smoking, or only eating ?

A.—To both.

Q.—You say it is used as a luxury or indulgence ?

A.—I am referring to that.

Q.—If opium was prohibited in Cuttack, do you think people could get it for a domestic remedy ?

A.—If it were prohibited how could they?

Q.—If it was prohibited except for medical purposes, would there be any difficulty in getting it ?

A.—If they could get it for medical purposes nobody would mind prohibition.

Q.—If it were prohibited except for medical use, how would the people in the villages get it ?

A.—I do not know.

Q.—By Mr. Wilson.—I don't understand your opinion about smoking. You say that you would like to see further restrictive measures ?

A.—I mean to say that there has been one beneficent measure, the prohibition of opium smoking in licensed shops, but since that prohibition, people gather in private houses and smoke, and this should be stopped.

Q.—You would like to see more prohibition ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Why then do you say no more prohibition is necessary ?

A.—I meant, as regards the sale in licensed shops

Q.—You say cultivators don't take much ?

A.—No I have been in the interior of the district, surrounded by cultivators, and they don't take it much the artisan class take most

Q.—Do they live in malarial districts ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Women don't take much opium ?

A.—No

Q.—Are they less liable to malaria than men ?

A.—Not that I know

Q.—You say that people would object to the additional burden of taxation, if prohibition was enforced, who has made this suggestion ?

A.—It is talked about in the place, that opium will be abolished and people will have to pay taxes

Q.—Would it be possible in the villages of your district to get suitable persons appointed to sell opium, without getting any profit, as a medicine and not as an intoxicant ?

A —It would be very difficult to get such men.

Q.—It would be impossible ?

A —How can such a man be found in villages ?

Q —Do any doctors, either Europeans or natives recommend opium to be taken regularly as a preventive for fever ?

A —I am not aware of doctors giving it

**Evidence of Bhugwan Chunder Das.**

Examined by Mr Fanshawe —Q —State who you are and what you know of the opium habit

A —I am a resident of Orissa, and am a genuine Uria myself. I also belong to a family of old landholders I possess, therefore, some knowledge of the people of my country I am of opinion that the consumption of opium has not resulted in any bad effect on the moral or physical condition of my people They use it for medicine and to avoid other climatic influences, as I know people of Balasore use it It unfortunately sometimes happens that excessive use of it, not in its raw state, but when converted into some other preparations, such as *madak* or *chundu*, leads to some mischievous results But from what I know, such cases are proportionately very few

Q —What restriction would you suggest ?

A —The stoppage of the public sale of *madak* and *chundu*

Q —How do you compare the effects of the use of opium with alcohol ?

A —It is not such a deleterious drug as alcohol

Q —Do you consider that the use of opium leads to crime ?

A —Opium eating is not so bad as drinking wine

Q —What do you say as to the proposal to prohibit the use of opium for other than medical purposes ?

A —Opium is always used in my country for medical purposes I should not recommend its prohibition, and it is certain that its prohibition would lead to difficulties The people of my country are poor and should not be burdened with further taxes

Q —By Mr Wilson —Would you prohibit the use of alcohol ?

A,—Yes

Q —By Mr Fanshawe —You have experience of the Balasore district, is there a large consumption of opium there ?

A.—Yes.

Q —There are no large towns in Balasore?

A.—Balasore is not so large a town as Cuttack, and its population almost entirely cultivators and fishermen

Q.—The cultivating classes use opium?

A.—Yes, rheumatic pains are prevalent here

Q.—For what diseases is opium taken?

A.—Rheumatism, elephantiasis, inflammatory fever, bowel complaints, and dysentery.

Q.—Is elephantiasis very common?

A.—Yes, a quarter of the population suffer from it

Q.—Rice is the ordinary staple of the country?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Dr Walsh told us the other day that some forms of rice are bad, that it causes diarrhoea, but poor people are obliged to eat it

A.—That may be, but I don't know it from my own experience

Q.—Some parts of the district are healthy, and others not?

A.—The northern part of Balasore is malarious and the other parts are healthy

Q.—Is opium eating more common in the parts where there is fever or malaria?

A.—Opium is taken generally by those who suffer from rheumatic pains.

Q.—You have no knowledge that it is taken more in the malarious parts than others?

A.—No.

Q.—Is it taken in the mornings or evening?

A.—Some take it both in the mornings and evenings and some in the evenings only. Many take it in the evenings

Q.—By Sir James Lyall —Do they take it more in the cold or in the hot weather?

A.—All the year round

Q.—Is alcohol taken habitually by all classes?

A.—No; there are no habitual drunkards. Some palm cultivators take alcohol and some opium. Those habituated to alcohol give it up by taking opium.

Q.—By Mr Wilson —Can you give us any idea of the proportion of cultivators in the Balasore district who take opium regularly?

A.—Three quarters of the people take it

**Evidence of Dr Ram Mohun Roy.**

Examined by the President —Q —What is your position.

A —I am at present Medical Officer at Sambhunath Pandit's Dispensary, at Bhowanipore, Calcutta, an institution made over to the Corporation of Calcutta since July 1890, and entirely independent of Government aid or control, I was in the service of Government for a good many years, but resigned it in 1890 I have been at Bhowanipore for upwards of fourteen years, where I have, I may say, an extensive practice also.

Q —What would you say as to the value of opium as a medicine?

A —The multifarious uses of opium in diverse diseases and complaints, and its usefulness therein, are well-known to those in the medical profession as well as those out of it It is one of the *three* medicines medical men have learnt to rely upon If the practice of medicine be restricted to three medicines, and a practitioner called upon to treat two patients with only three medicines and elect them out of the legion in the whole range of the *Materia Medica*, both official and non-official, he would be sure to name quinine, opium, and mercury Though mercury has, of late, somewhat lost its position, opium has maintained it, and is likely ever to maintain it From this it will be seen how opium is regarded in the practice of medicine, in the cure or relief of the sufferings to which mankind and brutes are subject. But the subject-matter of this enquiry, I believe, is not so much medicinal use as its use for dietic purposes I shall, therefore, confine myself to its effects such as are produced on persons habituated to take it either through sheer necessity or for luxury As my practice has been almost entirely confined to the better class of people who never or very rarely smoke opium, I have not had much opportunity of observing what effect opium produces when smoked habitually I have casually met with opium-smokers, but I have never had an opportunity of studying, and, far less, coming to any conclusion, as regards its effects Besides, opium-smoking is considered to be a stigma, and people who indulge in it would not confess it even if they did it And then, when smoked in moderation it produces no symptoms, nor any particular appearance on the person using it to make one suspect it I know some persons, though their numbers are not large, who smoke opium They are in affluent circumstances, and thus in a position to command a good living There is nothing in their person which can make one suspect them of the habit. They have not deteriorated in body or mind in the least, though they have been using it for a long time It is only when a person indulges in it, and has not the means to supply himself with the proper amount of food,



that he deteriorates in body and mind, and one can easily find him out by his appearance. Amongst the better class of people the habit is commenced under a fancied or real belief in its aphrodisiac power, which it certainly possesses, at least for some time

Q.—What is the result of your observations as regards eating ?

A.—Then as regards eating opium Here, in India, especially in Bengal, in which the whole of my experience has been gained, after a patient, careful, and sifting enquiry and observation, extending over upwards of twelve years, since 1881, it is taken either in the shape of pills or in a solution of water, but rarely in the shape of alcoholic extract or its active principle, morphia. It is originally commenced to be taken in the shape of pills, once, twice, and sometimes, but very rarely, three times a day. It is only when in any case, after a long use in the shape of pills, it begins to show any of its bad effects, such as insomnia or loss of appetite, that the watery extract is substituted for it. Morphia is always taken on medical advice.

Q.—Have you ever considered the effects of morphia or opium upon yourself ?

A.—Compelled by a sheer necessity for alleviating the most excruciating pains of rheumatism, in 1881, I commenced, under medical advice, to take morphia, the first dose of which was given to me by the doctor himself. I took it in an increasing dose till it reached three grains or a little more every day. I continued the habit for some time, even after I was cured, but gave it up in one day, without feeling any the worse for it. Almost simultaneously sugar was found in my urine, and I was advised to take opium. I was quite unwilling to take it before I was satisfied that it would do me no harm in the end, and I began my enquiry about its effects. I set myself to the work, and the extensive practice I have had offered every opportunity and facility for it. In a short time I got all the necessary information, and being satisfied, I began the habit, and took it up to twenty-four grains a day—i.e., twelve grains morning and evening. The effect was all that could be desired. From the very first day I began to feel new life in me, gloominess and anxiety vanished, appetite returned, dyspepsia disappeared, the bowels gradually became regular; insomnia gave way to refreshing sleep, the power of fixing attention (which was lost) was restored, and that of endurance developed so much that I was better able to carry on my practice than ever before. I work nineteen hours a day regularly and sleep for five hours only. I would be quite useless and unfit for anything were it not for opium. The enquiry I set myself to in 1881, I have always continu-

ed, and I have failed yet to find a man the worse for it who takes it in moderation. I have since reduced my dose to six grains a day, not for any bad effects produced on me, but because I have found it to have the effects I desire it to have. I had constipation lasting for five or six days in 1889, and I reduced the quantity from twenty-four to six grains. I found it served my purpose, and as a less quantity was found to do as well, I have not resumed the larger. I can't give up the thing any day I like, but as it does me good and has never produced any ill-effects, I have kept it up. It gives me much greater power of endurance to go through my arduous work, it gives me power to resist the effects of exposure to cold and heat better than I ever did before. Under it I can think better, understand things more quickly, talk better, write better, eat well, and sleep well, and I am full of spirit and energy, and can undergo any amount of hardship and fatigue. No one, up to this, although I have been taking opium for over a decade, has been able to make out that I take opium, and there are not many persons even now who know that I do take opium, although I come across quite a multitude of people in the practice of my profession. Had it not been for the paper I read before the Medical Society in 1882, no more than four persons would have known it, *i. e.*, the shopkeeper from whom I buy it, my servant who brings it, my compounder who makes it into pills, and my wife who keeps it for me.

Q —In what light do the people of Bengal regard the practice of making use of opium, is it regarded as a thing which they are ashamed of from a moral point of view?

A —It is never concealed, and it is never considered as a disgrace, otherwise, I, as a medical man, would never give it, and keep it a secret. People of Bengal at least never take opium except when alone. This coupled with the fact that they manifest no external or objectionable symptoms, physical or mental, prevents other people from making out as to who takes opium and who not. He will have to wait long who wants to find out an opium-eater by appearance.

The result of a patient and careful enquiry and observation, extending over a period of twelve years, have led me the following conclusions —

(1) That it is a very useful medicine in acute and chronic diarrhoea, dysentery, diabetes, asthma, chronic bronchitis, dyspepsia and gastric colic, rheumatism, diarrhoea stage of cholera, &c, &c, and that in all these diseases people take to it either under medical advice or at the suggestion of friends. It is quite a domestic medicine, and is resorted to by the people from their experience of its usefulness in those diseases.

(2) That it is really a blessing from *above* in a country where scientific medical aid has not up to date been able to reach even one per cent of its population. It is a blessing conferred by God on the people, and no man should take it away.

(8.) That it really prevents, frequently, relapses of malarious fever India, especially Bengal, is essentially a malaria-producing country, its soil saturated with sub-soil moisture, and its atmosphere surcharged with humidity, and its temperature undergoing very great diurnal variation—sometimes a variation of twenty or more degrees from mid-day to mid-night. People who are badly fed and badly clothed, through extreme poverty, having no means to protect themselves against such depressing influences, fall victims to the disease. Opium, though not prophylactic against malaria in the sense that quinine is, acts as a preventive to malarious fever, by giving greater power of endurance and a power to resist the effects of cold and dampness. People by experience having come to know this well-known beneficial effect of opium, use it very largely for the purpose. Since the introduction of railways and artificial irrigation in India, and the consequent increase of sub-soil moisture due to obstruction to the natural drainage of the country, malarious fever and its multifarious direful sequels have increased to a very considerable extent, and the increased use of opium has kept pace with it. I am an inhabitant of one of the most, if not the most, malaria-stricken districts (Hooghly) of Bengal, and I know how malaria has been playing havoc, and how the remnant of the people have kept body and soul together by opium. To do away with such an agent will be fatal to the country. We are thankful to the people of Britain for their increased sympathy, but we should be more thankful to them if they had directed their energy and sympathy in other quarters than this. Their interference against the use of opium makes us exclaim, "God, save us from our friends," and "Recall your dogs, we do not want your charity," \**Viksha nahin mangta baba, karta bolai lige*"

(4) That people at or above forty years of age use it more largely than those under it with a view to keep them ageing, younger people who use it generally do it under medical advice.

(5) That it has never been known to do any injury to body or mind if used judiciously and in proper quantities

(6) That the ill-effects attributed to its use are from its excessive inordinate use, but even in this its evil effects are nothing compared to the evil effects of even the moderate use of alcoholic liquors

Q —By Sir William Roberts —You say that you reduced the use of opium from twenty-four grains a day to six grains a day, and that this amount served your purpose, did you try to reduce the amount still further ?

A —No, I have not tried it I tried it once, I went out and was delayed, and not getting it, I felt depressed.

Q —When you postponed taking your dose you found yourself worse ?

A —Yes

Q —You have put in a table which is a remarkable one, and one which in my eyes is, by far, the most valuable contribution which you could give before the Commission I wish to ask you how you prepared that table and how long you were collecting the facts ?

A —I know all these cases, and know everything relating to them

Q —They were all collected personally ?

A —I have myself taken down the evidence and facts by seeing the patients I sent for many of them

Q —There were no agents employed ?

A —All my own Only one man has died, and him I knew.

Q —Are they all males ?

A —Five are females I have given particulars, and anyone can see them and ascertain the facts

Q —There is one man here who is said to be a great age ?

A —This is a man whom all the people of Bhowanipore know very well Every one considers him to be a living wonder I can swear to the accuracy of the statements, they were all taken by me in my own hand in the presence of people

Q —You can put your finger upon these 215 people without any trouble ?

A —I would have no difficulty

Q.—You have been addicted to take opium for twelve years ?

A —I began in 1881

Q —Have you noticed whether eaters of long standing have become very thin or emaciated ?

A.—No ; it is only smokers who manifest these symptoms

Q.—You distinguish between smoking and eating ?

A.—Yes I do

Q.—Your experience of smoking is not wide ?

A.—No, I only speak of eating

Q.—By Mr Wilson —You have spent a good deal of space in this statement in reference to the much greater harm of alcohol, are you in favour of the prohibition of alcohol ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Are you in favour of placing any further restrictions upon the sale of opium ?

A.—I am satisfied with the present restrictions regarding it

Q.—Would you place any restrictions upon smoking

A.—I would place any amount of restriction upon smoking

Q.—Would you prohibit *chandu* and *mada*?

A.—Of course, if it is possible

Q.—I notice that out of these 215 cases there are only five labourers

A.—I have not counted them

Q.—Most of them are clerks or person in tolerably good condition ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Would it make any difference if the people were ill-fed

A.—It may lead to emaciation or something like that, but I don't believe in the absolute necessity of milk being given. I remember five or six cases who never took any milk. There is a case here who takes half a tola of opium daily, and he does not drink a drop of milk, he is in very good condition

Q.—You take it yourself for medical reasons ?

A.—Yes. I began it for rheumatism

Q.—You notice that the introduction of railways in India has increased the sub-soil moisture, explain how that is

A.—The natural fall is towards the river, and the railway runs along the river-side and prevents the natural fall of water into the river. The water becomes stagnant and it remains there

Q.—Have you any particular railway in your mind when you speak.

A.—Yes, the East Indian Railway in particular.

Q.—I understand you to say that in the construction of this railway there were not a sufficient number of culverts and bridges made to allow of proper drainage.

A.—At the commencement there were not many, but you can't expect the water to go out as usual, as it used to do when the country was vacant

Q.—Do you think that the railway interferes with the drainage in these cases.

A.—It does throughout

Q.—By Mr Mowbray —You seem to draw a great distinction between taking opium and morphia ; is there any law regulating the sale of morphia ?

A.—Morphia is not sold by common shopkeepers, but only in dispensaries, so all can't get it People generally don't know what morphia is

Q.—Is it sold under the druggists' permit

A.—Yes I don't think there is any law to restrict its sale by licensed vendors

Q.—It is as a matter of fact only sold by chemists ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Supposing the sale of opium was restricted to places where morphia is now sold, do you think that there would be a sufficient supply of places to meet the legitimate requirements of people who desire to obtain opium ?

A.—You mean for medicinal purposes only.

Q.—What do you mean by medicinal purposes ?

A.—Its use in the treatment of actual disease, the actual cure of disease, I call medical use

Q.—Taking your view of medical use, are you of opinion that if opium were restricted to places where morphia is now sold, it would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the people wanting opium for that purpose ?

A.—If the treatment of all cases were in the hands of European scientific men, it would serve very well , but the treatment of diseases in common people is not in the hands of European doctors, but they are treated by *hakims*, lay people and grandmothers You must provide opium in dispensaries for all these cases

Q.—Strictly for legitimate medical purposes in your sense of the use of that word, the present facilities for obtaining morphia would not be sufficient for obtaining opium ?

A.—No.

Q—I may take it that for further use, which I may call dietetic use you consider it quite unsuitable ?

A—It is quite unsuitable

Q.—Do you consider its dietetic use a legitimate requirement on the part of the people of the country ?

A.—I certainly do

Q—By Mr. Haridas . Did you reduce the amount from twenty-four grains to six grains at once ?

A.—At once, in one day, that was the first thing I did, and I used to take it three times a day before

Q—You were none the worse ?

A—I may have felt a slight uneasiness, but it was nothing

Q—You were present at the meeting of the Calcutta Medical society when you mentioned these 215 people ?

A—Yes

Q—And you referred to them in your speech there ?

A—Yes

Q—Can you give me any idea how many medical gentlemen were present.

A—The meeting was tolerably well-attended , that was my impression.

Q.—Were there twenty, thirty, or forty present ?

A—Something like twenty ,

#### **Evidence of Dr. James R. Wallace.**

Examined by the President — Q — Kindly state what experience you have had in Calcutta and what position you hold ?

A—I am a Doctor of Medicine, and my experience concerning the use of opium has been gained during fourteen years of work in Calcutta, both in Government service and as an independent practitioner I studied medicine in the Calcutta Medical College, and when I obtained my Diplomas as Physician and Surgeon in 1879, I was appointed Resident Surgeon and subsequently Resident Physician to the Medical College Hospital. I also held the appointment of Resident Surgeon to the Eden Hospital for Women and Children Subsequently I resigned Government service and entered independent practice During these years I have had numerous opportunities of observing the habits and customs of all classes and sects of the Indian people in regard to the use of opium. My

practice is a large and mixed one, dealing as it does with Europeans, Eurasians, Hindus, Mahomedans, Burmese and Chinese

Q —Is there any difference between Europeans and Natives as regards the habit ?

A —I would dismiss Europeans and Eurasians by saying that I have never met an opium user among them. I have found opium used chiefly among Chinese, then Burmans, then Hindus, and least among Mahomedans. On an average among my Indian patients I would say the percentage stood about thus Chinese, 4, Burmese, 3, Hindus, 2, Mahomedans, 1. I came to know the opium-using propensities of patients casually in the course of my enquiries concerning their diseases. The quantity generally taken was from one to three piee worth, or from one to fifteen grains a day. The majority of such eaters of opium had taken a fixed daily dose for years without increasing it. I found a fair proportion, who had gone on slowly increasing the dose from half a grain of opium till in a year or so they had reached the use of ten to fifteen grains daily. The majority of such opium-eaters had begun the use of the drug under the belief that it gives them strength and acted as an exhilarating stimulant. I have found some who started the habit simply by the example of others.

Q —What is the effect of opium in the case of moderate eaters ?

A —In treating such cases medically I have invariably enjoined the stoppage of the drug, as I felt that in most cases the drug itself, or the dose taken, was incompatible with the line of treatment to be adopted. I have invariably found patients addicted to even small doses of the drug complain that they felt badly without it. Three or four days of abstinence from the drug in many cases was sufficient to lull the cravings for it. I have noticed great restlessness, digestive distress, looseness of the bowels, and severe pains about the body and abdomen attend the sudden stopping of the drug. I believe that many Natives who eat opium do so under the advice of friends for its reputed relief in rheumatic pains, some bronchial affections, bowel complaints and diabetes.

Q.—What is the result of your experience as to the effects of opium in the case of malarial fever ?

A.—I have never heard any patient tell me it was taken to prevent or to cure malarial fever. I have never seen or heard of any physician in Calcutta or elsewhere who prescribes the use of opium for the prevention or cure of malarial fever. I have recently read of the good effect of opium in preventing and even curing malarial fever. I have given the theory a fair and honest trial during the past ten or twelve months, and



I am thoroughly convinced that beyond relieving the bodily pains and aches of malarial fever, it in no way prevents or shortens its paroxysms. I firmly believe that the action of opium in malarial disorders, in which there is such a strong tendency to congestion of the liver, spleen and kidneys is not only distinctly contra-indicated, but its administration in many such cases would be undoubtedly harmful. I base this opinion upon my own deliberate experience, as I have frequently found serious complications follow the use of opium when given as a sedative in cases where the liver had undergone inflammatory or degenerative change from any cause. I base this opinion further upon the teaching and practice of many able and experienced Indian physicians, such men as Norman Chevers, David B. Smith, Coates, Harvey, and McConnell, men whose lectures and practice I have attended and seen, and from whom I never heard a word of commendation for the use of opium in malarial fever, men who, as far as my recollection serves me, have always condemned the use of opium in congested conditions of the liver—a condition which sooner or later complicates every case of malarial fever.

Q.—Have you anything further to say in reference to your personal knowledge as to the practice and opinions of other physicians ?

A.—First as a student and then as Resident Physician and as Resident Surgeon to the Medical College Hospital, I had constant opportunities of seeing the practice of such able men as Doctors Chevers, Smith, Coates, Harvey, McConnell, McLeod, Raye, and others, and I never knew one of them to prescribe opium in any form as a prophylactic or as a remedy in malarial fever. I can, however, vividly recall the frequent condemnation of Dr Norman Chevers while Professor of Medicine, and I know of his recorded opinions against the use of opium, both in his work on *Medical Jurisprudence in India* and his last great work on the *Diseases of India*.

Q.—Speaking of these opinions, you attended the lectures of Dr. Norman Chevers, and speak from personal knowledge ?

A.—Yes. Quoting from the latter book, page 576, Dr Chevers says of opium-eaters and smokers: "All who have seen much of these unfortunates recognise the fact that in India and China, those habituated to the use of opium, are very liable to fall victims to diarrhoea \* \* \*. Others, especially among the Mussulmans, addicted to the smoking of narcotic drugs, the abuse of which brings on a debilitated state of the system with nervous tremor, and not unfrequently temporary delirium, which sometimes ends in confirmed mania, while in all, sooner or later,

the habit is followed by emaciation, weakness, indigestion, and fatal diarrhoea. \* \* \* Treatment is always unsatisfactory, and but seldom followed by a thorough or permanent restoration to health. \* \* \* Men addicted to narcotics seldom remain longer than a month or two at duty, and are at last very generally lost to the service by death or by being discharged" Quoting also from page 453 — "A large proportion of the inmates of asylums for Natives are found to be habitual *ganja*-smokers and opium-eaters, and many of these are epileptic"

Q — Do you draw any distinction between the effects of opium taken in a solid form and opium-smoking?

A — I have very little personal experience of smoking

Q — Have you anything further to say from your personal knowledge as to the effects of opium?

A — While the moderate use of opium by those in good circumstances, who are able to provide themselves with wholesome nourishing food, may not afford appreciable evidence of any marked harmful result, so long as the drug is regularly taken, I have seen otherwise strong and healthy men rendered almost helpless and unfit for work of any kind and even suffering from diarrhoea and pain when deprived of their accustomed moderate dose of opium. I would assume from this that even in moderation, the use of opium exercises a baneful influence on the human economy. I have also seen many opium sots, men who were absolute physical wrecks from the excessive and continued use of opium. I have seen such specimens in three visits that I have made to opium dens in Calcutta. A report of one of these visits I published in the *Indian Medical Record* for September, 1892, and I tender that report as part of my evidence.

Q — Have you anything to say in regard to the value of opium as a medicine?

A — While admitting that opium is one of the most reliable therapeutic agents known to science to assuage pain, to calm nervous irritability in various forms and as a sedative, hypnotic and soporific, it stands unequalled by any other drug in the physician's hands, I cannot help regarding it as inimical to health when taken otherwise than as a medicine. I know from numerous enquiries among Indians that opium-eating is regarded as a vice, its users are ashamed to admit the habit, that its continued use causes emaciation, bowel derangement, and general vital impairment, associated with marked moral delinquency. I have also seen and treated many cases of opium poisoning, and in many who have been rescued from suicidal death, I have learnt that opium was chosen as the suicidal agent, because of its pleasantly intoxicating effects robbing the act of suicide of much of its terror. I cannot read daily of the numerous cases of suicidal

and homicidal deaths from opium, without believing that too easy, pleasant, and effective a weapon is placed within the reach of the suicide and the murderer. Having regard to all these circumstances, I am strongly of opinion that the strictest limits and safeguards should be placed upon the sale and use of opium

Q.—Have you formed any opinion as to the practicability of what has been urged before the Commission in reference to the total prohibition of the use of opium ?

A.—I think it would be utterly impossible

Q.—Do you think it practicable in this country to lay down regulations which would give sufficient facilities for obtaining a supply for medicinal use only limiting the use of opium as a medicine ?

A.—I think it is possible

Q.—Do you compare in your mind the effects of opium and the effects of alcohol ?

A.—In my opinion opium can never take the place of alcohol in the way that Western science has taught physicians to use the latter

Q.—Do you approve of the moderate use of alcohol as an ordinary article of consumption ?

A.—Under medical advice

Q.—But without medical advice you would not say that it would be well for all persons to abstain from the use of alcohol ?

A.—Yes

Q.—By Sir William Roberts—I do not think your view regarding opium as a true prophylactic differ greatly from the views generally held in the profession ?

A.—It is in accordance with the opinion held by practitioners

Q.—It is generally understood that opium does relieve the incidental symptoms of the malarial condition as an anodyne ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—It is said to be more risky, as regards liability to take malarial fever, to go outside of a morning on an empty stomach than with something in it ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Has it not struck you that opium might act as a preventive in the same way ?

A.—I think not.

Q.—What is the date of Chevers' work from which you quoted ?

A —It is published by Churchill, dated 1886.

Q —You refer to the large proportion of lunatics who are *ganja* smokers and opium-eaters, are you aware that the statistics of returns from asylums contradict that opinion?

A —I am aware of it, but these statistics do not make ample provisions for recording the habits of these inmates.

Q —You deny that those who indulge in narcotics remain long in their employ, is that a fact?

A.—I believe it is

Q —By Mr Wilson —May we take it for granted, that so far as you know, the universal conviction of educated medical men is that for Europeans opium is not to be recommended for dietetic purposes?

A —Yes

Q —In reference to Natives, what is your answer?

A —I would say it was the same in regard to Natives

Q —Suppose you substitute the word “stimulant” for the word “dietetic”?

A —I can not regard opium as a stimulant in the sense that we generally use the word for alcohol. I don't recommend it as a stimulant

Q —You don't believe that medical men recommend people to take it as a prophylactic?

A —Orthodox medical men don't so recommend it

Q.—Is it sometimes used combined with other things?

A —Possibly, if the use for it may arise, such as in diarrhoea

Q —You spoke of opium as an anodyne, and you draw a distinction between an anodyne and a stimulant?

A —There is a very clear distinction

Q —You read a report in the *Indian Medical Gazette* of the discussion at the Calcutta Medical Society on the subject, are you a member of the Society?

A.—I am not

By Sir William Roberts —Q —Why?

A —I was secretary to that society some years ago, but it came to be of a very official character and I resigned

By Mr Wilson —Q —You have read the report, and you don't quite agree with the majority who spoke upon that occasion?

A.—Certainly not

Q.—Am I right in supposing that these gentlemen represent substantially the opinions of the orthodox medical practitioners in Calcutta ?

A.—I believe it does not

By Sir W Roberts.—Q.—Can you give any names ?

A.—Very recently Dr. Lall Madhub Mookerjee, the Principal of a private medical school, called upon me and gave me his deliberate opinion that some on the staff of the institution were wholly against the opinions which were expressed before this Commission. He mentioned the names of the staff, but the information was gratuitous. I forget the names, but I can tell you by referring to the *Medical Directory*

By Mr. Wilson.—Q.—What do you mean by “ official ” character ?

A.—I would say that the society, practically, is connected with the official medical journal, the *Indian Medical Gazette*, and that its reports are made to this *Gazette*, and it had at the time a large number of officials and less so of general practitioners, therefore I say it is more or less of an official society, the official element predominating

Q.—This is an important point. We have had many medical witnesses here, can you clear the point in any way, as to the numbers of orthodox practitioners in Calcutta, and those who belong to the society ?

A.—The Society numbers according to its last report, 117 members of it, twenty-five of whom don't reside in Calcutta. There are 780 qualified practitioners in Calcutta, European and Native, practising according to the European system

By Sir W Roberts.—Q.—What is the subscription ?

A.—Three rupees per year. All these practitioners are graduates of the Calcutta University, or of some European medical body.

• By Mr Wilson.—Q.—Do you think that this doctrine about the use of opium in malaria is a comparatively modern doctrine ?

A.—Yes, I first heard it in the discussion at the Society, and since then I gave the theory a trial

Q.—By Mr Mowbray.—In regard to the *Indian Medical Gazette*, do I understand that it is official ?

A.—In this sense, that it is supported by the Government

Q.—What is the *Medical Record* ?

A.—An Indian journal which I started five years ago, entirely supported by the medical profession in India.

Q.—I think you were in Government service yourself ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—How long ago ?

A.—From 1872 to 1883

Q —Did you resign subsequently to or before you resigned as a member of the Calcutta Medical Society ?

A —That was subsequent to resigning the Government's service.

Q —You suggest in your note that opium is often taken on the advice of friends as a relief from pain , as that a medical use?

A —It is a medical use

Q —Therefore, any provision of opium for medical purposes would have to be sufficient to supply persons under those conditions ?

A —Certainly

Q —Do you think that, after supplying persons who require it in that way, you would go much further than you have done in restricting the places where it could be got ?

A —I would not like to go into that question, because I don't understand it,—the sale of opium I mean. It seems to me that there is a superabundant supply that should be restricted

Q —You must admit that there must be places for the supply of opium, medically. I wish to know how, if you are to have these places open for the sale of opium, you would be convinced they would not be used for other purposes ?

A —It is a very difficult matter to deal with, because friends very often prescribe medicines legitimately. The use of opium for the relief of pain is perfectly legitimate, and it is a want which would have to be met. Owing to the conditions of the country, medical advice is meagre, and people are obliged to resort to relief at their doors. If opium was prescribed under these conditions, I don't know how Government could limit its sale to that kind of use.

Q —You can not help me in making a distinction which may be drawn between persons requiring opium for such purposes, and persons requiring it for purely vicious purposes ?

A —I don't know how it can be helped, but the less of opium for vicious purposes the better, and this lies in the hands of the Government to prevent

Q —We have had it suggested that the person in charge of these places should have a discretionary power, do you think that this is a power which could be safely entrusted to them ?

A —It will be worth nothing if placed in the hands of opium sellers.

Q.—By Mr Fanshawe—In the course of your experience have you knowledge of lunacy caused by opium ?

A.—No.

Q.—You talk of the prevalence of the habit among all classes, what classes do you refer to ?

A.—I believe amongst all classes in Calcutta

Q.—Would you include the Marwaries ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And amongst the Chinese ?

A.—Yes All the people among whom I have practised regard it as a vice

Q.—If its use was prohibited, is there any tendency among Natives to their taking to alcohol or *ganja* ?

A.—There might be

Q.—By Sir James Lyall—I understood you to say that you considered that the use of opium as a drug for malaria or a prophylactic, is a new doctrine amongst medical men, but is not it an old doctrine amongst the people of this country ?

A.—I have never heard it in my practice

Q.—You don't think they take opium to protect themselves against cold ?

A.—I have never heard that they do so

Q.—I have met at different times several people in India who have told me that if they knew they would have to sleep out of doors, or get wet, or be subject to any exposure, that, as a protection they take a small pill of opium Don't you think they are right in doing so ?

A.—I would warn all those people to avoid that pill

\* Q.—By Mr Wilson—I think you have lived most of your time in Calcutta, might not persons, who have no direct interest in the sale of opium, be vested with the discretionary power ?

A.—Discretionary power is estimated according to the individuals to whom it is given It depends upon the individuals placed in charge, but I think if such discretionary power were placed in the hands of a person not interested in the sale you will find it to be a wise measure

Q.—Don't you think the Government of India would be able to devise some plan ?

A.—I believe the Government capable of meeting the evil The evil would decline as generation after generation arose, and new arrangements could be made to meet the circumstances of the next generation

Q —By Sir James Lyall —In regard to the selection of these people in the villages they would not be very highly paid or educated, and do you think these men could be trusted?

A —I don't think they could be trusted, it would be difficult to find people who could be trusted

Q —Would they sell the opium at the price named, only accounting to Government for the Government price?

A —Knowing as much as I do, I should have a much better system than that

Q —I don't see what other system you can have?

A —They are sure to be surrounded by all sorts of corruption, and the last state will be worse than the first

Q —If you put discretionary power into an ordinary Oriental's hand, is not he at once inclined to look and see how much money he can make out of it?

A —Certainly

Q —This is the great administrative difficulty in India?

A —Yes

**Evidence of Mr. K. G. Gupta, Excise Commissioner of Bengal**

Q —State what your position is in the Civil service, and what are your duties and experience generally

A —I have served twenty years, having come out in October, 1873. During this period I have served in several districts of Bengal and Orissa in the usual grades from Assistant Magistrate to District Officer. I was Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue for four years, and in that capacity had to deal with, among others, the Excise and Opium Departments. I have held my present appointment since March last.

Q —What are the chief stimulants in use in Bengal?

A —The craving for stimulants is satisfied in these provinces from three distinct sources, viz., (1) country liquor (including toddy or the fermented juice of date and palmyra palm), (2) hemp drugs, and (3) opium. The first is preferred in dry districts with pronounced cold and hot seasons, and containing a large non-Mahomedan population, as in Behar and Chota-Nagpore. The use of hemp drugs is largest in wet districts, such as Dacca, Mymensing, and the 24-Pargunnas, or in malarious tracts such as the low alluvial portion of the Bhagulpore Division lying to the north of the Ganges. Leaving aside Calcutta, where the use of all exciseable articles is large, the consumption of opium is



largest along the seaboard from Chittagong to Puri, with the exception of Noakhahli, where the excise revenue from all sources is smallest owing to the presence of a large proportion of Ferazis, a sect of puritanical Mahomedans who are great abstainers. It is likewise considerable in districts containing a large element of Mahomedan town population, as in Hooghly, Burdwan, Murshidabad, and Patna, as well as in notoriously malarious districts like Rungpur, Dinajpur, Malda, and Purnea.

Q.—Have you anything to say in respect of *madak* and *chundu*?

A.—Very little *madak* is consumed in these provinces. Outside Calcutta the use of *madak* is practically confined to the 24 Pargunnas, Midnapur, Hooghly, Murshidabad, Malda, and Cuttack. The majority of the consumers are low Mahomedans and in Malda these belong to the Jola or weaver class. The use of *chundu* is still more limited. In Calcutta the consumers are chiefly Chinese. The only other places where the consumption is at all large are Chittagong and Mymensing. In 1882-83, out of forty-four districts in which the province was then divided, *madak* was used in forty, and there were altogether 433 licenses in force. In 1892-93 it was consumed in thirty-five districts out of a total of forty-six, and the number of licenses was 263. The corresponding figures for *chundu* are eighty-nine licenses in twenty-one districts in 1882-83, and seventy-one licenses in twenty districts in the past year. It can therefore hardly be said, as has been asserted by some of the witnesses, that the use of either drug is on the increase. The figures given above distinctly indicate considerable restriction in the past decade.

Q.—Can you give us any statistics as to the quantities of these articles sold?

A.—I can give you figures for Calcutta separately, they are not compiled for the districts yet. During the past year 355 maunds of crude opium were consumed; during the preceding, 360 maunds 32 seers, and during 1890-91, 335 maunds. Of *madak*, during the past year, twenty-eight maunds, during 1891-92, thirty-three maunds, and during 1890-91, thirty-three maunds. Of *chundu* during the past year thirty-six maunds, in 1891-92, forty-nine maunds, and in 1890-91, forty-nine maunds. A maund is about 80 English pounds.

Q.—Under existing arrangements the system of farming of licenses no longer obtains, but the sale of excise opium in Lower Bengal is conducted by a system of licenses, which are put up to public auction?

A.—It is so.

Q.—Has this system been productive of increase of revenue to Government.

A —Very much.

Q —The Government have not found that the system is open to objection on administrative or moral grounds?

A —The system, I think, is worked very well. From an administrative point of view I see no objection at all, and from the moral point of view I don't think the system is open to any greater objections than any other system which may be devised.

Q.—I observe that the quantity consumed seems to be approximately stationary?

A —In twenty years the population has increased by eighteen per cent and the consumption by ten per cent, comparing 1878 with 1892.

Q —So that per head of the population there is a slight decrease?

A —Yes

Q —By Sir William Roberts —Is *madak* cheaper than opium.

A —It is slightly cheaper, because in its preparation it is mixed with guava and other leaves

Q —By Mr. Pease —What is the number of shops licensed for retail sale?

A —Calcutta, including Howrah, fifty-seven opium shops, thirty *madak* shops, eleven *chandu* shops, of which last only four were opened.

Q —Can you say whether they are all used

A —This number of licenses the man pays for, but for his own convenience, he only keeps open four

Q —Why did you grant all the licenses?

A —He can open the shops if he likes.

Q —Why don't you withhold the licenses?

A —We get the license fees.

Q —Is it not the wish of the Government to reduce the number?

A —Yes

Q —And you grant seven licenses for which there is no necessity?

A —It has been so for some years, and the number has not been reduced

Q —Licenses are sold by auction?

A —Yes.

Q.—What regard is held as to the locality in which the licenses should be used?

A.—The sites are fixed before the licenses are put up for auction. The man who purchases the license must always arrange with the owner of the premises, and if he fails to secure the premises, he must give up the license.

Q.—Men who own the premises have a special advantage ?

A.—Naturally.

Q.—Does he charge increased rent ?

A.—I cannot say.

Q.—Do you have any regard to the character of the man who purchases licenses?

A.—He has to produce a police certificate as to character and respectability

Q.—Apart from the character of the man who holds the whole of the licenses, what guarantee have you as to the character of the person who superintends the particular shops ?

A.—We take a guarantee as regards the person to whom the license is given.

Q.—In regard to the thirty *madak* licenses, they are held by separate individuals?

A.—Yes

Q.—And they are strictly confined in the same way to the house in which business shall be carried on?

A.—Yes

Q.—There is a regulation that smoking should not take place in connection with these houses how far do you interfere where the smoking takes place in a room closely connected with the licensed shop ?

A.—No such case was ever brought to my notice, but if it was, I should direct a prosecution for a breach of the license

Q.—If I understand you, no effort is made to reduce the consumption of *madak* and *chundu* ?

A.—I am not prepared to say that, as I don't know the actual numbers prior to these figures

Q.—Can you give us a general description of the distribution of these shops ?

A.—They are all over the town.

Q.—Are they more numerous in special localities?

A.—I believe so

Q.—In which locality are they most numerous ?

A.—In those in which there are the greatest number of smokers.

Q.—What is the social position of the people where there is a large number?

A.—That I cannot say

Q.—Are most of the licenses in the lowest parts of the town?

A.—I don't know the locality of all the shops.

Q.—Has there been any alteration in the number of opium shops in Calcutta?

A.—The number of opium shops in 1890 was 55, in 1891, 59; and in the past year, 57

Q.—Why was the number increased in 1891?

A.—I cannot say

Q.—How many special licenses for manufacture of *madak* and *chandru*, under the new rule mentioned in your statement, have been taken out?

A.—Only one, in the district of Shahabad, none in Calcutta. This rule was introduced in April last.

Q.—Who is responsible for the increase or decrease of licenses for the province of Bengal and Calcutta?

A.—Eventually the Board of Revenue. Proposals are submitted by district officers to the Excise Commissioner, and these are again considered by the Board, which passes final orders.

Q.—Has a magistrate power to grant additional licences?

A.—He cannot do so without the sanction of the Excise Commissioner. It is very seldom a new shop is allowed in the middle of the year. In recent years there has been hardly ever an increase in the aggregate number, on the contrary there has been a gradual reduction.

Q.—Who originally fixed the sites?

A.—It is impossible to say, most of these shops have been existing for years.

Q.—Suppose a shop becomes no longer valuable, and it is desired to remove it?

A.—The site can be changed.

Q.—Who decides in Calcutta whether a site is suitable?

A.—It is decided by the collector and then sent off to the Excise Commissioner, not merely that, but the Commissioner of Police must also give a certificate.

**Q.**—He does not interfere with old sites, but he exercises a discretion in reference to new sites ?

**A.**—Before a settlement is made the list is sent to the Commissioner of Police who may object if he likes, and we are bound to listen. Objections from residents in the neighbourhood are also listened to as well as the probabilities of more crime being committed.

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part X, 4th December, 1893.

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PRICE ONE PENNY, or ONE ANNA, for each part.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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THE HON'BLE D R LYALL this morning handed in to the Commission the following memorandum commenting on the memorial of the Calcutta Missionary Conference

*Note on the memorial submitted by the Missionary Conference to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council regarding opium dated 21st September.*

The memorial quotes in Appendix A five medical authorities.

I have been unable to trace where they got Sir B Brodie's opinion, as no clue is given to the quotation, but I have been able to trace the other four

1 *Dr Brunton (page 775)* — This authority, in the book quoted, does not enter into the question of opium-eating, which is foreign to his subject (therapeutics) He does not discuss it, but dismisses it in the words quoted, which are descriptive of a typical case of the evils of opium

Page 780 may also be referred to as showing his opinion on opium.

2. *Dr Ringer (page 467)* — The quotation is incomplete I quote the last sentence as given in the memorial and give the part wanting. "The horrors which opium-eaters suffer when the drug is withheld are well known" (here the memorial stops, it might have gone on) "and need not be dwelt on here, so great indeed is the suffering that few have sufficient resolution to relinquish the habit The amount of opium taken is often enormous De Quincey took 320 grains daily The moderate indulgence of the habit is perhaps not more prejudicial to health than tobacco smoking. The Chinese are, almost universally addicted to the habit of opium eating, and yet they are an intelligent and industrious race" " "

I think the gentlemen who are responsible for the memorial should, in common fairness, have completed the quotations and thus have shown that it was the abuse only of opium that was referred to in the part quoted, while its moderate use was held to be no more prejudicial to the health than tobacco smoking

This author writes even more strongly regarding the abuse of alcohol, saying that when taken in excess it "injures and degenerates the tissues of all parts of the body and produces premature old age" The lungs be-



come prone to emphysema, there is diminution of both physical and mental vigour; the kidneys, liver, and stomach may become cirrhotised" (page 288) The above might just as fairly be quoted alone against even the moderate use of alcohol, as the quotation made by the memorialists against the moderate use of opium

I fancy no sane person would deny the evils of the excessive use of either, but what I urge is that it is unfair to choose extracts which cover only extreme cases, and to quote them as if they referred to all cases including moderate consumers, who are in the vast majority

3 *Dr Pereira*—The part quoted is from a description of an opium wreck and immediately following the part quoted the editors of the fourth edition (that quoted) have added the following note It may here be stated that the editors were Alfred Swain Taylor, the author of Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence, and George Owen Rees

"[Dr Eatwell's paper on opium contains some remarks on the subject of opium smoking, which we here subjoin—*Ed*]

"It has been too much the practice with narrators who have treated on the subject to content themselves with drawing the sad picture of the confirmed opium debauchee plunged in the last state of moral and physical exhaustion, and, having formed the premises of their argument from this exception, to proceed at once to involve the whole practice in one sweeping condemnation But this is not the way in which the subject can be treated, as rational would it be to paint the horrors of *delirium tremens*, and upon that evidence to condemn at once the entire use of alcoholic liquors The question for determination is not what are the effects of opium used to excess, but what are its effects on the moral and physical constitution of the mass of the individuals who use it habitually and *in moderation*, either as a stimulant to sustain the frame under fatigue, or as a restorative and sedative after labour bodily or mental Having passed three years in China, I may be allowed to state the results of my observation, and I can affirm thus far, that the effects of the abuse of the drug to do not come very frequently under observation, and that when cases do occur, the habit is very frequently found to have been induced by the presence of some painful chronic disease, to escape from the sufferings of which the patient has fled to this resource That this is not always the cause, however, I am perfectly ready to admit, and there are doubtless many who indulge in the habit to a pernicious extent, led by the same morbid impulses which induce men to become drunkards in even the most civilised countries, but these cases do not at all events come before the public eye It requires no laborious research in civilised England to discover evidences of the pernicious effects of the abuse of alcoholic liquors, our open and thronged gin palaces, and our streets, afford abundant testimony on the subject, but in China this open evidence of the evil effects of opium is at least wanting As regards the effects of the habitual use of the drug on the mass of the people, I must affirm that no injurious results are visible The people generally are a muscular and well formed race, the labouring portion being capable of great and prolonged exertion under a fierce sun in an unhealthy climate. Their disposition is cheerful and peaceable, and quarrels and brawls are rarely heard amongst

even the lower orders, whilst in general intelligence they rank deservedly high amongst Orientals. Proofs are still wanting to show that the moderate use of opium produces more pernicious effects upon the constitution than the moderate use of spirituous liquors, whilst at the same time it is certain that the consequences of the abuse of the former are less appalling in their effects upon the victim, and less disastrous to society at large, than the consequences of the abuse of the latter. Compare the furious madman, the subject of *delirium tremens*, with the prostrate debauchee, the victim of opium, the violent drunkard with the dreary sensualist intoxicated with opium, the latter is at least harmless to all except to his wretched self, whilst the former is but too frequently a dangerous nuisance, and an openly bad example to the community at large."

In case however, the framers of the memorial should desire to adhere to the opinions expressed by Dr Pereira and not to additions made by subsequent editors, the following quotation from page 622 of the same edition as that quoted in the memorial gives Dr. Pereira's own views:—

"Some doubt has been entertained as to the alleged injurious effects of opium-eating on the health and its tendency to shorten life, and it must be confessed that in several known cases which have occurred in this country (England) no ill effects have been observable. Dr Christison has given abstracts of eleven cases, the general results of whose histories "would rather tend to throw doubt over the popular opinions." A few years ago a Life Assurance Company, acting on this general opinion, resisted payment of a sum of money, on the ground that the insurer (the late Earl of Mar) had concealed from them a habit which tends to shorten life, but the case was ultimately compromised.

Dr Burnes asserts that the Natives of Cutch do not suffer much from opium eating."

I may here remark that no higher authority can be quoted than Dr [afterwards Sir Robert] Christison.

Again on page 623 Dr Pereira writes —

"In the first edition of this work I stated that although the unmoderate practice of opium smoking must be highly detrimental to health, yet that I believed the statements of Medhurst and others applied to cases in which this practice was carried to excess, and I observed that an account of the effects of opium smoking by an unbiassed and professional witness was a *desideratum*. My opinion was founded on the statements of Botta and Marsden. The latter, a most accurate writer, observes that "the *Lamun and Batang Asse* gold-traders, who are an active and laborious class of men, but yet indulge as freely in opium as any others whatever, are, notwithstanding the most healthy and vigorous people to be met with on the island." This *desideratum* has been supplied by Mr Smith, Surgeon of Pulo Penang, whose statements fully confirm my opinion. For although the practice is most destructive to those who live in poverty and distress, and who carry it to excess, yet it does not appear that the Chinese in easy circumstances, and who have the comforts of life about them, are materially affected, in respect to longevity, by the private addiction to this vice. "There are many persons," observes Mr. Smith, "within my own observation, who have attained the age

of sixty, seventy, or more, and who are well known as habitual opium smokers for more than thirty years past "

The author goes on to describe the immediate effects of the drug on the Chinese and that of an inordinate quantity, and states that the opium pipe renders Malays outrageous and quarrelsome

Can any one who reads these extracts doubt that Dr. Pereira looked with very different eyes on the use and abuse of opium ?

The last two lines of the quotation from Dr. Pereira's work are from another part of the book, and can best be dealt with in my remarks on paragraph three of the memorial.

*No 4 Dr Garrod*—The quotation from page 203 is descriptive of opium poisoning from a single *large dose*, and has nothing to do with the question of the habitual use or abuse of opium No one can deny that an over-dose of opium produces death

I do not find that these authorities anywhere say that opium should be used only under medical prescription and treated as a poison, or that any one of them touched on the question of dealing with opium in India as it is dealt with in Britain Like the memorialists, I do not wish to anticipate the evidence which will be given before the Opium Commission, but I may safely say that the authorities quoted make out no case for the entire prohibition of opium except under medical prescription, thus depriving millions of moderate consumers of a stimulant which suits them, and that a very much stronger case could be made out against alcohol

Farther, I would ask the memorialists whether they are aware that in the fen countries, the malarious tracts of England, opium is sold freely without prescription Would it not be infinitely worse to prohibit the free sale of opium in the far more malarious tracts of Bengal ?

*Paragraph III*—The memorialists entirely fail to grasp the difficulty there would be in restricting the sale of opium here as compared with England Here opium could be grown in nearly every home-stead in the greater part of Bengal In England it is all imported Here the cultivation of the poppy for the production of opium existed long before the English rule was established, and the hardship to the people in prohibiting its growth would be very great, while the expense of a preventive service sufficient to enforce the prohibition would be enormous, and for what ? in order to satisfy the demands of a few men who know little or nothing of the moderate use of the drug, and whose opinions are formed from extreme cases of abuse of it,

The memorialists next notice the number of suicidal and homicidal deaths from opium poisoning. The latter are very few and far between; the former are common, but this proves nothing.

No one who really intended to commit suicide would be prevented, doing so by other means if opium were prohibited. Arsenic is sold in every bazar, dhatura grows in every homestead, ropes are found in every cow-house, and the would-be suicide would go out of the world just as surely if opium were sold only under medical prescription.

We should probably have fewer deaths by opium reported, but even this is not certain, as it would not be difficult to obtain a fatal dose from a licensed vendor.

Again, where would the memorialists find the druggist to sell opium in Bengal?

There is, I presume, no dispute that no more valuable medicine exists, and even the memorialists would not wish to deprive the people of so valuable a remedy, yet where in India out of the great towns are druggists to be found fit to be entrusted with the retail, and who would refuse to sell except under medical prescription? I say such do not exist, and that the result of the so-called prohibition would simply be to transfer the sale of opium from licensed vendors under strict excise rules to irresponsible so-called druggists, in fact to the village *pansari*, under no check at all.

There would be no decrease in consumption, while the revenue would disappear.

The last two lines of this paragraph were so obscure that I asked Mr Brown to let me know what was meant. He referred me to the last two lines of the extract from Dr Pereira's book printed as Appendix A. He thus refers to its use as an aphrodisiac. Dr Pereira, it will be observed, in the extract (page 629) says "We are told that the Indians use it as such." This may or may not be true, but with the letter explaining his meaning, the Rev Mr Brown also forwarded a note on ganja smoking, compiled by Dr Morison, an English Presbyterian Missionary in Rajshahi, on page five of which he translates the two first lines of a Bengali "slok" as follows—"The ganjari's wife in him delights the opium's wife's a widow quite." This would seem to indicate that opium deadens and does not excite sexual desire, and such is, I believe, the case.

Dr. Pereira goes on to quote an old history of 1664 to show the effect of opium in this direction, but he seems hardly in earnest, and appears to treat it more as a curious ancient extract than as a fact.

*Paragraph IV.*—Granting that the consumption of opium is to some extent injurious, it is far less harmful than anything that is likely to take its place. And it is in certain conditions even useful. The position taken up by officials and others (I might say all except the missionary body) is nothing new, nor is the benefit to the finances of India a new thing or a strange doctrine. The Government and its officers have all along looked on opium as a necessary evil, and have restricted its cultivation within reasonable bounds. Had this not been done, indigenous opium would never have obtained the footing it now has in China, and the Indian revenue would have been much greater. I assert that the history of the past is ample guarantee for the future, and that the misgiving of the memorialists is uncalled for.

*Paragraph V.*—I presume that the word “from” is a misprint for “in.”

The memorialists are to certain extent right that opium, ganja, and alcohol move in different orbits, but that would no longer be true if one of them were prohibited, or if the price of one or more was made virtually prohibitive. So long as human beings exist, they will have stimulants of some kind in spite of all laws, or even of religion. If opium were prohibited, the Muhammadans of India would have a very just complaint against Government that they were being forced by the prohibition of opium to indulge in stimulants forbidden by their religion, and the existence of such a cause of complaint would amount to a very grave political danger, and probably an increase of the European garrison in India.

*Paragraph V. (2).*—The memorialists say that their position is that both alcohol and opium are evil and ought to be combated. I agree so far that both are evil if taken in excess, but neither are evil, or only evil to a very small extent if taken in moderation.

As regards Sir Thomas Wade's opinion, I would quote his telegram of 7th February, 1881, to Lord Granville as showing that whatever his opinion might be regarding the evil effects of opium, it is absolutely immaterial whether India exports opium to China or not, as the Chinese will have opium from other sources if denied it from India, and the Indian opium is less strong and less harmful than any other, containing as it does less morphine. The telegram runs thus —

“I went to the Yamen on the 16th to speak of various matters. Four ministers received me. Adverting to opium I observed that the authorities in some places were taxing opium, native and foreign; in others were trying to increase the sale and consumption of both. With-

out at all denying the right of the Chinese Government to do as it chose, I should wish to know which course the Government approved? They said the question was embarrassing. The Chinese Government would be glad to stop opium-smoking altogether, but the habit was too confirmed to be stopped by official intervention. No idea of abolishing the trade at present was in the mind of the Government. Alluding to the desire of well disposed people at home to see England withdraw from the trade, I asked if it would be of any use to diminish yearly the export from India. The Indian Government might be thus enabled to provide otherwise for loss of income. They said, so long as the habit exists, opium will be procured, either from India or elsewhere. Any serious attempt to check the evil must originate with the people themselves. The measure I suggest would affect Chinese revenue, but would not reach the root of the mischief."

The Commission have also recorded Sir Thomas Wade's evidence and have his own words as regards his opinion on opium consumption.

I quote in parallel columns the words of the memorial and the words really used by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick

"And Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick of wide Indian experience, extending over thirty years, has said "Though speaking generally, the evils arising from indulgence in drink in England are vastly greater than those arising from indulgence of opium in India—evidently because the drinking habit is more general in England than the opium habit in India—"Yet there seems to be no doubt that there are places in India where owing to a want of proper supervision or control, abuses have prevailed which at least strike one with greater horror than any corresponding abuse in countries which are demoralized by drink," showing that if drink is quantitatively, opium is qualitatively, the more demoralising evil—Government of India Despatch No 289, dated 4th October, 1891, paragraph 25

"There seems to be no doubt that there are, or until the other day have been, places in India where, owing to a want of proper supervision and control, abuses have prevailed like those described in these papers and which at least strike one with greater horror than any corresponding abuses in countries where people are demoralized by drink but the Resident would affirm, without fear of contradiction, that, speaking generally, the evils arising from indulgence in drink in England are vastly greater than those arising from indulgence in opium in those parts of India with which he is acquainted, and yet he presumes no responsible person would think of suggesting that the sale of intoxicating liquor in England, except for medicinal purposes, should be absolutely prohibited by law"

*Paragraph V (3).*—The bulk of medical evidence is, I believe, opposed to Surgeon-General Pringle's opinion

*Paragraph V (4)* — This paragraph hardly affects Bengal, and no doubt ample medical evidence will be given before the Commission.

I would only note that not one of the medical authorities quoted in line four, except Dr Brunton for a few months while employed on the Chloroform Commission have, so far as I am aware, been in India

*Paragraph V. (5)* — Here the memorialists beg the question and assume that it would be right to prohibit opium cultivation In clause two of this paragraph they class opium and alcohol together, yet I am aware of no word in the Bible which can be taken as prohibiting the use of alcohol In fact they go beyond the Founder of our religion, and try to establish a religion, and a standard of right which has no foundation in the Bible

*Paragraph V (6)* — I have already said that opium may be consumed by a good Mahommedan, while alcohol cannot, and we should drive them to spirits or ganja by prohibiting opium Opium is also the medicine of Bengal It is used in almost all forms of disease, and its prohibition would certainly cause dissatisfaction If the Natives were polled there would be an overwhelming majority in favour of cheapening opium and its extended use Government has prevented this, and the consumption of opium is practically stationary in Bengal In 1873-74 it was 1,731 maunds in 1892-93 it was 1,934, while the population has largely grown in that period This does not support the accusation brought against Government of extending the use of opium

*Paragraph V (7)* — In proportion of its value the opium crop covers far less area than any other crop, while it gives the *rayat* a profit far in excess of the mere value of the opium He is paid for the leaf and for the trash by Government apart from what he receives for the opium, and he has the seed for sale in the open market, which fetches a high price This is, however, but a small part of the good done to the *rayat* by opium The advances come into his hands at a time when he would have to sell his food-crops to pay his rent If he did not receive these advances he would have to do so, or to borrow A well-known zemindar and land-owner of Behar has assured me that these advances are worth to the *rayats* at least twenty-five per cent more than their money worth in this way The average amount of land under poppy in Behar and the North-Western Provinces varies from 450,000 to 600,000 acres, and the payments average over two crores of rupees, and this does not include the price of seed.

*Paragraph VI* — Figures do not support the fear expressed by the memorialists that the consumption is increasing.

*Paragraph VII* — I contend—and I claim to know more of the subject than the memorialists—that if used moderately opium is the safest and least harmful of all habitual stimulants, and that it is in no way dangerous or degrading unless when carried to excess ; and I maintain that, apart altogether from the revenue question, there are no more grounds for Government putting further restrictions on the use of opium than there are for restricting the use of alcohol. In fact there are less strong grounds than exist in the case of alcohol.

I further maintain that what is called the State traffic in opium places a check on the abuse of its consumption, which would cease if the State were to sever its connexion. I hold partial prohibition which is asked for to be impracticable, and total prohibition to be impossible, and to do away with the State monopoly would only increase production and consumption, and augment the so-called evils complained of in the memorial.

D R LYALL.

16th November, 1893

Sir William Roberts —Q—I think that the quotation from Dr Brunton is put under the head of “opium-eating,” and that it does apply to opium-eating, not mere poisoning from opium ?

A—He did not enter into the question. He did not discuss its good or bad effects. he dismisses it in the words quoted.

Q—He does not say whether the habit is good or bad ?

A.—That is my meaning. Page 780 may also be referred to as showing his opinion of opium.

Q—I think it is affirmed that Dr Brunton expressed the opinion that the practice of opium-eating is beneficial in those conditions ?

A—Under those conditions.

Q—That is a different quotation ?

A.—Yes, I referred to that as shewing Dr Brunton’s opinion on the subject.

Q—Do you refer to Dr Brunton again except in this first paragraph ?

A.—No.

[Objection was taken to the continuance of Mr Lyall’s examination on the memorandum ; but Mr Wilson claimed, and was allowed, to examine on the point discussed by Sir William Roberts.]



By Mr. Wilson —Q.—The passage quoted in the appendix to the memorial is from page 778 ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And the heading is “ opium-eating ” in black letters ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And it is a general statement as to its effect ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—On page 777 “ Therapeutics ” begins ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Therefore I should like you to explain how you say in the quotation in question that it is a subject of Therapeutics, when Therapeutics does not begin till two pages further on ?

A.—The whole book is on Therapeutics

Q.—Is that your only answer ?

A.—The book is on Therapeutics, and I say that Dr Brunton does not go into the question of opium-eating and discuss whether it is good or bad ; he dismisses it in the words I have quoted I should not quote this opinion as one either for or against, he seems to dismiss the subject

Q.—The paragraph quoted in the memorial is headed in black letters “ opium-eating ” on page 775 and on page 777 there is a heading “ Therapeutics,” “ The general uses of opium in disease are (1) to lessen pain, (2) to produce sleep, (3) to lessen irritation in various organs ” Do you find that correct ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Therefore in the one case it is a distinct reference to opium-eating, and in the other case a reference to its use in Therapeutics for the three purposes mentioned ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Therefore the portion on opium-eating is not under the head of Therapeutics as stated in your memorandum ?

A.—I do not quite agree, I say he does not enter into the question of opium-eating

Q.—But he does ?

A.—That is a matter of opinion.

By the Chairman —Q.—You are not a professional witness on the subject ?

A → Not in any way ; but I have been directed to put in this note before the Commission for their consideration.

Q —The note will be printed in the appendix together with the memorial to which it relates. May I ask whether the note ~~was~~ prepared by medical authority ?

A —No ; it was prepared by myself, but it has been seen by a medical authority.

Q —Do you feel that you are competent to meet any cross-examination on these professional points ?

A —Not on professional points I merely put the note in, in reference to the correctness of the quotations

The Rev. W B PHILLIPS handed in the following reply to Mr. Lyall's note

#### MEMORANDUM ON MR LYALL'S NOTE ON THE MEMORIAL OF THE CALCUTTA MISSIONARY CONFERENCE

Having disavowed opposition to the use of opium under medical prescription, and objected only to its unrestricted popular use, the Conference proceeded, in their Memorial, not to put forward all the evidence that could be quoted either for or against the use of the drug, but evidence enough to show that, while opium was sometimes said to be harmlessly used, it was universally recognized by medical authorities as a dangerous poison, and not an article of ordinary consumption

The quotations are taken up in the order in which they are challenged —

1 Mr Lyall says of Brunton —“This authority, in the book quoted, does not enter into the question of opium-eating, which is foreign to his subject—therapeutics,” but the paragraph quoted from this book (2nd edition, 1885) by the Conference appears under the distinct head of *Opium-eating* in prominent type Mr Lyall also thinks the quotation from Brunton to be descriptive of a “typical case of the evils of opium,” and as the evils described are serious ones, the point of his challenge is not apparent, even on his own apprehension of it Brunton himself, however, does not say that his statement is merely descriptive of the evils, as opposed to any benefits, real or imaginary, of the drug On the contrary, he plainly says, “*When opium is first taken, its action is to stimulate and afterwards depress; to remove this depression, the individual takes another dose, a habit of taking the drug thus becomes established The nervous system suffers &c.*” The only fair inference from this deliberate opinion seems to be

that it warns people against the dangers of the "habit" which fastens on those who take opium at all. This is no fancy sketch, but an unqualified warning of danger.

As the benefit of the medical use of opium is not in question, Brunton's opinion regarding it in page 780 is irrelevant to the argument of the Memorial. It neither contradicts nor modifies what is quoted above

2. The passage from Ringer was taken from the twelfth edition (1868) of the work, in which the words referred to by Mr. Lyall—"the Chinese are almost universally addicted to the habit of opium-eating, and yet they are an intelligent and industrious race"—do not appear. As they did appear in an earlier edition, it would seem as if Ringer had changed his earlier opinion for a riper one, less in favor of the Chinese use of opium. As regards the passage "Moderate indulgence of the habit is perhaps not more injurious to health than tobacco-smoking," from Ringer's point of view this is not to commend but disparage, for his views upon tobacco are very strong

3. The Conference made the quotation from Pereira in order to show his own opinion, whatever that was worth. The reasonableness of their objection to take as his opinion the views of any other author either quoted by himself or introduced by any later editor of his writings, will be understood by any one. A quotation made by Pereira himself, in the very middle of the passage reproduced by the Conference, and speaking more strongly than that passage itself against the effects of opium, was omitted; though its occurrence where it appeared might have justified its inclusion.

The passages to which Mr. Lyall calls attention as expressing Pereira's "own views" on pages 622 and 623 seem rather to be calling attention to other views than his own, after setting out which in detail, with some statements to which his attention had been drawn, Pereira apparently summed up his judgment in the opinion quoted by the Conference from page 624.

4. The quotation from Garrod was meant to prove that opium is medically regarded as a poison with deadly qualities, and could not be treated as an edible.

5. As regards the quotation from Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, the Conference transposed two portions of a passage, to bring out more prominently what was relevant to their Memorial, and Mr. Lyall does not suggest that either portion is made to mean anything other than the author intended his words to mean.

6. Of the remainder of Mr. Lyall's note, which is purely controversial, which implies defects of intelligence rather than defects of integrity, and as to which the appeal must lie to the public, the only point to which attention seems due is the doubt expressed of the aphrodisiac use of opium. The Conference had no intention of comparing this use of it with any similar use of any other drug, but they venture to express surprise at any question being raised as to aphrodisiac use of opium in India by any one having much knowledge of the inner life of the people.

The Conference will exceedingly regret if, in their desire to preserve brevity consistently with absolute correctness and perfect fairness they have unintentionally misled any reader of the Memorial; but with every desire to make allowances they have failed to observe any correction of their Memorial on which any charge of unfairness could possibly rest.

J BROWN,

*Chairman.*

*Calcutta Missionary Conference,  
November 27th, 1893*

### **Mr. K. G. Gupta's cross-examination.**

By Mr Wilson — Q — Can you tell us, generally, how you would describe the excise policy of your Department in reference to the issue of licenses?

A — The principle of issuing licenses is to see that the supply meets the legitimate demand in the localities. As regards the location of sites and shops, the matter is first decided by the local authorities, and the proposals of these authorities come before the excise Commissioner, and, if found feasible by him, they are submitted to the Board of Revenue, which modifies or alters them just as it likes, passing final orders. In the case of each shop, an upset fee is fixed, below which no shop is settled. These are put up to auction annually, except in the case of Calcutta, where the settlement is triennial.

Q — Can you explain how licenses were granted in Calcutta for eleven *chandu* shops when the licensee only opened four? If the Board of Excise thought it right to issue eleven licenses for the legitimate convenience of the public, how do you reconcile it with the fact that they did not insist upon opening all the eleven?

A — In Calcutta, the number has not been altered for many years, and in these cases there is one man who has got the monopoly to open these eleven shops, or not, as he thinks necessary.

Q.—You say that the policy is to meet all what might be called a reasonable demand, yet here is a case in which a monopolist makes no use whatever of seven licenses?

A.—In these cases he pays the license fee for all eleven, and if he finds he can sell a sufficient quantity in these four to make it pay, we do not wish to insist upon his opening the others

Q.—If you issue eleven licenses for the public convenience, why do you not permit the man?

A.—There have been no complaints on the part of the public, and we have not thought it right to interfere

Q.—I didn't ask you about complaints, but I asked you why you issue eleven licenses for the public convenience and then permit a man for his own convenience to use only four?

A.—The only reason is that we get the license fees, and we do not insist upon the other shops being opened

Q.—You don't reconcile that with your statement that this is done for the public convenience?

A.—It may be slightly irreconcilable with that as regards the particular kind of shops

Q.—In your statement you say that the sale of opium to licensed druggists is allowed for medical purposes only, these are allowed to sell five tolas. What guarantee have you that it is sold for medical purposes only?

A.—We have got our own detective staff to make enquiries, we can also judge of the quantities taken by a druggist within a certain time whether he takes an inordinate quantity or not

Q.—If a man goes to a druggist and says he wants five tolas for medical purposes, does the druggist sell it to him, or is he expected to make enquiries?

A.—He is expected to make enquiries. In this case the druggist is really a kobiraj or baid

Q.—He is called a licensed druggist?

A.—Yes, for the purpose of opium only

Q.—This kobiraj takes out a license as a druggist and can sell five tolas nominally for medical purposes?

A.—Yes, but we rely upon his honesty. If he is found disobeying any of the conditions of his license, he is liable to prosecution

Q.—Explain what provisions are required to be fulfilled before a man gets a license as a druggist

A.—It must be seen first whether he is bonâ fide in medical practice.

Q.—Who certifies ?

A.—The Collector who grants the licenses satisfies himself on that point.

Q.—Who informs him ?

A.—He can make enquiries in causes of doubt

Q.—Does he do so ?

A.—I suppose he does, I suppose he must do so, otherwise if there was any illegitimate sale, licensed vendors of ordinary opium would be the first to complain

Q.—You are familiar with these things having yourself been secretary to the Board of Revenue—as a matter of fact, what enquiry is made, and by whom?

A.—By the Collector, through his subordinate establishment and the Excise Inspectors, and if the Collector does not know or has a doubt, then he satisfies himself in any way he thinks best. On these matters he chiefly relies upon his immediate subordinate, the Deputy Collector of the district, who as a Native of the country is supposed to know a great deal about these things

Q.—Does the person who desires to have a license make application by petition ?

A.—Yes

Q.—You say in your statement that the sites of the licensed shops are finally fixed by the Commissioner of Excise ?

A.—Under the orders of the Board of Revenue

Q.—This is I presume, with a view to the public convenience.

A.—Objections are considered from many points of view. If there is any change in the course of the year, in regard to the population of the locality, or if there is a demand for any particular drug, an application is submitted to the collector, who gives his opinion and forwards it to the Excise Commissioner to decide whether the shop should be settled or not; for instance, in the case of a bazar or market being opened in a new place or in case of a sudden influx of people, it may be found necessary to open a new shop, then an application is submitted. In deciding this point the revenue side of the question is not lost sight of altogether.

Q.—As a matter of fact there is no reference to public convenience in that passage of your statement?

A.—No; but this is only with regard to the revenue; it is purely a revenue matter.

Q.—You state that licensed vendors may retail up to five tolas at one time, is there no restriction as to how often a purchaser might return and make fresh purchases?

A.—No

Q.—So that, if he likes, he could come any number of times and purchase?

A.—He could, unless he knew the person, he would not be able to find out who took the opium, because names are not entered in his books

Q.—In 1892, when you occupied a different position, you wrote a letter from the Board of Revenue, in which you state that *chandu* is smoked to bring about a brief period of intoxication, and you further state that there are scores of illicit such opium dens in Calcutta, in spite of the existence of licensed shops, does this state of things prevail still?

A.—Yes, to a certain extent.

Q.—As much or more?

A.—I should say more now, since the prohibition of consumption on the premises

Q.—Can you tell us the number of prosecutions and the number of convictions?

A.—I have not got the figures but I could give them. It is very difficult to get convictions in these cases, and that is one of the reasons why our men are very much discouraged to proceed against vendors, because as the law now stands, most of these men can't be touched at all.

Q.—There was a recommendation from the Board of Revenue to restrict the possession to not more one tola?

A.—Yes, and since this, the possession of more than one tola of *chandu* or *madak* is illegal

Q.—I gather that your Board desires that the unlicensed manufacture of *chandu* should be prohibited?

A.—Yes

Q.—That has not been settled by Government?

A.—This has since been done, but I do not think it has led to the good that was expected, because only one license has yet been taken under

that provision. On the other hand, the number of prosecutions for such manufacture have been increasing in almost every district.

Q.—I think something has been done to reduce the number of *chandu* and *madal* shops ?

A.—Yes It has been reduced from 81 to 71.

Q.—The Board considered the number of licenses at Malda, Gya, and Mymensing and some other places excessive ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Who is the officer who has the responsibility of granting this number ?

A.—I may explain that the number of shops of different kinds for the sale of exciseable articles has not been fixed in recent years A large number used to exist in former times, and in recent years our policy has been to reduce that number I don't think in many cases new shops have been created, and on the contrary in many cases existing shops have been done away with Our action in this matter in recent years has been rather in the direction of reduction than in the creation of new shops I have got a map here shewing the number of *madak* and opium shops in Calcutta

Q.—What is the rent of these shops compared to the rent of similar houses ?

A.—They are usually fifty per cent more than the rents of similar houses in the neighbourhood The licensees have to pay a premium when taking a lease of the shop This varies from Rs 10 to Rs 500 for liquor shops, but for opium shops it is not so much nor for *chandu* shops.

Q.—By Mr Mowbray —You said that there were only four *chandu* shops, although eleven were licensed, does the same thing hold good in reference to *madak* shops ?

A.—No.

Q.—These shops pay the license fee though they are not open ?

A.—Yes

Q.—One of your arguments in favour of a certain number of *chandu* shops was to prevent the opening illicit places for consumption ?

A.—That is one of the objects certainly

Q.—Do you think that that object enables you to considerably restrict the consumption of *chandu* ?

A.—Very much so



Q.—That is not only for the benefit of revenue, but it enables you substantially to restrict the consumption of *chandu* ?

A.—Yes, because they act as informers and have better means of finding out illicit sale than our men have

Q.—I suppose from the point of revenue, if these *chandu* shops were all suppressed it would not be a matter of great importance ?

A.—Oh, no In the whole of Bengal last year the total amount for *madak* was Rs 79,659, and *chandu* Rs 31,082

Q.—You think that the loss of revenue would not be accompanied by smaller consumption but larger consumption ?

A.—It is very probable

Q.—Would it be possible to keep open these *chandu* shops for the use of Chinamen only in Calcutta ?

A.—It might be tried, but I don't know how far it would be successful, because *chundu* shops here don't supply the wants of Chinamen only, but also of a very large class of Mahommedans who patronise these shops

Q.—When was this provision for preventing the manufacture of *madak* introduced ?

A.—Since April last

Q.—Have you had sufficient experience to say whether it is possible to enforce it ?

A.—I don't think we have succeeded We have reports of a very large number of prosecutions for private manufacture The difficulty is to get hold of influential people, who make their *madak* at home It is generally the poor people whose houses we can inspect and who are got hold of I think this order has led to great abuse

Q.—If *madak* and *chandu* shops were closed would it affect what you call the revenue from the duty upon opium ?

A.—I don't think it would very much, because the consumption of opium on account of *madak* and *chundu* is not very large

Q.—I take it that if these shops were closed it would not, so far as revenue goes, be a matter of very much importance ?

A.—No

Q.—The revenue goes to the Government of Bengal ?

A.—One quarter of the excise revenue goes to the Government of Bengal, and three-quarters to the Government of India. I don't know how far it would be practicable to prohibit *chundu* and *madak* altogether. We might prohibit the license, manufacture and sale, but whether we can

prohibit home consumption is another question ; I don't know how far it is feasible .

Q — Would it be more difficult to stop private consumption than manufacture at home ?

A — I said private manufacture and consumption would be more difficult to stop, but we can always stop the licensed manufacture and sale.

Q — By Sir James Lyall — You said just now that you relied upon the druggists' honesty, I suppose you mainly rely upon the limited supply of opium ?

A — Yes, the figures will show that these licenses are not used as a cloak for illicit sales, because it is with the greatest difficulty we induce druggists to take out licenses. The number has a tendency to decrease.

Q — Why is that ?

A. — Because these people don't care to take out licenses

Q — They have to pay too much ?

A — It is very nominal, one rupee a year.

Q — Why are they allowed to sell up to five tolas, it seems a very large amount for the druggists to be allowed to sell ?

A — It is five tolas in the case of ordinary opium vendors and no distinction was thought necessary to be made

Q — In reference to these eleven *chundu* licenses, I suppose these people took all to prevent other people getting them ?

A — That is so; I am not quite sure whether others would have come forward, because competition is very limited, and they are only kept by Chinamen

Q — You say that *chundu* is always used an intoxicant, what do you mean by intoxicant ?

A — Temporary or partial insensibility. They simply lie down for a little while.

Q — Is that based upon your personal knowledge ?

A. — No, I have not seen *chundu* smoked, but I have seen *madak* smoked.

Q. — Smoking *madak* is not followed necessarily by intoxication ?

A. — No, in the few cases I have seen, the men were not drowsy; they simply smoked it, sat down, and talked

Q — By Mr. Pease : — You said that in the districts outside Calcutta the licenses were left to public competition ?

A.—In Calcutta as well, where settlements take place every three years, while in the districts once a year

Q.—By the President —You alluded to premiums paid on leases, and increased rentals are paid for these shops, can you tell us whether the Government recognise that the license-holders have vested rights?

A.—Not in the least

Q.—If all these shops were closed, Government would not give compensation?

A.—Not in the least, even existing licenses we can cancel by returning the advance fee and giving notice from fifteen days to a month is all the liability we incur.

Q.—If you had reason to suspect that these shops were not conducted in a proper manner, you would withdraw the license?

A.—We can in certain cases

Q.—You would not hesitate to do so if the license-holder had been guilty of misconduct and deserved punishment

A.—Such cases arise every day. There is no kind of vested interest recognised in the licenses

Q.—By Mr Pease —The owner has the value of his property increased by fifty per cent

A.—Yes, but the same shop is utilised for other purposes when it is not taken up by a licensee

Q.—By Mr. Wilson —What is the difficulty in getting druggists to take licenses?

A.—They take small quantities from licensed vendors and utilise them as medicines

Q.—Mr Mowbray —There is an extraordinary variety in the distribution of these permits, I see that in one district there are two and in another 240.

A.—In some districts they are popular. In Noakhali many people take out licenses, because it is supposed to give them a certain position, as much as to say they are recognised

Q.—A matter of patronage in the district?

A.—Yes, and it also depends upon the activity of our own men for they hunt out all men who ought to, but do not take out licenses.

Q.—You keep your eyes upon these men?

A.—Yes,

Q —And reap a crop of license fees ?

A —There is not much in license fees.

Q —By Sir James Lyall —I wish to ask you a few questions more to bring out what is your opinion generally upon the effects of opium consumption, because you are a highly educated man who has spent several years in England and you being a Native of India know more about the habits of the people of the country than any of us, so that your opinion is of value. What do you think is the effect of the moderate use of opium in Bengal ?

A —The moderate use of opium—and the great body of consumers in Bengal are moderate in its indulgence—is not known to have any prejudicial effects, either physically or morally on the contrary, the common belief is that, after middle age, moderate use helps to prevent waste and to keep the mental and bodily faculties unimpaired. Many pandits and other literary men habitually use opium without showing any sign of deterioration or loss of mental vigour. The moderate consumer is a sober, steady, and respectable member of society. The opium habit seldom leads to crime, and in this respect it is far superior to addiction to alcohol. The drug is taken in the solitude of home, and there is no inducement to excess such as is afforded by the evil associations of a grog-shop. To my personal knowledge, several promising young men have succumbed to the effects of excessive drinking (chiefly of imported liquor), but I do not know of a single case of death from habitual intemperate use of opium. The opium habit is also less degrading than, and does not cause so much loss of self-respect as, indulgence in liquor. The effects of *chandu* and *madak* smoking are, however, distinctly harmful in the case of Indians, especially when they are unable to obtain nourishing food. Opium-eating is not looked down upon, nor does it cause loss of respectability. But smoking *chandu* or *madak* is regarded as a degrading habit.

Q —The feeling against *madak* and *chandu* to a certain extent depends upon the bad character of the place and the bad company in it ?

A —Not merely that, *chandu* and *madak* smokers are usually known by their appearance, and these drugs are also believed and found to be deleterious in many respects.

Q —You think that applies as much of a man who smokes in his own house as of a man who smokes in a shop ?

A —Yes. The effects of *chandu* cannot well be concealed ?

Q.—Has it the same effect upon Chinamen.

A.—I have no knowledge of the Chinese.

Q.—You have been to England ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And the excessive use of intoxicants, how would you compare them with opium ?

A.—I should say that the evil effects of alcohol are a great deal more permanent than any effects of opium-eating

Q.—Do you think that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium should or could be prohibited ?

A.—I do not consider that the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited. From time immemorial the poppy has been one of the staple products over a large area, and to stop its cultivation would seriously disturb the agricultural economy of a large part of the country. On the other hand, prohibitive measures adopted in British India would be quite ineffectual so long as the growth and manufacture of poppy could not be stopped in Native States. In several of them there is already a large and flourishing trade in opium, and other States in which there is no cultivation at present would take to growing it, not only for consumption within their own border, but also for the purpose of smuggling into adjoining British territory. A very large establishment would be required to watch the frontier against smuggling, and apart from the question of cost which must be borne by the general tax-payer this must entail considerable annoyance and harassment to innocent people. Enforced abstinence from opium would in all probability lead to indulgence in other stimulants, such as *ganja* or country liquor, and in neither case would the result be satisfactory.

Q.—By Mr Fanshawe —Is there a tendency to the increased use of alcohol in this country ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is it marked in Calcutta ?

A.—In Calcutta there is a large population, but I should say that in the districts there is also a great tendency. It is more prominent here because the population is larger.

Q.—To what classes of society does it extend ?

A.—As regards imported liquor, generally to the educated classes

Q.—Are they greatly taking to the use of imported liquor ?

A.—Yes, I know of several cases, I can recall one where a young man simply died from excessive drink.

Q —Is the general tendency to take to imported liquor ?

A —Yes

**Evidence of Mr. H. V. Westmacott, Commissioner of the Presidency Division.**

By the President —Q —Kindly give us particulars of your services in the country and the positions you have occupied

A —I have served for more than thirty years in the Bengal Civil Service in the Lower Provinces of Bengal I was for two years in Backergunge, in Eastern Bengal, then for some months in Cachar, which is now in the province of Assam, then I served for two years in the division of Chota Nagpore, being for part of the time in charge of a sub-division After five years' service I was appointed to Dinajpore in the Rajshahye Division, where, with the exception of fifteen months' furlough and other short intervals, I remained as Joint-Magistrate or Collector for nearly ten years On returning from my second furlough, I was for two years Collector at Noakhally, and for one year Collector at Dacca, both districts being in Eastern Bengal During the last ten years I repeatedly acted as Commissioner of the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, as Inspector-General of Jails for twenty months, and as Commissioner of Excise for four years I am now Commissioner of the Presidency Division

Q —You have had ample experience, what are your conclusions as to the effects of opium generally, morally and physically?

A —I draw a distinction between opium smoking and eating it. I should say that smoking *chandu* and *mudak* is deleterious in all cases, but that opium eating is rather beneficial than otherwise I have known a great number of men amongst my subordinates, Natives of the country, who take opium and who do their work extremely well What I have heard is that men who have nothing to do and are living upon their rents take to opium From enquiry made at opium shops, and from general conversation with Natives, I know that there is a large consumption of opium producing no harmful effects, either physical, mental, or moral It is uncommon for a young man to use opium for any reason It is generally after the age of forty that a man commences the habit as a remedy for rheumatism and advancing old age, and often as a remedy for diarrhoea It is often taken under medical advice, and may generally be said to be taken medicinally, but also frequently merely in order to produce a feeling of fulness and satisfaction, such as a European derives from taking a glass of wine with his luncheon.

Q.—Is it taken generally as a remedy for disease ?

A.—Not always for illness or disease but on account of physical discomfort for which they feel the want of some stimulant, which does not amount to disease. In many cases however it does, in many cases it is taken as a remedy for diarrhoea and rheumatism.

Q.—Do you admit that it may be looked upon as a vicious indulgence ?

A.—I cannot look upon it as a vicious indulgence, and consider that the abuse of alcohol is vastly more common among those who use it than the abuse of opium among its consumers. Except that it is a stimulant, warming the system generally, I consider that its use for sensual purposes is rare. I see that one witness informed the Commission that opium was commonly used by prostitutes and their frequenters. This is directly contradicted by such information as I have collected. The elder women use opium as elderly men do, but the younger women, who use stimulants, drink alcohol. I hear very little of the use of opium as an aphrodisiac, but this question I prefer to leave to medical witnesses. I have listened to what Mr Lyall said in which he said that he knew of no case in which men have disgraced themselves with eating opium, but many such cases from the use of alcohol. My experience is quite corroborative.

Q.—Is there any connexion between the use of opium and the geological formation of the country ?

A.—I observe that opium is used much more commonly where the soil is an alluvial mud than on the laterite and drier soils, which would appear to indicate the conditions under which the human constitution requires it. On the drier soils the usual stimulant used is some form of alcohol.

Q.—In respect to the evidence which has been given before the Commission of the encouragement which the Government has specially given to the cultivation of the poppy by a system of advances, what have you to say ?

A.—I think there are very few people who deal with cultivators who do not make advances. With reference to the fact that opium is the only article of country produce for which Government makes advances to the cultivators, I remark that it is the only kind of country produce which Government receives, and that it is equally customary for dealers in other produce to make advances.

Q.—If any other kind of crops were cultivated, advances would be necessary ?

A.—Certainly, as in the case with indigo.

Q.—What is your opinion as to the effect of prohibition in Lower Bengal for other than medical purposes ?

A.—Any interference with the use of opium would meet with strenuous opposition on the part of the Natives, not only on account of the loss of the drug which they consider beneficial, and the necessity for replacing the opium revenue by means of other taxation, but especially because the missionaries have identified themselves with the anti-opium agitation, and because the Natives would therefore look upon the prohibition of opium as associated with a movement for the promotion of Christianity. This is a new light to me, but it has been told to me by Natives several times within the past two weeks.

Q.—In reference to the use of opium, taking it to be used as an eatable, you would draw a wide distinction between opium taken as a dietetic, and smoking it ?

A.—Certainly

Q.—*Madak* and *chandu* you rank as more deleterious than opium ?

A.—Certainly, when used in excess

Q.—The effect of smoking *chandu* is practically temporary intoxication ?

A.—Enquiries I made a few years ago on the subject showed that the difference between *madak* and *chandu* was that the *madak* smoker would get up and walk into and end his work, whereas the *chandu* smoker required sleep before going about his business

Q.—After smoking he was temporarily incapacitated ?

A.—He gets very sleepy, I don't know whether he gets incapacitated.

Q.—Smoking *chandu* is in your view an objectionable practice ?

A.—As regards Chinamen, it is their usual form of taking opium, and I think it might interfere with their work in the same way as the prohibition of opium-eating would interfere with the work of the inhabitants of Bengal. As regards the people of Bengal, prohibition of *chandu* would do no harm ; it would be beneficial

Q.—What was your policy as Commissioner of Excise in regard to the issue of licenses ?

A.—My policy was to reduce the number as much as possible, at the same time meeting the demands of the locality so as not to induce smuggling. If I found smoking going on I thought there ought to be a shop somewhere near. I am speaking of the licensing system generally.



Q.—I desire, to confine my reference to *chandu* and *madak* licenses ?

A.—I reduced these as much as I could. I took charge of the Excise Department with a system which had been inherited. I reduced the number of spirit licenses in four years from 374 to 263 in March last, and for *madak* and *chandu* from eighty-nine to seventy-four. The districts in which *chandu* licenses were issued were reduced from thirty-eight to thirty-four and these in which *madak* was licensed from twenty-three to twenty. There were absolutely no licenses granted in the remaining districts.

Q.—Do you think any further reduction can be made ?

A.—It is a difficult matter to say because it would involve legislation. The difficulty in further checking it is that you would only throw the trade into the hands of the unlicensed, as smoking still goes on in places where there are no licenses. The police find smoking going on, but it is impossible to prosecute, because you cannot prove the sale, as people may say they brought their own *chandu*. We simply by closing licensed shops throw the trade into unlicensed hands. I cannot say we have done much.

Q.—What is the revenue derived by Government from the sale of these licences ?

A.—The total is about a lakh a year. We should give up considerations of revenue altogether if we could succeed in closing these shops, and the reason why we don't go further is because it will throw the trade into the hands of unlicensed vendors and encourage smuggling.

Q.—Do you consider that the policy of the Government should be to treat the revenue from opium as Government regards its revenue from alcohol ?

A.—I should say so.

Q.—You don't consider one revenue more injurious than the other ?

A.—Certainly not.

Q.—Both are luxuries ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You say Government would do well to check undue consumption, and that it is the policy and the duty of the Government to get as much revenue out of it as it can ?

A.—Certainly. I would like to mention that there is not a single *chandu* smoking license in the three districts of Orissa, although this is a large opium-consuming tract.

By the Maharaja of Daibhanga —Q.—As to advances, is it not customary for the Government when making advances not to charge interest, and if opium cultivation was abolished would not the ryot get into the hands of the Mahajan ?

A.—That is a very general opinion, it is a subject upon which I know very little.

By Mr. Pease —Q—You say that there is a large consumption of opium in Orissa, to what do you attribute this ?

A —The malaria there, and they feel the necessity for it I daresay

Q —You don't think it is because the people of that district have adopted the habit from its having been an opium-growing district ?

A.—They would not have adopted the habit in consequence of its being an opium producing district

Q —We know that in many parts of the United Kingdom, in the matter of drink, it is more a matter of custom than anything else May it not be so in India, that the opium habit is rather a matter of custom than dependant on race or climate ?

A —I think if you go through the figures of consumption, you will find there is a general connexion between the use of the habit and the nature of the soil I think that has something to do with it.

Q —We have evidence that there is a good deal of consumption in hilly districts and also in districts which are non-malarial

A —To which do you refer ?

Q —Among the Sikhs and Rajputs

A —My attention has been entirely confined to consumption in Bengal The two districts of Bankura and Birbhum have been under my notice and the information I have obtained correspond very closely with what I have stated

Q —Do you recognise that the missionaries have identified themselves with the opium agitation ?

A.—It has been brought to my knowledge recently I look upon information collected by missionaries with great suspicion, not that I think they would intentionally mislead any one, but I think they take it rashly, without proper check That is my experience, on this and other subjects

Q.—You recognise they are actuated by good motives ?

A.—Undoubtedly, but I doubt the accuracy of their information,

Q.—By Mr Wilson:—In reference to what has been said by Mr Pease, is there any class in the country whose business it is to mix with the people and converse with them as much as the missionaries?

A.—There are certain classes with whom officials come in contact whom the missionaries have very little to do with, and amongst whom they are unlikely to gain converts.

Q.—A Government official of high rank has his duties, routine duties, and his work, he has not time to speak to the people about opium?

A.—I should say that a district official who does his duty should talk to the people and understand them as much as any others. I have been thirty years in the service and have been amongst the people—even lately I have sat down and talked with people several times, and I say that we know much better than people outside, but there are classes with whom the missionary has nothing to do.

Q.—You have been asked a variety of questions about *chandu* smoking, and I understand you to say that *chandu* and *madak* smoking are distinctly bad and are considered disgraceful.

A.—Not quite that, I should be quite prepared to learn that opium smoking amongst the Chinese was not deleterious, but amongst the people of Bengal I consider that the better classes would say that it was more or less a noxious indulgence, but amongst the hard-working classes it may sometimes be a legitimate stimulant. I would not say that *madak* smoking in every case is deleterious.

Q.—In a letter which you wrote in February, 1891, you refer to the vice of opium smoking, you said “I am at present of opinion that the vice of opium-smoking would be fostered rather than checked by closing licensed shops and driving smokers to secret places to satisfy their terrible craving.”

A.—I have modified that opinion. I doubt whether it is in every case a vice.

Q.—In the same letter you complain a good deal that the magistrates of Calcutta inflict inadequate fines for breaches of licenses?

A.—It has been very often the case.

Q.—I don't understand how it is, is there no way, in which that has been brought before the notice of the public, the magistrate's action nullifying the action of the Excise Department?

A.—It has been brought before the public, and there has been friction between the Bengal Government and the High Court. I do not wish to express any opinion upon the subject.

Q.—Are you aware that we have had a great deal of evidence to the effect that the use of opium by cultivators in the malarious districts you refer to in your letter already mentioned is very limited ?

A.—I think the high price is the reason why it is not more used, because it is a very costly drug. Whereas the opium grown at the manufactory costs Rs 5 per seer, it is retailed at Rs 45 in Calcutta, and at Rs. 34 in the districts round. If it were cheaper a great deal more would be used.

Q.—My point is that the consumption is very small, and yet you spoke of it as a necessity ?

A.—I say that the use of it is not as great as it would be, being as it is to a certain extent a necessity, if it was not so dear. If it was cheaper it would be far more extensively used.

Q.—By Mr Mowbray—I wish to ask you whether if your main object was that preservation of the revenue, the present system of licensing was a policy which you would adopt ?

A.—In respect of *chandu* and *madak* only or consumption generally ?

Q.—Generally

A.—When I gave over charge of the department I had not worked up the system in the way I wished to work it. When I took over charge the usual manner of fixing the upset fee, was to take the average or what had been the average during the last three years. When I came to examine it I found that the fees charged compared with the consumption of opium or alcohol in shops were most disproportionate, because one man might pay Rs 10, and a neighbour a few doors off pay Rs 2. for a gallon or a seer, so that it was my policy to raise the fees, and make them uniform. After four years, however, I did not succeed in working it. I should have made it uniform as far as I could. Another point is that, when I took charge of the Excise Department, the Deputy Collector, who was in charge of the auctions, was much afraid of being blamed if he did not succeed in making his settlement and if he found the upset prices were not given he would come up and ask to be allowed to reduce them. Recently the revenue authorities have fixed a price which the vendor has to give. Latterly they found that if the fee was not paid, they would not get the licenses.

Q.—I want to draw attention to another statement in your letter, and to ask whether you still wish to put it before the Commission as your view of the present policy. You said, “I feel confident that by reducing the taxation on opium or any other intoxicating drug, and by increasing the number of licenses for retail sale, I could increase the revenue to an

enormous extent, whereas the policy which I am carrying out, in accordance with the wishes of the Bengal Government is the very opposite of this ? ”

A.—Quite so

Q.—I take it that the policy of the Bengal Government is to regard the revenue point of view as only one portion of this question ?

A.—Those are the distinct instructions I have received

Q.—Therefore, if you maintain the licensing of *madak* or *chandu* shops, it must not be concluded that you do it merely from the point of view of getting in a certain number of fees which, after all, is not large ?

A.—Certainly not

Q.—Have you formed an opinion as to what would be the effect of reducing the quantity of *chandu* or *madak*, which any individual is allowed to possess ?

A.—The reduction of the quantity has been made since I was in charge of the department, and I have no information I fully expect it would make it easier to deal with the unlicensed consumption

Q.—What have you to suggest in reference to bringing unlicensed sales within the law ?

A.—I have often thought over it, but I don't know how it can be done We have the same difficulty as regards alcohol We have several German clubs, which we know to be nothing but drinking shops, but we cannot touch them because we cannot prove the sale

Q.—By Mr Fanshawe —In reference to your statement as to the connection of the opium habit with geological and climatic conditions, you refer to the Lower provinces of Bengal ?

A.—The provinces subject to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal

Q.—You have no personal knowledge of Orissa ?

A.—No

Q.—Have you studied the opium habit in that part ?

A.—It has been my duty to watch the consumption.

Q.—Can you give any reason why it should be largely used there ?

A.—No

Q.—You have stated that at Mymensing and Chittagong, *chandu* is largely smoked, what is the reason ?

A.—I am unable to explain why the number of licenses in Mymensing is so large Gya is a place full of vice, and every form of it is

rampant Chittagong has a large number of Chinamen, but that does not apply to Mymensing. There are six shops in Bhagalpore, I can give no reason for that; it is a matter I wish to enquire into.

Q.—By Mr. Pease —In regard to Gya, we were told by the last witness that where there is a *chandu* shop rogues and vagabonds congregate, is not it possible if you have a great number of centres, you have a great number of rogues and vagabonds?

A —I am afraid the rogues and vagabonds are the priests of the shrines there.

Q —Can you explain further why, out of eleven *chandu* licenses issued only four shops are kept open?

A —I am afraid it is undefensible. The reason is that the settlements are made only once in three years, and we are able to make a change very gradually. A man gets a monopoly over which you have no power to deal.

By Sir James Lyall —Q —Were the magistrates before whom the cases of opium-smoking came, and who inflicted inadequate sentences, Europeans or Natives?

A —Both, and in spite of their being brought to their notice, they don't like to deal with revenue cases, magistrates have expressed that opinion.

Q —The majority of cases are tried by Native Magistrates?

A —I think not, I think an equal number of both. I am speaking of Calcutta. I have sufficient power to draw attention to inadequate sentences on the part of the ordinary magistracy, I mean munsiffs and Native magistrates, but our complaint was particularly of Calcutta.

Q —You have talked of fixing the license fees, are they not actually fixed at the auctions?

A —This was the upset fee the price is actually fixed at the auction above the upset price. It is a few years since I held an auction myself. I should say that competition is rather rare. As a rule it is the man who had the license before. It is a question whether he will give your upset price or not. There is competition sometimes, when prices are run up enormously. The system, I think, is a mistake.

Q.—It has been urged against the system, and the same argument would apply against the upset fees, that it brings great pressure upon the vendor and tends to induce him to take measures to increase the sale.

A.—I don't see why it should be so. It's a matter like that of every trader who wishes to push his business. I don't think the amount of the fee would influence him in the matter. Very few depend entirely upon opium sales for their income. They are generally grocers who hold *ganya* licenses as well. The license is three rupees in the year.

Q.—What is the object of putting a heavy license duty on and not putting a heavy price on the opium which is given to vendors?

A.—The high price is checked by the amount of smuggling, and we have quite enough already without increasing the temptation by raising prices. I think most of the smuggling is for consumption in Calcutta itself.

Q.—Would it not be better to put a higher price upon opium?

A.—The matter has been considered year after year by Government in the Board of Revenue. Not long ago we went into the question of raising prices and have gone as far as we could go. Assam has been pressing us to raise our prices, but we thought we had raised them as far as it was safe.

By Mr. Pease —Q.—What do you mean by Assam?

A.—The Assam Government, the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Q.—By Mr. Wilson —With reference to the action of magistrates do you mean that your magistrates discourage these prosecutions?

A.—They discourage revenue officers pressing for material sentences, they don't object to the evidence being brought forward, but they object to previous convictions being brought to the notice of the Court so as to be taken into consideration in awarding punishment. This has been resented by Native magistrates very much.

Q.—Is it within your knowledge that some eight years ago reports were collected and sent in officially from Orissa in reference to the opium collection?

A.—No, I don't know. The Bengal Government and the Board of Revenue could say something about it.

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q.—Does the Board of Revenue fix the price to the vendor, in all the different provinces? Assam is not under the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, but is it under the Board of Revenue?

A.—No, the Board of Revenue jurisdiction is strictly coterminous with that of the Lieutenant Governor. They would address the Bengal Government on the subject and the Bengal Government would send it to the Board of Revenue for report.

Q.—Would the Board of Revenue fix the price in Assam of the Government of Assam?

A.—It is not the price in Assam, but the price in our border districts which adjoin

Q —You mean the Assam Government have raised the price in Assam?

A —Yes

Q —And they asked you to raise the price in your border districts in order to prevent opium being smuggled over the border?

A —Yes, that is what I mean. The subject was thoroughly discussed and there was a very good minute by Mr. Stevens on the subject which dealt with it exhaustively.

#### **Evidence of Sir John Lambert, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.**

By the President —Q —From your long service and wide experience, you are fully competent to speak upon one important point which arises in connection with the subject before us. I have to ask you to tell us what you know with reference to the use of opium as connected with the commission of crime. Do you from your experience say that there is any connection between opium and crime?

A —Speaking from my experience, I fail to discover any connection between opium and crime, either of a serious nature or any kind at all. The average number of serious cases against the person and against personal property in Calcutta is about 500. I cannot recollect any case in which a person was convicted of, or even suspected of being concerned in these offences, who was addicted to the immoderate use of opium in any shape.

Q —In regard to cases of violence, you say that in regard to that there are no cases of such acts having been committed by confirmed eaters?

A,—No

Q —I will take another class of crime—swindling, have persons convicted of this offence been proved to be given to the use of opium?

A —Certainly not to the immoderate use of opium. Men who engage in any serious matter—whether coming, swindling, forgery, burglary, or robbery—like to keep their brains clear.

By Mr. Pease —Q —Are not the opium dens the resort of bad characters?

A —That is not my experience. It is quite true that in these dens congregate a certain number of worthless, useless, idle fellows, but I don't



think I should look in them for any persons whom I considered dangerous or criminal

Q — From your wide observation, what is the connection between opium and poverty ?

A — The persons who frequent these dens, and *chundu* and *madak* shops, are certainly, as a rule, poor

By Mr Wilson — Q — Crimes have not been committed under the immoderate use of opium ?

A — No.

Q — In the case of persons who have been in the regular habit of eating opium, who fail to get a supply, is not the “ sinking ” they feel one of the commonest causes of theft ?

A — I am not prepared to say that I have known cases in which a man stole to enable him to get opium In my opinion it is not so.

Q — My question was not confined to *chandu* and *madak* smoking, but applied to the ordinary use of opium-eating Do you know any case of a man who took somebody else's property for want of opium ?

A — It is not in my experience

Q — You are Commissioner of Police of Calcutta ?

A — And of the suburbs

Q — I notice that Mr Westmacott says that the police are not strong in numbers, can you tell us the strength of the force ?

A — 2,600 men

Q — And the population ?

A — About 717,000

Q — By Mr Fanshawe In order to make the matter clear, I ask you to make a distinction between habitual and accidental crime I understood you to say that opium is in no way a direct cause of habitual crime ?

A — That is my opinion.

Q. — Does the habit lead to habitual theft ?

A. — I think not.

Q. — Turning to accidental crime, { opium-smoking does not lead to accidental crime ?

A. — Only very occasionally

Q —Then we may take it that your deliberate opinion, from long experience, is that the opium habit in this country is not, to an appreciable extent, the direct cause of crime ?

A —Just so

Q —And as to the results of alcohol ?

A —It is frequently a cause of crime

Q —Amongst many classes of Natives ?

A —Amongst many classes of Natives.

Messrs Wilcox and Dawson, District Superintendents of Police, were called up, and, in answer to questions put by the President, said that they entirely agreed with all that had been stated by Sir John Lambert



# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part XI. 5th December, 1893.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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## Examination of Mr. A. Finlay, Secretary of the Government of India in the Financial Department.

By Lord Brassey —Q — You were kind enough, on behalf of the Government of India, to furnish the Commission with certain papers. These papers were so clear and full that I can hardly suggest any questions to you regarding them. I apprehend that, as regards matters falling more particularly under the control of the local Governments, we shall obtain any further information which we may desire on any particular points in the course of our further enquiries and of the tours which we propose to make. But with regard to the first of the papers you laid before us, a statement of the public revenue and expenditure in British India under all heads of account, I observe a sensible reduction in the estimate for 1893-94, as compared with 1892-93, and also a sensible reduction in the five years 1889-94, as compared with the previous five years, do you draw from such reductions the inference that the opium revenue must be regarded as essentially a precarious revenue?

A — No, I should not draw such an inference. The reduction in 1893-94, as compared with the previous year, was almost entirely due to the reduction in the amount of Bengal opium to be sold, which was due to their having been bad crops in the previous five years.

Q — What is your explanation of the fall in the nett revenue from opium in the five years, 1884-89, as compared with the previous five years? The average revenue in the five years 1880-84 was X Rs 8,624,000, and in the subsequent five years X Rs 6,907,000?

A — I notice that in 1883-84-85 the prices realised were very much higher than in the following years, and there might have been variations in the quantity of opium sold. The Malwa exports have also been less in later years, but I could not give a very satisfactory explanation without looking into the details, and observing the various changes which took place from year to year. The quantity to be sold this year is 43,000 chests, whereas formerly it used to be 54,000 chests. It depends entirely on the crops whether that reduction will be maintained. If the crop is good this year, the Government will sell more next year.

By Mr. Wilson —Q.—With reference to the paper which you produced showing the quantity of opium produced and consumed in India with reference to each of the several Provinces, you have stated that the number of licenses issued in each locality was fixed by the local authority ; are you able to tell us whether the local authorities enquire whether the shops that are licensed are really opened, or whether it is left to the option of the license holder to open his shop or not ?

A —The probability is that when a license is granted the shop will be opened , the licensee would certainly not be forced to open the shop

Q —A license is issued for the benefit of the revenue and of the license-holder and not with regard to the wants of the public ?

A —That is not correct It depends upon the demand in the place, and on the administrative convenience of controlling the sales and the consumption It depends also on the demand for the drug in the locality

Q —Then, with regard to Assam, the quantity of opium issued in 1883-84 was 56,000 seers , in 1890-91 it was 59,000 seers Can you give any explanation here that is reconcilable with the statement made by Mr Luttmann-Johnson, Commissioner of the Assam Valley District, in a letter, dated 30th December, 1890, that the suppression of the opium trade in Assam has been one of the cardinal points in our policy ? can you explain how the sales increased by 3,000 seers if that was the fixed policy of the Government ?

A —I don't see that there is much difference We cannot control the exact quantity each year There must be fluctuations from year to year in regard to the quantity of opium issued for consumption

Q —Can you tell us how these figures have any bearing on the alleged policy ?

A —I cannot

Q —Then with regard to the N-W Provinces and Oudh, will you explain in what way the sales by the treasuries work on the sale of illicit opium ?

A —I should think it is supplemental to the licensed shops which buy from the treasury

Q.—If the authorities can issue as many licenses as they think advisable and as will tend to check illicit sales, I do not understand in what way the selling of opium from the treasury acts as a check ?

A.—They may possibly have underestimated the requirements in their desire to restrict the sale.

Q —When was the cultivation of the poppy in Assam prohibited ?

A —I am not sure I have a vague recollection that it was about the year 1870

Q —Can you tell us what compensation, if any, was paid to the cultivators when the cultivation of the poppy was prohibited in Assam ?

A —I cannot

By Mr Mowbray —Q —With regard to the apparent falling off of the opium revenue in the estimate for 1893-94, can you tell as whether the price of opium in Calcutta for the China market was affected by the change of the currency ?

A —The Currency Act was passed on the 26th June, 1893, at the opium sale of July the price fell very low, lower than it had been for years —I believe to 969 or 970 rupees per chest In the following month (August) I think it went up to Rs 1,175, in September, October and November, it ranged between 1,075 and 1,100 The average price taken in the Budget Estimate was Rs 1,250

Q —The Budget Estimate is framed on the average of the preceding year ?

A —It was framed in March last, on what seemed to be probable If I had framed the estimate now, the receipts from Bengal opium would have been smaller

Q —Is the change in the currency likely to have a permanent effect ?

A —I hope the effect is only temporary. There must be a disturbance of trade when any great change takes place, but I hope it will pass away and settle on a new basis

Q —In the paper, entitled "Opium produced or consumed in India," at page three, the estimated cost price is calculated In that statement you will find a column headed "Interest on advances," will you explain the working out of that column ?

A —It does not represent any actual payment, it is merely a calculation of the interest upon money paid before the produce is delivered We have to take that into account, but no interest is really paid

Q —Then, it is merely a matter of bookkeeping, that's all ?

A —Yes.

By Mr Fanshawe —Q —Reference has been made to a statement of Mr Luttmann-Johnson, Commissioner of the Assam Valley District. No doubt, his statement of the general policy of the Assam Government is correct, but in making that statement, he would not necessarily represent the Government ?



A —Not necessarily, but, no doubt, he would know what the general policy was

Q —It is quite possible that the general policy may be what he states, taking the administration of Assam from the beginning and without reference to yearly fluctuations ?

A —Certainly

Q —I see in the statement headed, Arrangements with Native States, there is a reference to a precis by Mr Crawford in regard to opium ; will you lay that paper before the Commission ?

A —It has not been published , but it is available, and can be given if desired .

By the Chairman —Q —Will you kindly explain the procedure followed in fixing the number of chests of Bengal opium sold each year and the area of poppy cultivation ?

A.—The produce is brought to the opium agents, and they can tell approximately what its value would be This is reported to the Board of Revenue, who make their recommendations as to the quantity to be sold , having regard to the reserve stock in hand, the quantity to be sold is then fixed, at the end of June, for the following calendar year

Q —How does that affect the acreage brought under poppy cultivation during the next year ?

A —When those recommendations are sent up, if there is any reason for an increase or decrease of cultivation, the Board of Revenue and the Government of Bengal will mention it, and the necessary orders will be passed , but, ordinarily, the arrangements for cultivation will be made on the assumption of what is assumed to be the normal quantity sold every year That quantity was, till within a few years, 57,000 chests , now it is 54,000 chests In 1888 the opium reserve grew very large, and it was specially recommended that the cultivation should be reduced , that recommendation was accepted by the Government of India, subject to two conditions, that there should be no risk of the quantity to be sold in any one year falling below 57,000 chests, and also that the reduction should be so arranged that it would not be out of the power of the Government to extend it in future years in the event of a bad crop .

By Mr Wilson —Q —With reference to the question of interest on advances, at what rate has it been calculated ?

A.—I should think it is probably four per cent.

Q.—From what date is it calculated ?

A —From the date the advance is given, no doubt, and until the date of the opium sale in Calcutta, or on which the produce is delivered, I am not sure, but I can find out

Q —With reference to the report by Mr Spence, Her Majesty's Consul in China, are the Consuls in the various ports in China in the habit of making frequent reports on this subject direct to the Government of India?

A —They send us a copy of the reports made to the Foreign Office in England, that is the general practice

Q —Is this a specially important report?

A —It seems specially important, and the orders of the Government of India are to submit it to the Commission with the other papers

By the President —Q —There is a paper dealing with Bengal opium which you put in. In the first page of that paper you give the total area under cultivation in each of the last ten years. I understand that the area under cultivation has been reduced in certain years. For instance, from 1887-88, when the area under cultivation was 536,000 acres, there is a reduction to 469,864 acres in the next year, would you say that the reduction was the result of the policy to which the late Mr W H Smith committed the Government of India, by his declaration in the House of Commons, when he said that the area under cultivation had been reduced, and that it was the settled policy of the Government to continue that process of reduction?

A —I cannot add anything to what Sir David Barbour has said on that point

Q —Before you leave us I believe you wish to put in a paper dealing with a statement made to us by Mr Alexander, to the effect that an envoy had been sent, on behalf of the Chinese Government, to negotiate with the Government of India with reference to the traffic in opium. I think Mr Alexander was not sure as to the date, but he expressed his belief that there had been such a negotiation, and we proposed to ask the Government of India to give us the information. I believe you desire to put in a return which practically explains to us the nature of the mission to which Mr Alexander referred?

A —I put in the papers on the subject, namely, a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, dated 1st October, 1881, enclosing a report of the interview of Mah Kie Tchong, the Secretary to the Imperial Commission at Pekin, with Major Baring

**Q**—In the third paragraph of Major Baring's memorandum of his conversation with Mah Kie Tchong, it was stated that he had no detailed proposals to make, but he wished to know in a general way whether, in the event of overtures being made by the Chinese Government to Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the opium question, the Government of India would be prepared to consider proposals with reference to the system under which China is now supplied with opium. I understand that the general notion of the proposal was that the Government of India should supply the whole of the opium required by China to the Chinese Government direct, that the latter should engage on their own part to pay a fixed sum for a certain term of years, say 30, 40 or 50 years, and that the amount to be paid should gradually decrease. To that communication Major Baring stated that he was unable to express any definite opinion, without being informed in greater detail of the precise nature of the proposal the Chinese Government desired to make. Then there was a good deal of desultory conversation, and Major Baring proceeded to say that it would be exceedingly undesirable that anything should be done in China which would encourage the growth of the smuggling trade, and that experience had proved in all countries that very high duties were sure to be accompanied by smuggling. Major Baring then went on to say—"I endeavoured to find out whether the true aim of the Chinese Government was really to suppress the use of opium, or merely to obtain a larger revenue than at present. I could not elicit anything very definite on this point. Mah Kie Tchong explained to me that there were two parties in China,—one of whom was desirous of stopping the growth of the native poppy and deriving as large a revenue as possible from the importation of the foreign drug, whilst the other was in favour of encouraging the use of the native drug, with a view to rendering China independent of Indian opium. The impression, however, he left on my mind was that the Chinese Government attaches very considerable importance to the opium revenue, and are by no means inclined to abandon it. These seem to be the important part, of the communications between Major Baring and the representative of the Chinese Government. Have you any observations to make in that connexion?"

**A.**—I have not.

**By Mr Fanshawe**—**Q**—Is it within your knowledge when the negotiations which led to the introduction of an additional article in the treaty of Tientsin were begun?

**A**—They began in the year following the arrival of Mah Kie Tchong—in the beginning of 1882.

**Evidence of Hon. A. S. Lethbridge, M. D., C. S. I.**

I am General Superintendent of the Thagi and Dacoity Department and a Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. In my official career of over twenty-five years in India I have served in the Punjab, Bengal and Burmah, and during the last twenty months have been engaged in putting down organised crime in Hyderabad and in the Native States of Rajpootana and Central India. In addition to this I have been employed on four Commissions, and while on them have visited nearly all the districts of Madras, Bombay, North-West Provinces, and the Central Provinces. I can with some reason claim that my experience of India is at least a wide one. I have not made this subject a special study from a medical point of view, but I have had exceptional opportunities of observing the effects of the opium habit on the Natives of this country. My first appointment in the service was that of Surgeon of a Sikh Regiment, and since then I have been Superintendent of the large Central Jails of Lahore and Bhagulpore, Inspector-General of Prisons in Burmah, Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, and for fourteen years Inspector-General of Prisons in this Province. In these various appointments I have had opportunities of observing a very large number of persons who were habitual users of opium.

I first came in contact with men who took opium as a regular stimulant when I was Surgeon of the 15th Sikhs (the Loodiana Regiment). The regiment had recently returned from active service in China, and I was at first disposed to think that the men might have contracted the habit in that country. It was not long, however, before I learnt that the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs, from among whom this regiment was exclusively recruited, were, many of them, habitual opium-eaters. On this point I speak from experience gained by a residence in Ferozepore, Rupar, Karnal, and Lahore. In the 15th Sikhs, in 1868, the Native officers and the older soldiers appeared to use the drug more freely than the younger men. A large proportion of the sepoys admitted to hospital brought their little boxes of opium with them. It was never hinted in those days that it was a disgraceful thing for a Sikh to take opium, or that a regiment in which such a large proportion of the Native officers and men were opium-eaters had its efficiency in any way injuriously affected by the use of the drug. On the contrary, this regiment has always held an honoured place in the army of India, and has perhaps been more frequently employed on active service than any other. In cantonments the men were particularly well-behaved, and on active service, in such campaigns as those of Afghanistan and the Soudan, they have distinguished themselves by their courage and endurance.

As an expert in Prison administration, I have seen a vast number of prisoners who have acquired the opium habit. Speaking generally of these men from what I saw of them in their prison life, I would say that their gentleness and good behaviour compared very favourably with the general character of those who had been addicted to alcohol and ganja in excess. It was the rule in the prisons under my control to cut off the supply of opium on the prisoner's first admission to jail. If, in any case, it was found necessary to continue the drug as a medicine, the prisoner was invariably admitted to hospital, and there treated for the disease from which he was suffering. In unhealthy jails, like Rungpore and Akyab, where the prisoners are received from very malarious tracts of country, and where the habit of opium-eating was general among the free population, it was not found possible to enforce the rule of complete prohibition on admission, and I have frequently been obliged to sanction the issue of opium to all the opium-eaters admitted to these jails to guard against the grave risks to life caused by depression from imprisonment combined with the deprivation of the stimulant to which these malaria-stricken people had been accustomed.

As to the therapeutic uses of opium in the treatment of diseases of malarious origin, I can only say that in my experience the medical officers in charge of jails in the more unhealthy districts of Bengal have been accustomed to use the various preparations of this drug in very considerable quantities, and I know this to be the case, not only from my personal observations in the jail hospitals which I have inspected, but from the checking and passing of the indent for medicines required for the treatment of prisoners in jails.

Where the opium habit is not complicated by disease we have never experienced any difficulty or danger in breaking opium-eaters of this habit by a sudden and complete stopping of the drug. As a rule, a slight tendency to diarrhoea is noticed in these cases, which is easily checked by appropriate remedies. In cases where the drug has been used to excess, the deprivation causes a certain amount of suffering, but this does not usually last more than five or six days.

The use of opium even in excess does not in my experience lead to any organic constitutional changes, such as those which result from the abuse of alcohol. Even the emaciation and tuck-up appearance of the opium drunkard disappears very rapidly after the drug has been stopped.

Before I leave the consideration of this question from a prison point of view, I state that it is my deliberate opinion, after an experience of the criminal classes extending over a quarter of a century, that the opium

habit in this country is not, to any appreciable extent, the direct cause of crime, and that its effect in this direction is not to be compared with the recognized evils that result from the abuse of alcohol, both in England and in India

As President of the Factory Commission in 1890, which was appointed to enquire into the social condition and well-being of Indian operatives, I made a careful enquiry into their mode of life, their work, their complaints and wishes. Many mill hands were examined at considerable length for this purpose, and we saw thousands of operatives working in the mills of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore and Calcutta. In no single instance do I remember our attention being drawn by any one to the demoralization of the working classes from the use of opium. It is true we did not make any special enquiry in this direction, but if there had been any deterioration of the working power of the mill hands from this cause, we should most certainly have seen some indication of it in their appearance or power of work, or heard of it from the mill managers and subordinates, if not from the operatives themselves.

During the eighteen years I have been the head of a department with a large staff of subordinates under me, I cannot recall a single instance in which a subordinate was discharged for unfitness due to the excessive use of opium. I need hardly add that in this period hundreds have been discharged for incapacity brought on by the abuse of alcohol.

In my present appointment, which requires me to visit Hyderabad and the Native States of Rajputana and Central India, I have had many opportunities of discussing this question with well-informed Indian gentlemen and Durbar officials. The deliberate conclusion at which I have arrived in this matter is that any attempt to interfere with the rights of Natives States and the privileges of their subjects in regard to the growth, sale, or consumption of opium will result in the gravest complications and in serious danger to the stability of the Empire.

By Sir William Roberts —Q—Will you kindly tell us what is the numerical strength of the Indian Medical Service ?

A—The Indian Medical Service to which I belong numbers between 443 and 450 European Officers. There are a few Indian gentlemen in the Service who have been admitted by competition in a few examinations in England ; they number about twelve or fourteen, I am speaking of the whole of India.

Q—What are their grades and duties ?

A —Every officer when he comes to India is obliged to serve as Surgeon in charge of an Indian Regiment After two years' service he may elect for civil employ as the Civil Surgeon of a district ; but although in civil employ he goes through the usual regimental grades of Captain, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel, Surgeon-Major, General The Civil Medical Officers still retain their military rank and promotion, but they also rise from small stations to larger ones, and the best of them are subsequently drafted to the Presidency towns in charge of hospitals and as Professors in the Medical Colleges

Q —What about the Civil Medical Officers in charge of dispensaries ?

A —They have complete charge of the whole administration of the district They have charge of all the dispensaries of the district, the number of which vary according to the size of the district The outlying districts have to be inspected once, twice, or three times a year , the local dispensary at the headquarters they attend every day These head quarter districts are many of them large institutions with a large number of beds for in-patients and a very large number of out-patients also attend daily The majority of these cases are seen by the Assistant Surgeon, but the interesting cases are reserved for the Medical Officer In the hospital he sees every patient every day, and besides he has a large practice among the Native population, and is called in consultation in serious cases by private practitioners

Q —They would come very closely into contact with the Assistant Surgeons of the outlying districts ?

A —Yes

Q —He would also be as a rule the Medical Officer of the Jail ?

A —Yes.

Q —Do you consider that in their work they would have opportunities of detecting the effect of the opium habit on the health and physique of the people ?

A —No European would have such opportunities

Q.—Could they in any way detect the effect of the opium habit on the characters and morality of the consumers ?

A.—They have opportunities of observing the inner life of the people which very few other officers have , therefore they have opportunities of forming an opinion on this point.

Q —With regard to their experience in jails they would be able to detect the connection of opium with crime ?

A.—They are the executive officers as well as the Medical officers of jails, in small jails, especially

Q.—You have travelled throughout the various provinces of India, have you had much converse with the Indian members of the Service on this habit?

A.—I have only lately been travelling a good deal, I have had conversation with all the officers I have met, and I have also had general conversations before this on this particular subject

Q.—What impression have you gathered from these conversations?

A.—It is curious how unanimous they are as to the fact that opium is not the curse it is supposed to be in this country

Q.—Have you met with exceptions?

A.—I don't remember a single officer who held a different view

Q.—So that this large class of 450 men so far as you know are unanimous on the point?

A.—Yes

Q.—How is this staff of Medical officers selected?

A.—They as a rule have had a European education, but there are certain others who were trained in Medical Colleges here and went to England to compete

Q.—What is the status of that Service?

A.—The competitive examination for the Indian Medical Service is second to no medical service in the world. It is quite apart from their pass examination. Before you can compete you have to be a recognised medical man. The qualifications of the candidates are always high, because the best men compete for this service. It attracts the best men on account of the pay and pension attached to the service and the position occupied by the officers in this country

Q.—They are superior to those afforded by the Army or the Navy?

A.—Yes, certainly

Q.—The competition is a real one?

A.—Yes

Q.—Looking to the general status of the men who come to India, would you consider the members of the Service as the representatives of a high class of medical education?

A.—Yes, that is my belief, and among the best educated men in England, Ireland and Scotland.



Q.—After they are chosen in this way do they under go any additional training in England ?

A.—Yes, they go to Netley for four months , they go through a course of sanitary science, Military Surgery, and tropical diseases. Then they pass another examination on the subjects taught at Netley and by the results of that examination their position in the service is graded.

Q.—Will you say generally from your experience that they are well-educated men generally as well as specially, and whether they are men of good social status as regards the profession ?

A.—They are well educated gentlemen and occupy a position in India in complete equality with other gentlemen in serving the Government, and therefore they may be said to be of the same class as other gentlemen who form the best of the services in India.

Q.—So that they would be highly qualified for detecting the effect of the opium habit upon the people

A.—Certainly, and no persons more qualified exist in India.

Q.—And are they men of such independence of character that their evidence may be taken to be given without favour, fear or affection ?

A.—Certainly.

Q.—Now as the Assistant Surgeons in charge of dispensaries, who are mostly educated in India. What is their professional status ?

A.—They undergo a medical education which in all respects conform to the Medical education required for degrees and diplomas in England. A native of Calcutta by going through a course of lectures in the Medical College here can present himself for examination to most of the Universities, and other examining bodies in Europe. The course of education is as complete as in England. They are well trained men, and a certain proportion of them go to England and take their diplomas there. They don't go through any education at home.

Q.—I presume that their intercourse with the people in the areas in which they serve will be pretty complete ?

A.—Yes, they are of the middle classes of the people and live with them in their villages.

Q.—What is the opinion of that class of men with regard to this matter ?

A.—My acquaintance with that class of officers is not so large as it is with the Europeans, but I think they also will agree that opium is not the curse it is supposed to be, that it is very largely used by the people in malarial districts and that they themselves prescribe it largely.

Q.—Then they are qualified to give an opinion ?

A —They have many opportunities of observing even more closely than we, the effects of opium

Q —And that they may be depended upon from their independence of character ?

A —Certainly

Q —By Mr Fanshawe —Can you tell us the number of Assistant Surgeons ?

A —No , there are a certain number in the Government Service and a very large number in private practice

Q —By Mr Mowbray —Are there many Europeans in independent practice in India ?

A —In large cities, such as Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and among the large European communities in Assam, Darjeeling and Tihoot there are several independent European practitioners, but in the purely native towns there are not many

Q —Can you give any idea of what the number of European practitioners would be ?

A —It is difficult to say

Q —By Mr Fanshawe —I believe Rungpore is an exceptionally malarial district May we take that as a well established fact ?

A —Yes, if anything is well established it is the fact that Rungpore is a malarial district

Q —Can you tell us whether the jail population consists principally of accidental criminals ?

A —Chiefly accidental , there are very few habitual criminals

Q —Then the jail population of Rungpore fairly represents the population of the district ?

A —Yes

Q —By Mr Wilson —Can you tell us how much opium Sikh soldiers take ?

A —I could not tell you what the dose is in each case

Q —You said that the Native officers and elderly soldiers are more addicted to the habit than the younger men.

A —Yes

Q —Do you mean that they take larger doses or that a larger proportion of them take opium ?

A.—I mean a larger proportion of them. My remark referred to the proportion of men rather than to the quantity taken.

Q.—You referred to the opportunities you had of discussing the question with European gentlemen in Native States. How long have you had such opportunities?

A.—Only recently. Within the last twenty months, since I have been in charge of my present appointment which requires me to travel all over India.

Q.—You adhere to the last portion of your printed statement?

A.—Yes. It is my confirmed belief that the grievance would be so great and such action so unnecessary that it would shake the confidence of the people in our justice and our rule.

Q.—You told Sir William Roberts about the number of medical men in this country. Can you say what proportion of them have been detached from medical work, as in your case?

A.—Very few have been actually detached altogether from Medical work as I am. One or two have been placed in charge of Government Botanical Gardens and one or two in the Mints. I think not more than twelve or fourteen altogether.

Q.—Would that include the Forest Department?

A.—As far as I know we have no officers employed in the Forest Department.

Q.—Can you tell us what is the object or policy of the arrangement described by Sir William Roberts, of so many of the officers of the Medical Service being kept as Army Surgeons and others having Civil practice?

A.—I understand it is due to the fact that the Government of India are extremely anxious to have a reserve of Medical Officers. If a war was declared the whole of the Medical Officers in Civil employ would have to join the Army and take their share in the campaign. The Civil stations would be left in charge of Assistant Surgeons or other efficient medical men.

Q.—Do I understand that all the Medical Officers practising in Calcutta would be required to join the Army?

A.—Yes, and so would I.

Q.—By whom are these gentlemen paid now?

A.—Since the decentralisation of the finances they are paid by the Provincial Government while in civil employ. The Military Department pays for those in medical charge of Native regiments.

Q —Then the Civil Department really maintains a staff of gentlemen required for military contingencies ?

A.—Yes.

Q —By Lord Brassey —You alluded to instances in which opium was used to excess obviously to the detriment of the individual concerned You have not stated whether in your opinion there are cases in which persons make use of opium daily with direct benefit to their health ?

A —There are such cases, but not having practised my profession I am not in a position to give an opinion ; but from what I know from prisoners in jail I know that they have not suffered physically.

Q —Is it your belief that people who are consumers of opium are consumers in moderation ?

A —Yes, certainly, such a question never protruded itself upon the notice of those who made special enquiries into the social position and well-being of opium eaters It does not affect the work or position of those who use it moderately

Q —Then your view is that the majority of opium eaters are moderate consumers and that in their cases, as far as you had the opportunities of judging, it does neither good nor harm ?

A —That is my opinion .

Q —As compared with the use of alcohol in a tropical climate as far as you know the use of opium is less injurious than the use of alcohol ?

A —Most certainly

Q —Do you see any analogy between the use of opium by the population of a tropical climate and the use of alcohol by the inhabitants of a climate such as that in England ?

A —Judging from the fact that large numbers of people in a tropical climate take opium as a stimulant without any apparent detriment, one would draw an analogy between it here and the use of alcohol in colder climates The people take opium here just as people take alcohol in a colder climate

#### **Evidence of Sir Edward Buck.**

By His Highness the Maharajah of Durbhunga —You think that if opium cultivation was abolished the ryots could substitute any other crops in its place ?

A —I think this is a question which should be properly enquired into and which requires very careful consideration on the spot All that I say, I would wish to be taken as the basis of inquiry rather than as

positive evidence on the subject. My belief is that opium cultivation is best carried on on certain lands and by certain cultivators. I must explain by saying that the best land, *par excellence*, is land that is fit for market garden crops and cultivated by market gardeners. Now, such lands would be wasted upon such crops as sugar-cane and wheat, and would only be made fit for opium growing and for such crops as I have indicated under the term, "garden crops" namely, herbs, spices, tobacco, and such like. Where the demand for such crops is sufficient to enable a market to be found for them, I think they could be substituted for opium, without any loss upon the cultivators or landlords. But in districts where opium is grown, it is grown upon other lands as well as the land especially suited. A certain amount of outlying land is now used for opium, and is cultivated by classes who did not originally cultivate it. These men are the industrial classes, Kurnis, Ladas and others, and even some other less industrial classes, to a certain extent, have taken it up. Upon these outlying lands, if they are not fit for garden crops, and are cultivated by others than market gardeners, tobacco and market crops could not be substituted, but it would be possible to substitute either wheat, sugar-cane, or potatoes, and crops of that kind. But it is a question which, I think, requires inquiry on the spot, whether these crops, especially sugar-cane and potatoes, do not require a very much larger quantity of coarse manure than opium. For this reason I think most of the crops could not be substituted for opium in what I may call second-class opium lands, lying outside the market crop area. Thus we have opium land divided into two classes: first, the market garden class, cultivated by market gardeners, *malles* and others; next, the second class, which requires special manuring cultivated by the farming class. An examination of the question as to the substitution of other crops for opium must be approached from the point of view of each of these classes of land and cultivators. Then, again, I would state another fact, that the manure, both solid and liquid, altogether for opium, is not of the same class entirely as the manure required for potatoes and sugar-cane. For opium, it is necessary to have solid or liquid farm manure containing various chemical ingredients, which I class under the name of nitrates. I have an analysis here of the water which I have taken from a well, the water of which was considered valuable for opium. It contains a large quantity of soda and lime, as well as nitric acid and chlorine. This water is practically wasted upon sugar-cane, which can be successfully cultivated with a coarse form of manure and with canal water, which is obviously free from those ingredients which are required for opium and the other crops I have indicated.

Q —For second-class land there is really no discovery of any proper substitutes for opium ?

A —My own view is that they cannot be grown because they require a very much larger amount of manure.

Q —Consequently, in these cases, the ryots would be entitled to some compensation, not legally, but according to equity ?

A —That is so, I think that the loss, which I understand to be about fifty lakhs, representing the advances every year in most of the populated tracts would be a very serious blow to the agricultural population. They receive this money without interest at a time when they want it and if they were deprived of it, they would probably have suddenly to have recourse to the money-lender, to obtain capital at a very much higher interest, and to cultivate under more difficult circumstances.

By Sir William Roberts —Penang is one of the Straits Settlements ?

A —It is, and there are tin mines at Telupang and also in Perak.

By Mr Fanshawe —Q —You have referred to the question whether compensation would be necessary to cultivators, can you say whether the poppy crop is an exhausting crop for the soil ?

A —I should make the same answer that I did to the Maharajah of Durbhunga, that anything I may say may be taken as the basis of enquiry rather than positive evidence on the subject. My own impression is that it is not an exhausting crop, in the sense in which sugar-cane, potatoes, and other root crops are. It is more like spices grown in a garden. It requires high cultivation but it does not take much out of the soil to any depth, and I would take this opportunity of noticing, what I did not notice just now, that it is very frequently grown in the same area as a crop of Indian corn. Indian corn precedes opium, and in comparing it with other crops which may be substituted for it, that fact should not be lost sight of. I noticed it was lost sight of in the report of the Opium Commission of 1883. It was lost sight of, or not taken into account at all, any more than that other thing which ought to have been taken into account, viz, the interest which the cultivators have in being able to take these advances. I understand that the Government of those days took into account or into its estimates the loss which they suffered by foregoing interest, but in all the calculations I have seen of the value of the opium crop, that interest was never put in. These two things, the value of the Indian corn crop and interest, ought to be added.

Q — As compared with other crops, such as sugar-cane or tobacco, how does opium stand ?

A — In the case of tobacco grown in Bengal, I believe it cannot be grown. In the case of tobacco grown further up-country, it can be grown. That very fact shows how very careful and close investigations must be before any general acceptance can be given to any answers of this kind.

Q — You are not in a position to give any statistics as to the comparative value of the crops ?

A — I consider that this question is one of the most difficult to investigate in this country, and that no answer can be given by any one man on his general knowledge. I have any amount of statistics of sorts given me as to the cost of producing this and the cost of producing that, and the profits, but I consider they are only valuable for the particular locality in which they are given, and when you take into consideration the large area over which poppy is grown, what differences of climate, soil, and irrigation there are, it would be very dangerous for me or any one man, relying on general information, to give a reply to the question. It would require very close detailed investigation by a large number of officials to obtain any approximate information as to the real value in cash of any crop, and even then it would be difficult to get a satisfactory answer, because it is very difficult to value the labour of the cultivators and their families. An opium cultivator, a market gardener, employs on his field his wife and all the women of the house, and small children four or five years old even, and it is very difficult to value their labour. Coming to the cultivator of the higher classes, he will not allow his women to enter into his field or to labour. Look at the different profits made by each class.

Q — From your knowledge of Northern India, would you anticipate any extension of the market for Indian tobacco over any large area ?

A — This is also a question very difficult to answer. The demand within India itself I cannot conceive as likely to increase to such an extent as to admit very largely tobacco as a substitute for opium. On the other hand, tobacco grown in Tuhoot, Rungpore, and Purnea goes in British Indian steamers to Burmah and the Straits, and I cannot see how far the market might not extend in that direction. It would be a point which would have to be very carefully considered, but it must not be assumed that if you had an area cultivated with opium that the whole of this first-class land could be put at once under tobacco.

Q.—Could not the acreage under poppy be, perhaps, devoted to cereals and cotton ?

A.—Cotton is not grown as a staple crop between Benares and Patna, and it could not, therefore, be substituted for opium in the opium-growing tracts. Further west and north-west, cotton is grown upon land which would not be given up to opium or root crops, as it is grown upon lands of a different quality. Therefore, I do not consider that cotton would come in as a substitute for opium at all.

Q.—Could the acreage given to poppy be given up generally for the production of cereals ?

A.—I don't regard cereals as competitors with opium, except upon second-class lands. I don't think cereals would pay cultivators anything like what opium does.

Q.—Even if the same area were brought under wheat, would that wheat be available for export or consumption in this country ?

A.—I think it would be mainly for export, food-grains of the country would not be grown upon that land, except so far as Indian corn is now grown for local consumption.

Q.—You have told us of advances without interest. do you mean to say that if these advances were not made the Government would alter the price of opium ?

A.—I can't conceive it would do so. cultivators who now come forward to grow opium get a cash advance, as well as the price which they receive for the opium.

Q.—As regards your water containing nitrates, the quantity is limited ?

A.—It is limited in a very marked way, it is only in wells which are in thickly populated sites or in places which have in former years been populated, that the particular ingredients are found. There are in the opium-growing countries of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh a very large number of old sites, and it is on these that you find this very valuable water chiefly. Round these wells, as a rule, you will see nothing but tobacco, opium, and other high class garden crops.

Q.—I think you have had several opportunities of studying poppy cultivation from personal observation ?

A.—I was settlement officer in two opium-growing districts, Cawnpore and Furruckabad. In these parts I saw several opium fields growing in every village, except when I spoke of cotton, this remark applies entirely to that part of the N.-W. Provinces.



Q.—From the papers before us, it appears that there are 550,000 cultivators employed in the Benares and Patna agencies can you from your experience say whether the cultivation is voluntary or not ?

A.—I was seven years settlement officer in the districts I have named, and no case has ever been brought to my notice of cultivators being forced to cultivate against their will I have known many anxious to cultivate it, and I have known others who, for caste reasons object to cultivate, but I do not remember that they were ever forced to do so. There is a certain objection amongst some classes to cultivating opium on the score of religion, just as there is an objection to cultivating indigo and root crops. There is a religious objection amongst some classes against the cultivation of indigo and root crops, so there is against opium, and that is the only objection I have come across.

Q.—That objection would not touch the cultivation of opium under compulsion ?

A.—My point is that the only objection I have ever heard is on the score of religious prejudice I have never heard of compulsion being used.

By Mr Wilson —Q —Where were you seven years Settlement officer ?

A.—At Cawnpore and Furruckabad, opium districts in the North Western Provinces.

Q.—How long ago was that ?

A.—Between 1866 and 1873.

Q.—Opium used to be grown in many parts of India where it is now prohibited ?

A.—I know there are certain districts where opium was grown but where it is now restricted.

Q.—In Assam it used to be grown ?

A.—I have no information on the subject.

Q.—In the North-Western Provinces there are considerable tracts ?

A.—There are tracts.

Q.—Can you tell us the general grounds on which the present districts were selected as opium growing districts while it is prohibited in others ?

A.—Because the districts which were selected were very highly supplied with the kind of manure which was required for opium and therefore with the classes of cultivators who are better able to grow opium. Where you find large quantities of these nitrate manures, and where you

find thickly populated tracts, there you will find the market gardener classes, who are *par excellence* opium cultivators. The districts were I believe selected mainly upon these grounds.

Q—In reference to the water, have you any analysis of the water ?

A—I sent up some to the Chemical Examiner in Calcutta, and when Dr. Volceker was out here he had some more made.

Q—Is this analysis before you ?

A—Yes. I have not put it in, I have merely got the names of some of the constituents of the water, but I can easily put it in.

Q—Do you think that water of that kind is specially prevalent in the districts where opium is now grown ?

A—It was prevalent in the districts where I have my actual experience.

Q—Have you any reason to believe it is more prevalent in those districts than in other parts ?

A—I think it is prevalent to a great extent in the tracts to which I have drawn attention as being highly populated and whose soil was saturated with the refuse of long past generations.

Q—You have told us in your last paragraph of the advantages of the advances to the cultivators, can you tell us the grounds upon which they sometimes object ?

A—The only ground which has come under my notice is that of religious prejudice.

Q—Is it within your knowledge that there has been difficulty ?

A—The subject has been only raised within the last two or three weeks.

Q—I have a letter here from the Government of India dated 19th December, 1881, in which it is said that vigorous efforts made by the Benares opium agent to extend cultivation were an utter failure. You are not aware of that ?

A—No.

Q—How do you reconcile that with your statement, “poppy growing is an advantage to the cultivators ?”

A—In the country in which I have had experience there is a great deal of land fit for opium and garden crops, not only do they take to it readily as their natural profession, but the cultivators around them having an example before them find it easy to copy. In those districts where cultivation is of long standing and of old times, or where the practice has

not existed they would naturally object to growing it as it requires a peculiar amount of special skill.

Q.—This letter which I have read was preceded by a letter from the India Office sent by Lord Hartington on the 16th January.

A.—I was not aware of that

Q.—I will read you a few lines —‘ Some of the cultivators do not now exhibit the same eagerness for the Government advances as formerly ’ That never came under your notice ?

A.—No

Q.—Will you explain whether the question of higher rents or taxes attaches to the crop or to the particular plot of land ?

A.—The higher rent primarily to the land One of the market gardens would pay perhaps thirty rupees or fifty rupees more than the ordinary cultivators There is also the character of the manure applied, whether the land would be fit for the crop or not

Q.—If cultivators who had been in the habit of growing opium, ceased to do so, would any alteration be made in his rent ?

A.—I doubt very much whether landlords would reduce rents, and on a great deal of land I don't think they would be bound to do so, I think there is a very material amount of land in which poppy is now grown, upon which, if cultivation was closed, the loss would be so material to the cultivator, that either he could not pay the same rent as before, or he would have to claim under the law to have his rent reduced

Q.—Under what law ?

A.—The Rent Law

Q.—Can you give us a reference ?

A.—I would rather put my opinion as a basis for further enquiry on the point I cannot give you a decisive answer whether the law courts would or would not hold it as sufficient ground, but I have a strong opinion that the cultivator should have a claim

Q.—Have there been any such claims where cultivators have been refused the right to grow opium ?

A.—No, I have not known claims, but on the other hand, I have to say as a settlement officer I have had to enquire into assessments and have to look to the fact of opium cultivation and cotton for bringing the particular assessment upon the land

Q.—Are there any other crops besides these ?

A —Maize, a valuable crop. It can be grown in the same year with opium, but there are other crops of less value which can be grown in the same year, Niell for instance

Q —Supposing opium was not grown, how many other crops could be grown in the year ?

A —That depends very much upon what crop was substituted. If tobacco was substituted in the districts I have referred to, Indian corn could be grown before the tobacco. This is not the case with tobacco grown in the lower parts of the opium tracts where tobacco is put in the ground at the same time as opium

Q —I have heard it generally said that three crops may be got off the land in the year

A —This is only in very exceptional lands, very exceptional

Q —Would it be possible on opium land ?

A —On a very small percentage

Q —Will you explain the connection between the two maps you have put in ?

A —One of the great difficulties in this country is to know what to do with the surplus population in these tracts. Special enquiries were made as to what could be done, whether there were other tracts to which they could emigrate. The amount of money, five millions, which goes into their hands every year, enables them to carry on agricultural operations with greater ease and facilities. Without this they either would have to get more capital from money-lenders at a very much higher rate of interest and their circumstances would be very much less prosperous, or they would never be able to get any capital at all. You would thus find it very difficult to grow any grain at all

Q —In the cases I mentioned they did not wish to cultivate opium and they do not appreciate the advantages you mention ?

A —In this instance I can give no answer, because in those districts I have never known objections to cultivate being overruled, except upon the ground of religious prejudice. I have not mentioned the districts, alluded to and have only given evidence in respect to those I mentioned

Q.—Did you say that cotton was not grown or could not be grown between Benares and Patna ?

A.—There is a very inferior kind grown between Benares and Patna but it is not a staple crop, and the climate is not conducive to growing it.

**Q.—By Mr Haridas** —Are you aware that the classes who have religious objections to growing opium, grow it occasionally ?

**A.**—They have come to grow it, both Brahmmins and Makurs I shall not say to a large, but to a certain extent, in that part of the country

**Q**—Do they grow the poppy every year or in rotation ?

**A**—I believe in rotation except upon the very best land, where it may be grown every year.

**Q.**—There are two kinds, one grown in the rains, and one by irrigation ?

**A**—Not in my experience I don't know of any poppy grown in the districts except in the season of the cold weather

**Q.**—You do not know whether poppy is grown in the rainy season ?

**A**—I do not know, not in the districts I have worked in

#### **Evidence of Maharaja Giriya Nath Roy Bahadur.**

(1) The opium consuming portion of the population of Bengal is not very large Opium is taken here—

(1) in lump or with water,

(2) or smoked

I have not seen people becoming more immoral by taking opium, nor have I seen them suffering physically by using it Opium taken in moderate doses, particularly after forty years of age, rather benefits than injures the constitution

Excessive indulgence in opium, like excessive indulgence in other things, is always followed by evil effects.

2. (a) It is very difficult to get hold of an opium-eater who will admit that he takes opium for non-medical purposes In fact ninety-nine per cent of opium-eaters, whom I met, complained to me of having suffered from dysentery, diarrhoea, rheumatism, etc, prior to their taking the drug

The people of this country do not, as a rule, detest the people who eat opium either for medical or non-medical purposes Opium-smoking, however, is considered somewhat disreputable

(b) The people of this Province are not at all willing to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures, as consumption of opium is confined to a very small section of the community and does not constitute a widespread and serious evil, for the removal of which the Society is over-anxious

3 The prohibition of the growth of poppy plants will bring serious losses to the landlords and tenants of the opium-producing portions of the country, and the prohibition of the sale and manufacture of opium will prove a source of greatest inconvenience to the consumers of the drug and produce serious discontent among them. As, therefore, the number of persons interested in the manufacture and sale of opium is not very inconsiderable, discontent among them is not at all desirable. Nor is the absolute prohibition of the sale and manufacture of opium at all possible.

4 The Government has already thrown serious obstacles in the way of easy procurability of the drug by restricting its sale to particular persons, places and time. Any further improvement in the regulation of opium traffic, unattended with increased expenditure would be welcome.

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part XII. 6th & 7th December, 1893.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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The Chairman stated, before calling witnesses connected with the China trade, that while the Commissioners were prepared to receive their evidence, they were of opinion that the inquiry in relation to China could scarcely be dealt with satisfactorily in Calcutta, and that before coming to any conclusions with reference to China they must obtain information either by communications with China, with the Consular body and other independent authorities, or else by a personal visit on the part of certain members of the Commission to Singapore, and possibly some of the Treaty Ports in China.

## **Evidence of Mr. H. S. Howard.**

I am a member of the firm of Messrs David Sassoon & Co and desire to give information with reference to the trade in opium with the Straits Settlements. Singapore and Penang take about 14,000 chests of opium annually. About 250 chests monthly are consumed locally, the rest being exported to the Native States, the Malay Peninsula and China. To Hongkong, about 26,000 chests are exported annually. During my stay of thirteen years in China, I came in contact with the Chinese belonging to the better classes, viz, merchants, mandarins, etc, and I have never found them to be the worse for indulging in the drug. On the contrary, they always showed great aptitude for work after a smoke.

By Mr Wilson —My firm is one of the principal opium shippers in China. I resided in Shanghai, Tientsin, and Ningpo, and I visited Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, and Hongkong. I never heard of any objection to the trade in China.

By Mr Fanshawe —I have been brought into personal contact with Chinese of the better classes. Opium-smoking is regarded by them only as a pleasure. My firm do business in other goods besides opium.

## **Evidence of Mr. Shrager.**

By the Chairman —I belong to the firm of Messrs Grudberg Brothers. During the past five years I have frequently visited the Straits, Cochin-China, Siam, and once Hongkong and Batavia. I have mixed very freely amongst the Chinese, but I cannot recall a single instance of having come across a Chinaman that was incapacitated through smoking opium. On these visits to and from the Straits, the steamers

I travelled by never carried less than 300 to 400 Chinese deck passengers between Penang and Singapore, sometimes as many as 500 to 600, mostly coolies. I observed opium smoking to be almost universal amongst them, and have often watched them smoking, but never noticed it to produce any bad effects on them. In our Singapore office, we employ Chinese clerks and a Chinese cashier. Our cashier, who is an old man, told me that he smokes opium regularly. I have never noticed him to be indolent; he is a very shrewd man and has been in our employ over four years. Like all other of the better class Chinese that I have met, this man is intelligent, cheerful, and bright-witted. I have frequently visited the Chinese merchants with whom we do business in Singapore and all the other parts I have been to. Some of them are fine muscular men, although known to me to be habitual opium-smokers. I have sometimes been called into their private rooms, where I have seen them smoking opium, reclining on an easy chair. I never noticed them unable to discuss freely on the subject of my visit and express their views in a clear and business-like way. In our godowns we employ a number of Chinese coolies, these are very illiterate men, but I have never known them to make an error by delivering the wrong goods out of any warehouse. These men are known to me to be regular opium-smokers. I have never found them indolent, in fact they much prefer to do their work by contract, which, through their industry, gives them a far better return. Physically, these men are not as a rule well developed, but I have often been surprised at their carrying power. I have noticed two such men carry a bale of goods weighing from 1000 to 1200 lbs. All Chinese handicraftsmen are said to smoke opium regularly after their day's work, of such men I have seen a good deal, and have no hesitation in saying of them, that they are by far more practical and better men at their work than any others that I have met outside of Europe.

Opium is contraband into Java. the country's requirements, about 700 chests a year, are imported by the Government direct from Calcutta and supplied to any opium farmer who pays the Government a royalty for the right to manufacture and retail it. The excise arrangements in Siam since the beginning of this year are similar to those at Singapore. The opium farmer pays a royalty for the right to manufacture and retail opium. Nobody but the opium farmer has a right to import opium into Siam. The consumption in Cochinchina and Tonquin is 2,300 to 2,500 chests a year, which is imported direct from Calcutta. The Government manufacture it themselves and pack it in small quantities ready for use, which they sell at a fixed price to consumers.

By Mr. Wilson —Q —What do you mean by saying that opium is contraband into Java and into Cochin China ?

A —The importation is prohibited except by the Government. Only the Government have a right to import opium

Q —What do you mean by the phrase, 'the right to manufacture' —what is the manufacture ?

A —The opium as it is exported from here, is not in the state or condition in which it is consumed in the places that I have visited. It goes through the process of manufacture to make it ready for smoking.

By Mr. Fanshawe —The Chinese of the better classes regard opium smoking as a luxury, from what I have heard from them. Our firm exports opium, and we are contractors for the French Government, but that is only a small branch of our business

#### **Evidence of Mr A. E. J. Abraham.**

By the Chairman —I am a member of the firm of Messrs A. E. J. Abraham & Co. We ship opium and do a little business in gunny bags, and a little in jute. Before the ratification of the Cheefoo convention, opium used to be stored in bond and had to pay a duty of thirty taels per picul on being landed, and nothing more. Since the ratification of the Cheefoo convention the sum of eighty taels has been added as likin dues, bringing up the whole amount to 110 taels. I have resided ten years in China, at Shanghai to Hankow.

I came in contact with men who smoked opium, I saw them nearly every day that I was there, but I did not see that it did them any injury, or that they showed in any way that they were habitual smokers. I have seen rickshaw coolies, coolies that carry opium, and coolies that land goods, men of all sorts, and my own house servants who smoked opium, but I did not see that they suffered in any way. The Chinese do not believe that England is forcing them against their will to accept the traffic in opium. They laugh at the idea. I do not think that justice was done to India in ratifying the Cheefoo Convention. China was given a right to collect a duty which was not recognised till then as a legitimate maritime duty. The word "likin" means that the tax was levied for a special purpose. I believe that it was raised with the purpose of paying for the suppression of the Taeping rebellion. It was not a tax that could be levied on foreigners. It was not a tax recognised by the European powers. It was a tax lived by the Local Governments on Chinese subjects and each province had its own likin dues. If the opium were shifted from one

province to another, it had to pay double hkin dues, but as it is, the ratification of that treaty legalizes this duty, and the opium is handicapped in such a manner, that no foreigner can land it even in godowns without paying the heavy duty of 110 taels per picul. If the opium is burnt or destroyed by sinking the boats, he is not only liable to pay the full amount the duty and hkin, but another duty is added as a penalty.

By Mr. Wilson —Q—What class of Chinese had you any conversation with, to justify your statement that the popular belief that England forced opium on China is not credited by the Chinese themselves?

A.—Opium merchants and Chinese in general. I cannot mention the exact class of men I have come across, but I have had conversations with different classes of Chinese on the subject, who poohpoohed this idea. They were intelligent men. The masses, as distinct from the classes, have no idea about these things. I consider that the Chinese Government is at the present time under no obligation to England to admit opium. They might if they pleased impose a prohibitive duty.

#### **Evidence of Mr. R. M. Cohen.**

By the Chairman —I am a member of the firm of Messrs David Sassoon & Co and Honorary Presidency Magistrate. I have been in Singapore one year on the firm's business and I resided in Shanghai six years, and four years in Newchwang a port in Manchuria. I have seen many aged Chinese who have been in the habit of smoking opium, and it has done them no harm. On my own Chinese servants smoke and I have seen it in Chinese merchants' houses. I used to see them smoking the opium, and then they would transact their business. I have no reason to think that opium produces any bad effect. With regard to laborers, I myself had some experience in Newchwang. The river gets frozen there for three or four months, so that there is no navigation. We have to send our letters by couriers on a very long journey, and it takes days to reach certain places. The only person who can take this journey is a Chinaman who smokes opium because the weather is so very cold, sometimes fifteen or eighteen below zero. In my opinion it is the opium which serves him as a stimulant. It is not only the case with men, but I have seen females as well as males smoking opium, and I have not seen any ill-effect from it. Soldiers also used to come to the merchants' houses and smoke opium, and I never saw any vice in them during my ten years in China. I never had occasion to dismiss a servant on account of opium, nor have I heard of any Chinaman committing any offence under the influence of opium.

By Mr Fanshawe — I think about 300 or 400 chests a month are shipped from Singapore to China, a good proportion in Chinese boats. In order to avoid the heavy duty levied in China, they try to smuggle in in Chinese boats, risking their life and property simply to avoid the heavy duty. Opium is more easily smuggled out of Chinese ships than it would be out of English ships, because English ships go direct to Hongkong, and they keep a register of all the opium landed there, while the Chinese can go here and there. Opium is a harmless drug if taken moderately, and I do not see why the Government should do away with its monopoly without a just cause, any change in the present system of manufacturing will raise suspicion in the minds of the Chinese, and they will be unwilling to deal in Bengal opium as they do now-a-days. The effect of any change will be less consumption in China, to the loss of all concerned in the opium trade in India, Government included. Morally, Government will be held responsible for the loss of this trade to its subjects. In my opinion it is the duty of the Government of India to give its support to the opium trade, and sustain it in the interests of the country. I may add that by stopping the supply from India Persia will take the lead. There have been already 10,000 chests of Persian opium freely imported into China, and if we stop shipping opium, Persia will take the lead. There will also be an increase in the cultivation of the poppy in China. So that no good will be done to the Chinese by our stopping it.

#### **Evidence of five Chinamen.**

The following were called in and examined through an interpreter. Messrs Lim Sin Khoo, Iyak, Eup Ate, Pin Yen, and Assowie, one of them was a book-keeper employed by Messrs Eng, Hong, & Co., another employed by a firm of boot and shoe makers, another a Doctor of medicine, another a Professor of Chinese, and another a priest of the Chinese Church in Calcutta.

By the Chairman — The spokesman, Mr Pin Yen, Chinese Doctor, said that some Chinese use opium as medicine and some smoke it, and for some diseases it is very good. Smoking was not harmful to the Chinese generally. It was very good for some sick persons. If any man took too much, it did him harm.

By Mr Wilson — I practise medicine in Canton. I came to see some relations in Calcutta. I do not smoke myself, I do not require it. If I were sick, it would be very good.

In reply to Mr. Fanshawe, Mr Eup Ate said that he had smoked for seven years. He began it before he was sick. Opium-smoking is

not like brandy. Opium does not make them drunk, brandy does. Chinamen do not regard opium-smoking as good or bad

In reply to Mr Wilson, the same witness stated that he was a teacher of Chinese in China, he had been five or six years in Calcutta, and was with the Amban as interpreter. He knew Hindustani as well as Chinese.

### **Evidence of Mr. James Munro, C. B.**

By the Chairman —I was formerly Inspector-General of Police in Bengal, after that Commissioner in Bengal, and finally Chief Commissioner of Police in London, and I am now engaged in this country as a missionary. All the remarks I should like to make refer only to Lower Bengal. I refer to that province, because all my service was there, and I have special means of being acquainted with the circumstances of the people. With the other provinces, I have only a second-hand acquaintance. I wrote a pamphlet on the subject in answer to various questions that were put to me, as to the opium trade generally being an obstacle to missionaries. It is with reference to that point alone that any facts which I have acquired in my experience are to be applied. I do not wish to give an opinion, but merely to state facts which I know to be applicable to missionary operations in Lower Bengal alone. As I have stated in my pamphlet, so far as I am aware, the cultivation of opium and the connection of Government with opium form no obstacle whatever to missionary operations in Lower Bengal. I base that statement upon my previous experience. With reference to the people at large, the great majority of the people know nothing whatever about the cultivation of opium, or the connection of the Government with the opium trade in China,—absolutely nothing. You may go miles and miles, for days and days, and ask the people in the villages and they know nothing whatever about opium, or the Government connection with it.

The witness read the following extracts from his pamphlet. The income realized by the Government of Lower Bengal from the consumption of opium by the inhabitants of the Province is about sixteen lakhs of rupees (excluding license fees), or say roughly about £20,000—including license fees it will be about £140,000—surely no very large sum to be made from the indulgence in a particular drug by about seventy millions of the population of a Province.

“Turning now to the actual amount of opium consumed by the inhabitants of Lower Bengal, the figures are as follows —In the whole Province containing a population of above seventy millions, the total consumption of opium, according to the latest figures published, is about 1,440 maunds (of 82 lb avoirdupois, —that is to say, the annual amount

of opium consumed *per head* is about sixteen grains. Of this somewhat more than a fifth is consumed in Calcutta alone, leaving about 1,525 maunds, or about fourteen grains per annum per head, as the total quantity of the drug consumed by the remaining sixty-nine millions of the inhabitants of Lower Bengal. There is, moreover, no reason to believe that the consumption of the drug is increasing, while the facilities for indulging in opium in its pernicious forms are being steadily restricted by reduction of the number of shops for opium smoking. During the last ten years the amount of opium consumed has not increased beyond the rate of growth of the population of the districts in Lower Bengal, in which it is chiefly used, and the number of licences for opium-smoking shops stands as below :—

Average number of licenses for opium-smoking shops from			
	1885 to 1890	..	463
Number of such licenses in	1890-91	...	390
"	1889-90	.	435
"	1888-89	..	454
"	1887-88		454

I should mention that the estimate of seventy millions for the population was based on the figures I had access to at that time. According to the last census it would be considerably more.

I gave some statistics showing the consumption of opium by divisions. Again I must say with regard to the population that the estimates are derived from the figures I then had access to.—

Division.	Population.	Annual Consumption.
Burdwan	7½ millions*	326 maunds.
Presidency (including Calcutta)	9 "	653 "
Rajshahye	8 "	210 "
Dacca	9 "	99 "
Chittagong	4 "	58 "
Patna	15½ "	97 "
Bhagulpore	8½ "	151 "
Orissa	4 "	298 "
Chota Nagpore	4½ "	52 "

Consumption, therefore, is comparatively large in the Capital, Calcutta; in the Rural Divisions it is highest in Orissa, least in Patna, inconsiderable in Dacca, Chota Nagpur, Chittagong, and Bhagulpore.

I was Inspector-General of Police for five years, and the subject of the cause of crime was a matter of special attention on my part. The



whole of the serious crimes of Bengal passed under my review I also inspected districts, not from my office, but by going to them, and mixing amongst the people at the various police stations and hearing all that had to be said upon the subject, and the conclusion which I came to from wide experience was that so far as regards crime opium has no perceptible influence in causing it. So far as figures go, it would appear that where most opium is consumed you have a very ~~large~~<sup>small</sup> amount of crime. I instance the case of Orissa, where most of the opium outside Calcutta is consumed, and there the crime is trifling, there is hardly any such thing as serious crime in Orissa. It was always the province, *qua* police, that we thought was the least important, and there you have the most opium consumed.

In the Patna Division where the greatest amount of opium is ~~grown~~<sup>grown</sup> you have a very considerable amount of crime. There is no doubt that the most important and serious crime is in the districts in Eastern Bengal, such as Jessore, Dacca, Bakurgunj, Tippera and Mymensingh.

In the Patna Division where there is a small consumption of opium there is more turbulence and disorder than in Orissa, but they are not nearly so turbulent as in the Eastern part of Bengal. In the district of Gya you have a large amount of crime against property. There is very little consumption of opium in Eastern Bengal, the average is about five or seven grains per head of the population.

The opium habit has practically no effect whatever on the village life of Lower Bengal. The amount consumed in the villages is a mere trifle. The frequenters of opium dens are idle, useless fellows, not particularly or necessarily criminal, but people who have taken to the habit, and who consume opium no doubt in many instances to excess. These are the people upon whom it has a very bad effect, but the general frequenters of opium dens—by which I mean opium smoking shops as distinct from selling shops, are lazy, idle, useless fellows of all classes, sometimes of the better classes, but generally of a lower class. The people who smoke opium are decidedly of a lower class than those who eat it. They go to the *madak* shops, or where there is any *chandu*, to the *chandu* shops, but the notion of these opium shops being places where the police can find out clues of crime is a pure myth. You do not find clues of crime in *madak* shops. It has been stated that just as you would go to the pawnbroker in London to find out crime, you would go to a *madak* shop here to find out crime. But you do not go to the pawnbroker in London for that purpose, no professional thief ever goes near a pawnbroker. He has his own "fences" who get rid of all the property he

has, and he never goes near the pawnbroker. In the same way the police do not go to the *madak* shops to find out clues to crime. They may find bad characters frequenting the *madak* shop sometimes, but they do not go there to find out clues to crime.

I have been for many years a member of the corresponding committee of the Church Missionary Society, and I have come across a good many missionaries in that connection, since I have been here at work. I have come across many more, but I do not recall any missionary to whom I spoke about his missionary work who ever suggested that the opium trade and the Government connection with it in Lower Bengal formed any obstacle to his work. Since I came here I have made a point of asking all the missionaries whom I have come across especially in the District of Nuddea (a district that has been held by the Church Missionary Society upwards of sixty years), and not one of these missionaries have ever experienced any obstacles in his missionary work on account of the opium traffic and its results. I have talked with missionaries in other districts in the same way, and I have not as yet come across any missionary who has expressed an opinion that the opium trade did form an obstacle, or who could show me any facts which warrant any such opinion, supposing he had expressed it. There was one exception. In one of the districts I met one of the zenana ladies engaged in missionary work. When I had talked to her and asked her about the difficulties she had met with, and the progress she was making, she wound up by saying "Then, Mr. Munro, there is this dreadful opium trade." I thought I was going to hear some facts, and said to her, "what do you mean exactly, have you many shops in this place?" She replied, "Well, I do not know, because of course, we never go there." "Do you mean," I said, "that you have seen much evil resulting from the presence of those shops where you are stationed?" She then said "Well, if you put it in that way, I have not." I asked "do the Natives talk about it and say that it is an obstacle to your mission?" "No," she replied "I cannot say that they do." "What exactly do you mean, how is it that you find opium an obstacle to your missionary work?" "Well, Mr. Munro" she said "the trade must be bad." I said "That is not what I want. I want to know *how* the trade is bad and how it is prejudicially affecting your mission work?" and she had nothing whatever to say. She had simply formed an opinion that the trade must be bad and she fitted in the facts to support that theory. That is an opinion that I have often found expressed at home in a similar way. That is my experience with reference to missionaries. As a missionary myself, in my own expe-

rience going amongst the village districts where I am perfectly well known, and when the people would not have the slightest hesitation in talking to me, I have never heard an adverse opinion in regard to opium expressed. My daughter has been itinerating during the last year in the villages in the north of Krishnaghur District and neither in the zenanas nor anywhere else, have the women or the men ever expressed the opinion that opium was in any way an obstacle to missionaries. I say that especially about zenanas. So far as my daughter is concerned and other ladies that I have met with, who have visited zenanas, there is not one of them who can tell me anything about the horrors of the opium trade in the zenanas. And that I believe is the experience up to date of the Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, Mr Alexander has so stated—that hitherto he has not been able to get any ladies to come forward and give evidence as to the evils which they saw in the zenanas. That is precisely my experience so far as I hear. Of course I have not visited a zenana, but that is undoubtedly the experience of my daughter and other ladies of the Zenana Mission with whom I have talked on the subject in more than one district.

I do not think the regulation which has been recently issued forbidding the smoking of opium in licensed places, likely to have a beneficial result. I base my opinion upon what I have seen in a similar case in London with reference to the closing of public houses after half-past twelve. They used to be open all night. Then I think in 1875 they were closed after half-past twelve, and the result of that closing has been an enormous increase in unlicensed workmen's clubs, and the evil they have done in London is incalculable. It is heart-breaking to see the evil which the establishment of those clubs, especially in the north, in Hoxton and other places, has caused in London. The increase of those clubs is distinctly attributable to the closing of public houses. I do not say it was a good thing to keep the public houses open all night, but I say that the means taken to diminish the evil have led to a far worse evil—namely, the bringing into existence of those unlicensed workmen's smoking clubs. The same thing, I anticipate, will happen when you drive out the characters who frequent the smoking dens. you will find they will be smoking in clubs or unlicensed premises or in their families, which will be far worse. As a matter of fact, I saw it stated in some of the papers that since the order for closing the shops has been carried out in Bombay, resort has been had to the establishment of clubs, and that naturally the Government has failed in prosecuting the owners of those clubs. On that account I think that in driving away those evils

—admitting, for the sake of argument, that the smoking is an evil—and bringing it into unlicensed premises over which the police have no control, and especially introducing it into families, will have a disastrous effect. I am bound to say that there is much more evil done to India by alcohol than by the consumption of opium, and I think there is very much more evil done by the consumption of *ganja*, which is absolutely pernicious so far as my experience goes, than is caused by the consumption of opium. I note that specially. It is grown in the district of Rajshaye, and I believe that the Commissioners heard evidence of the evils done in that district by the consumption of opium, but I did not hear a single complaint as to the evils that occurred from *ganja*, in the district of Rajshaye in which *ganja* is grown. It is one of the districts in which it is grown, and in that district and in many other districts, and in connection with crime generally, if I were asked my opinion about the connection of *ganja* with crime I should say that it had a direct effect upon crime, and especially it leads as is shewn by figures, to a decided increase in insanity. The proportion of lunatics admitted in the asylums suffering from *ganja* is very large. I can give no opinion how it can be done, but if restrictive measures could be introduced in any way, I think they would be a decided benefit to the country, and a very much greater benefit than any attempt to restrict opium, which, so far as my experience goes in no way affects Lower Bengal prejudicially.

By Mr Wilson —Q—You refer to a memorial presented to the Secretary of State. Have you that memorial?

A—I have not the memorial here.

\* Q—Then in the remarks you are making you are answering something we have not before us?

A—I did not put the memorial in. I was not asked to do so.

Q—In your pamphlet you have given us some figures about the income from the consumption of opium, sixteen lakhs of rupees?

A—Those were figures for 1890-91 or 1891-92.

Q—The figures brought before us by Mr Gupta for 1890-91 show twenty-one and a half lakhs?

A—Then I will modify it to that extent. I think it was sixteen lakhs without the license fees.

Q—Are you aware that the duty and the license fees together now amount to twenty-seven and a half lakhs?

A—No, I am not aware of it, but I accept your statement.

Q.—You do not agree with the idea that the *madak* and *chundu* shops correspond with the pawnbrokers shops in London ?

A.—Not at all

Q.—Do you know that that was put forward in an official paper by Mr. Gupta on behalf of the Government Excise Department ?

A.—I do not know in what capacity I entirely disagree with it from my knowledge of the police here and the police in London, and I think if you asked him he would admit that it is wrong

Q.—I asked him two or three days ago, and he adhered to it ?

A.—He certainly does not know about the pawnbroker in London as I do, and I do not think he knows so much of the police in Bengal as I do I was a Magistrate for many years and took a special interest in the criminal classes, and I was Inspector-General of police for five years Mr. Gupta, so far as I know, never had anything to do with the police in Bengal except for a time when he was a Magistrate

Q.—You gave us a case of a zenana lady who did not know anything about it You really do not attach any importance to that incident ?

A.—None She had no facts, and the other zenana ladies told me that they saw nothing In fact, they have nothing to see or to tell about the evils of opium in the zenanas, and they have never found it an obstacle to their mission work in the zenanas

Q.—In reference to many strong things that have been said by missionaries in connection with the opium question, is it not a fact that they relate largely to China ?

A.—Quite so, I am only speaking of Lower Bengal

Q.—Is it not a fact that the strongest expressions used by missionaries in regard to opium refer solely to China ?

A.—Principally to China, but India is also included

Q.—I notice that in your paper eight or ten times you quote the phrase "burning moral conviction" in inverted commas Would you like to say anything as to why you quoted that phrase, apparently in derision ?

A.—Not in derision I saw it in an article in the *Spectator*, and it struck me as very appropriate to the way in which in some quarters, the opium discussion was being conducted A great many, no doubt, estimable men are firmly convinced and have burning convictions about the evil caused by opium without knowing very much about it, and they allow their burning moral convictions to overcome their discretion, their regard for facts, and their Christian charity, because they absolutely denounce everybody who, whether he has had experience or not, disagrees with them

Q.—And you thought it worth while to put it before us in inverted commas ten times ?

A.—I thought that was the root of the whole things—burning convictions without discretion, or regard for facts

By Mr Fanshawe.—With regard to the Patna division where the poppy is largely cultivated, I admit that it is a common belief that a certain amount of opium is kept back by the cultivators and that my view must be qualified by that consideration

Q.—I understood you to express an opinion as to the danger of generalising in India from the experience of one province or even of one district ?

A.—That certainly is what I have always felt, and that is one reason why I confined my remarks to a province about which I know something. The circumstances of Lower Bengal are in no respect the same as, we will say, of the Punjab, or Burma, or Madras. The circumstances of different districts even in Lower Bengal are all different. I can instance that very well in reference to two districts—Nuddea on the one side, and Jessore on the other. If you attempt to carry out the same policy in those two districts you will surely fail, the circumstances of the ryots in one are quite different from the circumstances of the ryots in the other. Having been in Jessore I went to Nuddea, and if I had carried out the same policy there, as I had in Jessore, for example, in times of famine, I should have failed absolutely. That shows how, even in given provinces, the circumstances of each district are often very different. The circumstances of Behar, for example, are totally different from the circumstances of Orissa and Lower Bengal, the people are of different races. And *a fortiori* if you extend the generalisation from districts to provinces the argument will have greater force.

Q.—With regard to the closing of licensed smoking shops your view is clear, is it not, that the wiser policy would be to keep them open because the people visiting them would be subject to police control ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Though you do not say that bad characters necessarily go there, you think that idle men do congregate there, and that the wiser policy would be to keep them open because they would be under direct police control, that is your view ?

A.—Yes, just in the same way as it is better that public houses should be under police control in London than that gambling clubs into which no policeman can enter should be established

**Evidence of Mr. J. M. Gibbon, C. I. E.**

By the Chairman—I was formerly a Member of the Legislative Council of the Viceroy. I arrived in India in December, 1854, or thirty-nine years ago. Roughly speaking, of that time I spent two years in the Gorakhpore district as assistant in a zemindari, two years in Calcutta in a merchant's office, eleven as an indigo-planter in Chumparun, twenty-two in charge of the Bettiah Estates (in Chumparun, in Tirhoot, in Sarun, and in Gorakhpore), and two years in England. Opium is largely given to children and used by people who live in malarious districts. There is a general consumption of it by the non-agricultural portion of the community. I have not observed that the consumption of opium has caused any serious moral or physical injury. It is principally used as a medicine or in the nature of medicine. Some people who have come to us from the North-West having once taken to opium cannot throw it off. They take it as a stimulant. To prohibit the use of opium for other than medical purposes would, I believe be impossible. To attempt it would be an exceedingly unpopular interference with the personal habits of the population, and would lead to smuggling from neighbouring States, especially Nepal. Our Government is a strong Government, and poppy is a crop easily seen and detected where grown, the cultivation could of course be prohibited in British territory and stopped, but the growth could not be stopped just outside our frontiers. If the Government prohibit the cultivation in the province, the cultivation in Nepal will be largely increased and opium smuggled into the province, instead of through it. To prevent smuggling from Almora to Jalpaigori I look upon as an impossible feat. The only change I would recommend in the public interest is the suppression of smoking dens, and in the interest of the cultivators, that the Government should be more liberal to them in bad seasons and know their own minds better regarding the area they wish to put under poppy cultivation. At present after a good season the Government try to decrease the area and strain every nerve to increase it after a bad one, whereas the cultivators' wishes run the other way, the cultivators wish to increase after a favourable season and to try other crops after an unfavourable one. It is for the interest of every class that the poppy cultivation should be retained to the interest of the tax-payer, the merchant, the landholder and cultivator. To the tax-payer and merchant inasmuch that the loss of revenue to the Government would have to be supplied by direct taxation or by duties levied on other goods. To the landholders as it enables their tenants to meet their rents. To the cultivator it is profitable in many ways,—first, the price paid by Government

is a fair one and an average yield per acre pays a fair profit on cost of cultivation ; there are often great prizes, that is to say, the profits are often extraordinarily large, the work or labour to be bestowed on it is light, all members of the family can take part in it, the cultivator is sure of his market, he is assured of being able to dispose of his produce, he receives comparatively large sums in advances without interest, the receipt of such advances enables him to pay his rents and pay for his clothing. Poppy may be sown any time between the 15th October and 10th December according to season and heat of sun. He receives two or three advances in the season. Did he not receive such advances to meet his rents he would have to sell the produce of his summer crops just as they were reaped when prices are at their lowest. He therefore makes a treble profit on the cultivation of poppy, the actual profit on cost of cultivation, the use of money without interest, and a saving on sale of his other crops. It is also profitable to many who have large areas to be brought under the plough, insomuch that it may be sown late, and the cultivator may sow it last of all if he so wishes. Oats are the only crop I know of that may be sown with a chance of success after poppy. Wheat, barley, peas, gram, oil-seeds, etc., etc., must all be sown quickly or the season is lost. Larger profits may be made from other crops than is received from poppy, but I know of no other crop that can take its place. Ginger will yield larger returns, but ginger can only be grown in shade. Turmeric also, but all lands will not yield turmeric, and only special castes grow it. Sugarcane also but sugarcane requires heavy labour, uses the land for the whole year, and I have known good or crude sugar to be drug on the market, unsaleable in some seasons. Tobacco in some few cases gives enormous profit and is increasing enormously in cultivation, especially in Tirhoot, but tobacco-growing requires special knowledge, great care and hard labour, monopolizes the soil in most cases for a twelve month and cannot be grown in all lands. The produce of Behar is considered good enough by Native smokers who hide the taste of the tobacco with other articles, such as gourd and pine-apple, but Behar will never produce tobacco good enough for the European market for the amount of salt in the soil and the dust the leaf absorbs in the west winds, these give a biting taste to the tobacco that Europeans cannot endure. Poppy, on the contrary, is a cold season crop, the cultivator first gets his Indian corn, his early rice or some other rainy season crop off his land and then his poppy, he is paid for his opium and sells the poppy-seed, and if the season is an early one, he may probably get a crop of cheena off it also. If the cultivator deems it necessary to take an advance on his other



crops from a trader, he must pay heavy interest on the advance and also dispose of his crop at less than the market value and at a time when the produce is at its cheapest. I do not think the prohibition of poppy cultivation will affect the rate of rent. I have asked as many Natives as I could get to talk upon the policy of prohibition and they were all against it.

By Mr Wilson —Q—You consider that the poppy crop is a profitable crop ?

A —Decidedly

By the Chairman.—Q—They are ready to take the advance, but not always willing to cultivate the poppy ?

A —Yes. After they have sown the poppy they collect the dust in ridges in order that the seed may not be affected by the heat of the sun. People take an advance, and they make these ridges simply to hide their failure to sow it.

By Mr. Wilson —Q—These people are excessively poor, are they not ?

A —That is not my opinion of them.

Q —Can they pay their fines with facility ?

A —Not always.

Q—What happens if a man cannot pay his fine ?

A —He generally pays the fine, but he does not always return his advance until he is forced to do it. I have never known a man imprisoned. When a man has made up his mind not to fulfil his contract he is generally in a position to pay his fine when the time comes.

Q.—What is the security that the Government gets for the advance ?

A —None. They have power to force these people under the law to return the money, just the same as any other contractor.

Q —You said just now that under certain circumstances some pressure had to be used—what kind of pressure ?

A —That is very difficult to explain. The whole district is divided into zillas, and the zilladars, or the people who expect to superintend the cultivation, bring moral pressure to bear. I do not know any other way. You have to be constantly nagging at a man to do a certain thing, you cannot strike him or punish him or fine him. It is a moral influence—the influence of the name of the Government. The only man that can possibly influence him to enter into the contract is the bund-

aswar, or head villager, who often receives the whole of the advances from the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.

Q — You have referred to alcohol and ganja ; are you a teetotaler ?

A — I am not.

Q — If you had sons or nephews you would not object to see them taking a little alcohol in some form daily ?

A. — No.

Q — Would you have an equal complacency in their taking a little opium daily ?

A — It is contrary to our customs to take it ; I do not exactly know whether I would or not

Q — That is all you wish to say on that point ?

A I really have not thought it out , I do not know whether I would or not

By Mr. Fanshawe.—Q — Is it a prevalent belief among the people with whom you have been thrown for so many years that opium is a preventive against chills or malarial influences ?

A. — It is

Q — Do I understand you to mean, that the beginning of the habit is in connection with some definite disease ?

A — These habitual takers have taken opium for many years, long before I had the pleasure of their acquaintance I do not know how they took to it or where they began.

Q — You have touched on an interesting point which has also been referred to in the statements of other witnesses—that the medical and non-medical uses of opium merge very much into each other , is that your experience ?

A — Decidedly.

Q — One cannot well distinguish between the two ?

A. — No

Q — The man who takes it habitually has often begun it in connection with some disease and then he retains it as a habit, as a stimulant ?

A — Yes .

Q — With regard to sugarcane, the substitution of this crop for the poppy would be limited by the condition of labour and also by the demand in the market ?

A — By both. Manure would also be very difficult to procure for the sugarcane. Sugarcane is a crop that you must begin to grow at the begin-

ning of March or the end of February. From February to the end of June is one long drought, and unless they are able to irrigate their sugarcane it would be a failure to a certain extent unless the soil is a moist one. In other places, as in Shahabad, the irrigation placed at their disposal has largely increased the cultivation of the sugarcane

Q.—You can irrigate the sugarcane from canals ?

A.—Yes, but if you irrigate from canals you will raise the whole of the zemindari influence against you, because they are thoroughly impressed with the opinion that drainage from the canals brings out the salts in the soil, making it useless and barren, and that any irrigation to be beneficial, on any land, whether for poppy or sugarcane or tobacco or any other crop, must be well water, and only well water, irrigation, not drainage.

Q.—May I put it in this way, that in dealing with the question of substituting sugarcane for opium we must take into consideration the extent of the market, the extent of the supply of the manure, the character of the soil, and the predilection or acquired knowledge of the cultivators ?

A.—Yes

Q.—I understand you to regard tobacco as the crop which could be best substituted for opium if a market were available ?

A.—There is one other crop that may run opium close—oilseeds, but they depend so entirely on the state of the market that you cannot take that crop into account. Oilseeds have risen about forty per cent in value within the last fifteen years, since the year of the famine, 1875. Were the market to run the other way and go down, oilseeds would not be in the race with opium.

Q.—Can they be grown on the same class of soil and under the same conditions as opium ?

A.—Yes, that is the only crop that can be grown under the same conditions.

Q.—As things stand, tobacco is the crop which you regard as the main substitute for opium ?

A.—Provided there is a market and that people can acquire a knowledge of the special conditions.

Q.—Have you any reasons for thinking that a large extension of the market for Indian tobacco is likely ?

A.—No ; certainly not. I believe that all home-grown tobacco must be consumed in the country. The landlord would not suffer directly from

the prohibition of the poppy; he would find a little difficulty in recovering his rents

By Mr. Wilson.—Q.—You have told us that after a good season Government tries to decrease the area?

A —Yes, it is decreased in cast-off bad lands.

Q —One sees by the tables that it is sometimes largely decreased?

A —There are good lands and bad lands under poppy. Every Sub-Deputy Opium Agent will do his best to keep up the outturn, but when the order comes from head-quarters to decrease, he has to decrease, and he does decrease. He knows who his good ryots and contractors are, and he will give up their lands in preference to others. It therefore often happens that the cultivation is decreased without decreasing the outturn.

Q —Had they any compensation for being deprived of the license?

A.—No. It is a mutual contract. The Government are at liberty to throw it up this year, and the ryot has nothing to complain of. On the other hand, the ryot may refuse, and the Government cannot complain.

#### **Evidence of Mr. S. M. Peal, F. R. G. S.**

By Mr Fanshawe —I resided in Assam as a tea-planter for over thirty years and I have had considerable experience of the use and effects of opium in Sibsagar, having employed Assamese, Kachari and Bengali labour for clearings and cultivation, issuing the drug myself; the monthly supply for some ten or twelve years amounted to about forty pounds. We grow tea on the rolling lands that are above the level of the water, these tracts where the cultivation is carried on. The whole of Upper Assam is a very level country, and perhaps fifty per cent of the area is completely flooded in the height of the rains. In the dry weather the water is carried off by the rivers. When I went there in 1863 I opened the tea estates entirely by Assamese labour. There were no Bengalis at that time. The villagers were induced to come in and work for the planters by the issuing of opium as a means of currency. They came in in large numbers for the purpose of the clearance and cultivation of our tea gardens. We now use Bengali labour almost exclusively. And Kacharis to a small extent from Western Assam. As far as my experience and enquiries went, I never knew boys to indulge in it, and young men very rarely—unless as a medicine, its use was confined to middle-aged and elderly people—as a stimulant and sedative, never producing injurious results at all comparable to the use of spirits among the European working classes, of whom I had an extensive experience for seven

years in London, ere coming to India. I could seldom detect an opium-eater by his personal appearance and general habit, and when exploring across the frontiers, east and south-east of Assam, for six weeks at a time, often under very trying circumstances, have been surprised to hear the men of my party of ten or twelve, call for the "*kama*" (local name for opium-eater) when 'anything extra, difficult, or hazardous had to be done. On several occasions I have found out, by this means, that some of the best and most powerful and vigorous of my party were the opium-eaters or smokers—a fact which I was not prepared for from imported prejudices. The staying power and recuperative effect of the drug I have often had opportunities of observing on these expeditions, as also at other times when prolonged physical exertion was necessary, similar, apparently, to the effect produced by cocoa. Its effect on old people seems to be notoriously beneficial. I have known of but one death due to it, and that was a case of determined suicide by a Bengali coolie. It is a common belief, that the use of opium is a preventive against chills and malaria. It was generally supposed to be begun in that way as a preventive, and also as means of curing attacks of fever and malaria. People have come to me for opium in order to cure them. I have not known that persons who eat opium are specially liable to be carried off by sickness and dysentery. I think it is not generally prejudicial, but it is possible that occasionally it may be carried to such an excess as to be very injurious. But I have no cases of that kind before me. I am not aware that the people of Assam look upon it as a vice. They regard it as we regard the smoking of cigars or tobacco. I have seen a good deal of opium-smoking in Assam and have not seen any ill-effects from it. Any prohibition of the drug generally would be, I think, most disastrous in Assam, and would result in its being at once extensively cultivated in all the hills around among the many savage hill tribes, over whom we hold no jurisdiction. It would be extensively smuggled in as it was in the past. I have seen large quantities in former years, taken by Nagas, to sell in the bazars, and used to have samples of it done up in the rolls like tobacco. This illicit growth and sale of the drug by these hill savages has ceased entirely through the Government opium being of such superior quality. I have frequently gone on expedition across the frontier towards China and Upper Burma in old days when it was desirable to ascertain where the passes were. I used to take ten or twelve men with me. Under these circumstances it used to be exceedingly trying, and travelling was in some cases very dangerous. Great physical exertion was frequently necessary among the people, and my experience is that in cases of that kind opium is frequently beneficial. I saw the beneficial effects of it.

. By Mr. Wilson —Q —No planter now distributes opium, I think. It is distributed at centres, opium shops. Unless a man takes a license from the Government he cannot supply the opium to his coolies. That was given up twenty years ago.

A —The opium habit seemed to have been a very old one, it may have been several hundred years old. When we came into the country the Government opium was found to be so superior to the Native that they invariably came to me for it in preference to their own opium. I went into the country about the time when the prohibition against growing it was promulgated, and the habit having been handed down from generation to generation the people came to me for pure Government opium and took it away for their parents and others in the villages.

Q —You say that you have not seen boys take it, and young men rarely, did they not suffer from malaria equally with other people?

A —They may have done so, but I have never known cases of boys taking opium as a habit.

Q —If the district were malarious, and if opium were a valuable prophylactic, you would expect that the boys and young men would be advised to take it equally with their elders?

A —It may have been given to them by their parents medicinally, but I have not known it as a habit among boys.

Q —Had you either for yourself or for the people working for you any available medical assistance?

A —For a portion of the time I had, in the earlier days I had not. For the first two or three years I had not any medical assistance; subsequently we had Native doctors practising according to the European system.

Q —Did they recommend the habitual use of opium as a prophylactic against malaria?

A —No, I cannot say that. The Assamese will not take medicine from a practitioner as a rule.

By Mr. Fanshawe —Q —Can you tell me whether opium-eating is more common or less common now than it was when you went there thirty years ago?

A —I should think it was less common now than it was in the old days.

Q.—Are you aware that the price has been greatly increased since the number of shops have been reduced?

A.—The price is about double.

Q.—And are you aware that the shops have been very much decreased ?

A.—I think so

#### **Evidence of Mr James Wilson.**

Mr Wilson, lately Editor of the "Indian Daily News," in reply to the Chairman said, that in that capacity during the last quarter of a century, he had become acquainted with the opinions of the people of this country through the Native press, which he had had to read and by correspondence from all parts of the country, he found the general feeling to be adverse to the abolition of the traffic, On moral considerations the people say that if opium were suppressed, greater evils would arise from the consumption of drugs of a more obnoxious character, and that there would also be a very large increase in the consumption of alcohol Mr. Wilson quoted from *Reis and Rayyet*, a Native paper, an account of a private meeting of the Behar Opium-Eater's Association, at a fair at Sonapore, in which it was stated that they decided to emigrate to Native States, if opium were abolished Personally witness had had very little experience of opium, some of his own men had been opium-eaters, but he had not observed any particular effects from the use of the drug. With regard to the fiscal considerations, there was undoubtedly great reluctance on the part of the Native population to lessen the revenue at present derived from opium, as they feared that some attempt might be made to supply its place by direct taxation They have no hope whatever that England will compensate India for the loss of the opium revenue, they form that conclusion from the fact that whatever expense can be put upon India, is put upon India He also read an extract from the "Hindoo Patriot" commenting adversely on the evidence of the Missionaries who had appeared before the Commission, and especially the suggestion of a tobacco tax The income tax the witness considered still more objectionable

Asked by Mr Wilson whether he attached the slightest importance to the extract from "Reis and Rayyet," and whether he thought that there seriously was an Opium-Eater's Association of Behar, which sat at midnight for the purpose of cursing this Commission, the witness said that he attached importance to the paragraph from his knowledge of the editor of the paper He had not the slightest idea as to the circulation of the "Hindoo Patriot"

#### **Evidence of Mr. W. H. Byland.**

President of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association. In reply to the Chairman, the witness stated that he had been forty years in the

service of Government, and he presented the following statement of the views of the Association with which he was connected.

The general opinion of the Association is - (1) That the present enquiry has not been called for by any recent development of the circumstances connected with the produce and use of opium (2) That opium is comparatively innocuous as compared with alcohol and other intoxicating stimulants (3) That as a narcotic and prophylactic opium has been largely and beneficially used for generations in a variety of disorders and by great numbers of the people all over India without immoderate indulgence or exhibition of evil effects to an extent which needs national interference (4) That the system of cultivation adopted by the Government under State control is in itself a check upon excessive production and a restriction upon inordinate consumption (5) That the stoppage of the system would inevitably extend the area within which the plant is capable of growth and cause very much distress among the present, cultivators, while absolute prohibition of the use of opium could no more be enforced than the use of other stimulants in every country (Great Britain included) and without the introduction of greater evils (6) That as regards China and other foreign countries dependent upon India chiefly for the supply of the article, to prohibit its export would only remove the bar to production in other countries where the plant can almost equally well be cultivated (not excepting China itself) and where benevolent sentiments do not prevail (7) That it is not less within the power of China, if so disposed, to prevent the traffic if it be in reality regarded with disfavour, though such from most accounts would not appear to be the case (8) That if the revenue from opium be discarded, there is no other substitute that can be devised without introducing further taxation which would press heavily not only upon those who contribute to the revenue by the consumption of the drug, but upon those also who are innocent of its use The Association, therefore, so far as India is concerned, considers enquiry to be unnecessary, and would offer a respectful but strong protest against imposition of any portion of the cost, or of any fresh taxation, as its result, upon India. The witness further said on his own behalf that the tendency for many years past had been to limit opium consumption and that the orders and policy of Government had been to raise the revenue by preventing illicit smoking and manufacture without stimulating consumption He enlarged on several paragraphs of the Association's statement.

In reply to Mr. Wilson, witness said —

The objects of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association are to advance the political, moral, social and intellectual improvement of the



community in this country ; and of course we are in a large manner interested in anything that concerns the revenues or taxation or anything that might follow upon any general measure of the Government. It was established within the last ten or twelve years. Its subscribers number about 400 or 500. He also said that the statement presented by him had been considered by the representatives of the Association assembled in committee and that they had approved it by resolution.

Q —Are you aware that the Anti-Opium party in England did not ask for the present enquiry ?

A —I was not aware of that.

#### **Evidence of Mr. D. Z. Zemin.**

This witness represented the Calcutta Trades Association of which he was past-master. He was also an Honorary Presidency Magistrate. He had had considerable experience among Native workmen, of whom about ten per cent took opium and except very occasionally when they were drowsy or a little heavy, they always did their work efficiently. He believed that prohibition would be exceedingly distasteful to the people generally and would cause much discontent.

#### **Evidence of Mr. T. N. Mukharji.**

The witness stated to the chairman that he was first Personal Assistant to the Director of Agriculture and Commerce in the North-Western Provinces, then he was Officer in charge of the Exhibition Branch of the Government of India, and in connection with that office he was sent to England during the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, he also went to make arrangements for the Glasgow Exhibition. He now held the post of Assistant Curator in the Economic and Art Section of the Indian Museum. He considered alcohol many times worse than opium. He had found opium very useful in removing drowsiness during the hot weather, and he thought that Europeans, especially missionaries, entertain a prejudice against opium. It would be most cruel and mischievous to forbid to the people of India the use of a stimulant, or narcotic, or sedative which their instinct told them was good for them. In reply to Mr. Wilson, he admitted that he had no absolute facts or statistics to prove that opium arrests natural decay after the age of fifty. It was his opinion, based upon observation. The habit of taking opium in excess for those who cannot afford it leads to petty theft. In reply to Mr. Fanshawe he said that he had tried opium five or six times, but was not a habitual consumer.

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

## Evidence of Mr. Robert Steel of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

In reply to the Chairman, the witness stated that he had been twenty-two years in India as a merchant, during which time, he was four years a member of the Viceroy's Council and sixteen years a Port Commissioner. He had not been concerned in the opium trade with China. As a representative of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce he stated that the commercial community are satisfied that no evils result in India from the consumption of opium. On the financial question they consider that it is impossible for us to do without the opium revenue, that no substitute can be found for it. They considered that it would be bitterly resented by all classes throughout India if an attempt were made to take away the opium revenue. The Government of India is in severe financial straits already.

The only possible thing that might be done, would be to put on an import duty on piece goods which would not produce more than a third or a fourth of the present revenue from opium, or to double the salt tax. Supposing the export of opium to be prohibited and assuming that the other produce were grain instead of opium, the value of that produce, would not be more than a quarter of the value of the opium which is exported. The balance of trade would thus be affected, to the extent of six millions sterling, and as the power of the Government to maintain the value of the rupee at a higher point than its silver equivalent depends upon the balance of trade, the prohibition of this export would prejudicially affect the value of the rupee. Occasionally small quantities of silver come from China to India, but the trade is comparatively unimportant. China pays for her imports from India of opium and yarns, she pays in London by the produce of the silk and tea that she sells in London. Through the exchange banks the matter is adjusted in London. Occasionally some adjustment is required by sending bullion one way or the other, but that is comparatively unimportant.

During my twenty-two years in India I have never known a case of anybody being injured by eating or smoking opium. The witness estimated at 200 millions sterling as the sum that would have to be provided by the Home Government to compensate India for the loss of the opium revenue.

**By Mr. Wilson.** *The Chamber is composed entirely of Natives of Europe, and represent the European commercial community*

The sum of 200 millions includes the capitalization, '1st, of the revenue, then, a sum which will be required to compensate the Native States for the loss of revenue, and finally, possible claims by cultivators for the diminished value of their lands. Altogether not less than six millions sterling per annum would have to be found, representing a capital sum of 200 millions

**Q**—You have referred to the possibility of compensating cultivators, did you ever hear of any cultivator being compensated?

**A**—No, I have not heard of any

In reply to Mr Fanshawe, witness said that he had an intimate knowledge of the tax payers of the country, and claimed to represent their views with some authority

#### **Evidence of Mr. W. H. Cheetham.**

**By the Chairman**—I have been in India twenty-eight years, and have been intimately connected with the industry of the country, and employ over 6,000 natives. For the first seventeen years I was engaged in the piecegoods trade, since that time I have been connected with a firm which has very large industries in cotton spinning, indigo factories, tea factories, steamers, collieries, and shellac works. Witness considered that the Natives of India would object very strongly to increased direct taxation arising out of the loss of the opium revenue. Every possible tax had been considered by the financial advisers of the Government only to be condemned. A cotton tax would probably be the least objectionable. At the rate at which it was last levied, it would produce about a crore and a half. He would object strongly to an increase of the salt tax, except under the direst necessities of the Government. He had been informed by a Native doctor that one-third of the population of Bengal, is unable to get salt and that the people burn the stems of plantain trees to get a little saline matter to mix with their food.

About 5% of the working people eat opium. They draw a wide distinction between eating and smoking opium. The latter is generally objected to and he believed the practice to be harmful.

#### **Evidence of Mr. Ferdinand Schiller.**

— This witness was also a representative of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and concurred in the views of the two previous witnesses.

#### **Evidence of Mr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D.**

**By Mr Wilson**—I am a Fellow of the Calcutta University in the Faculties of Arts and Medicine, and I am Lecturer of Forensic

Medicine in the Calcutta Medical School I have been in practice as a medical man for the last six years. I was for two years House Surgeon of the Mayo and Chandney Hospitals, where the daily average of out-door attendance exceeds 300. In my opinion, ten per cent in the upper and middle classes, and barely one per cent amongst the lower classes take opium. This, of course, includes cases of opium-smoking. Opium-eating is prevalent more among the upper and middle classes than among the lower classes, whereas opium-smoking is almost confined to a section of the lower stratum of the middle classes. People belonging to the masses rarely take opium. The cultivator, for instance, the palki-bearer, the fisherman, the day-labourer, etc., who have to lead a life of active muscular work, rarely take opium, though many of them have to pass the greater part of the time in the malarious swamps of Bengal, nor do their means allow them to pay for their luxury of opium and its accessories. A few members belonging to the lower classes, however, for example, tailors, carpenters, etc., who have more time and little work, join the middle classes in indulging in the luxury of opium-smoking. The habit is generally acquired between the thirtieth and fortieth year, though cases of opium-smoking have been known to commence earlier.

Q—What are the motives which induce people to take opium?

A—In most cases indulgence and luxury. Some take it as an aphrodisiac. I may add that when taken as an aphrodisiac, I have also seen it administered to their wives in many cases.

The habit when once formed can be relinquished but with difficulty. In some cases most dangerous and evil consequences have taken place after relinquishing opium. I know cases of that sort. But ordinarily the habit can be relinquished with some difficulty.

Q—Is there a marked difference between moderate and excessive consumers?

A—That is a question which I could not thoroughly understand, it was rather vague, and I could not answer the question definitely.

Q—Do you draw any particular and marked distinction between those who are in the habit of taking opium in small quantities or in moderation and those who take large or excessive quantities?

A.—In the case of alcohol it is easy to make a distinction, but in the case of opium, it is not easy. Under one ounce of alcohol corresponding to two ounces of brandy, it would be almost harmless; but in the case of opium it is different.

Q —What proportion of income does each habitual smoker spend on opium ?

A —The proportion varies in different classes. It is very trifling with the members of the upper class. It is a pretty good drain upon the income of the members of the middle class, and it is not less than one-fourth of what a member of the average lower class people earns as his day's wages.

At first a small dose is sufficient to fulfil the desired object, but as the victim becomes more and more habituated to the drug, he generally not only requires a larger dose, but also at a shorter interval. When habitually taken opium acts primarily as a stimulant chiefly of the brain, but also to some extent of the circulatory system. When taken in small doses (less than one grain for the first few weeks, this stage of excitement lasts for five or six hours and is followed by sound sleep. The after-effects when the primary sleep and excitement have passed away, are nausea, headache, depression and listlessness. As the habit becomes confirmed the excitement diminishes and the miserable after effects become more marked and more prolonged. To combat this depression of spirits, a larger dose is often had recourse to. When the victim sticks to a very small dose and when he can manage to live upon milk and other similar nourishing articles of diet, the evil effects of the habit are not so well marked for a fairly long time, but the process of digestion being slowly impaired, malnutrition is sure to supervene in the long run. As a rule, however, the dose is indefinitely increased in most cases, the process of general nutrition suffers materially within a short time, the power of resistance to disease generally becomes diminished, and the opium-eater becomes predisposed to some diseases, for example, cold, bronchitis, diarrhoea, dysentery and dyspepsia. The power of repair becomes also slow, and hence the confirmed habit of opium-eating is looked upon by surgeons as a disadvantage in operation cases. In confirmed opium-eaters comparatively trivial attacks of ordinary diseases such as fever, diarrhoea, bronchitis, cold and specially dysentery, have generally a grave prognosis, almost every medicine fails to produce its re-action on the system. As a rule opium-eaters die of very trivial complaints, opium has no dietetic value. The exhilaration of mind produced in the first stage of opium intoxication, together with the sense of freedom from anxieties and sufferings of all sorts is the great temptation of opium. In beginners this effect is extremely deluding, and if he sticks to a small dose may last with him for a fairly long period. But with a confirmed opium-eater who often takes to an increased dose gradually, this effect vanishes soon. Sooner or later torpor

of the mind supervenes and the victim becomes dull, apathetic, enfeebled intellect and, in fact, almost demented. The moral nature of the victim is also slowly but steadily affected. He becomes gradually more and more idle, sluggish, shy, and cowardly, he has no scruples to give false evidence in Court, he has no scruples to steal other people's property. In many cases the moral sense becomes almost perverted. All these effects are much more pronounced in the opium-smoker than in the opium-eater. I am connected with a Life Insurance Company in this city. Ordinarily we do not pass opium-eaters, but if any candidate takes small quantities we pass him at a higher premium.

Q —Can you give any opinion as to the proportion of injurious results that follow from opium-eating ?

A —In three-fourths of the cases in some shape or other

Q —What do you say in regard to any popular opinion as to opium being a protection against fever ?

A —I do not think that the public have the idea that opium is a protection against fever

Q —Do you think that it is ?

A —No, I do not. There is no evidence to prove the supposed prophylactic action of opium against fever

Q —Is the use of opium specially useful in malarious districts ?

A —I do not think it has ever been used as a useful medicine in malarious districts, either as a prophylactic against fever or as an antiperiodic in the course of the fever. It has, however, been tentatively used by Dr O'Shaughnessy in malarious fever in the intermission stage as an antiperiodic, but as regards this action he himself says "The antiperiodic virtues of the drug are scarcely procurable from any safe doses." I have been to several of the malarious districts of central and east Bengal, and nowhere have I noticed opium appreciated by the people as a preventive against malarious fever, on the other hand, I have noticed opium-eaters equally affected with malaria with abstainers

Q —Do you consider that opium is needful, or that the people believe it to be needful to enable working people to get through their work ?

A —Certainly not. In Bengal the working people are much better without opium. The use of opium would make them much more idle, dull, and torpid than they actually are. On the other hand, I have been credibly informed that the lower class people of Assam and certain hill people who take opium are extremely idle and leave the greater part of



their manual work to their wives and daughters who take less opium and are much more active. Compared with opium-smoking the chair-cookes of China, who on the authority of Mr Cooper could work well as long as they got their daily supply of opium, but "became wretchedly weak and miserable after a single day's absence, and who would be down with water streaming from their eyes, listless, disinclined to eat and unable to sleep," without opium our working people, malaria stricken and ill-fed as they are, are much more advantageously situated, being much more regular, steady, and hardy in their work. I have a very poor idea of the working capacity of the opium-smokers. I speak of Bengal only.

Q.—Do you think that the taking of opium is regarded as disgraceful or discreditable?

A.—Yes. The words *afimkhor* (opium-eater) and *golikhhor* (opium-smoker) are terms of reproach.

Q.—Do you think it would be desirable to prohibit the sale of opium except for medical purposes?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Do you think that the public opinion of India would justify anything of that kind?

A.—So far as I can gauge public opinion they will support it.

Q.—If there were any further restriction or prohibition, would it be desirable to make special provision for the wants of those who are already accustomed to the use of opium?

A.—Yes, at least for some time.

Q.—Do you suggest what means could be adopted for doing that?

A.—It may be under a doctor's prescription as other medicines are sold.

Q.—Is it not the case that there are large parts of Bengal in which there are no medical men available?

A.—Yes, there are some places, and in those places I think it may be sold through Post Offices, as quinine is now dealt out to malaria stricken people by the Government.

The word "opium" does not occur in early Sanskrit words on medicine. The date of *Vaba Prakas*, the earliest work in which opium is mentioned, has been fixed by Dr Wise as three hundred years ago. There is a particular disease mentioned in that book which prevailed first amongst the Portuguese and is called *Firingi Rog*. That is the name under which syphilis is described in *Vaba Prakas*. That shows that the book must have been compiled after the Portuguese had been in India.

Q.—I dare say you are aware that we have had some Native practitioners here according to the Ayurvedic System who have told us that opium was recommended in some of their books eight hundred years old?

A.—Yes, but I do not think Vaba Prakas the earliest work in which opium is mentioned, is eight hundred years old.

By Mr. Fanshawe Q.—Your professional experience extends over six years?

A.—Yes

Q.—Has it been limited to Calcutta?

A.—Not entirely limited to Calcutta I have made frequent tours in Eastern Bengal and Central Bengal and other places Calcutta is the principal field of my practice

Q.—Have you made the opium habit among the people a subject of any special enquiry or study?

A.—Not of special enquiry, but I have frequently come in contact with opium-eaters and I have noticed them and formed my opinion about them.

Q.—In one of your answers you have stated that the cultivators and the fishermen who pass the greater part of their time in the marshy parts of Bengal are not in the habit of taking opium Where have you acquired your experience of these classes of people?

A.—In several districts I belong to the 24 Pergunnahs, and am a Native of where cultivators and fishermen never take opium. I have several times been to Eastern Bengal on professional visits in Mymensing and Dacca

By Mr. Fanshawe Q.—You have stated that the lower class people spend on an average one-fourth of their wages on opium?

A.—Yes They take four grains in the morning and four in the evening, costing altogether two pice, which with the additional expenses on account of extra diet represents one-fourth of the average daily wages?

Q.—Do not persons of the middle class eat sweetmeats as a matter of ordinary diet?

A.—Ordinarily they do not take sweetmeats every day Some of them take it at tiffin. The opium-eater requires more.

Q.—You have stated that the confirmed habit of opium eating is a great disadvantage in operation cases have you performed operations in the case of opium eaters?

A.—I have not, but I know surgeons who have avoided it, unless it was an operation of emergency

My own professor, Dr McLeod, used to say that it was a disadvantage, and he mentions this in his book

Q—You are not speaking of your own knowledge ?

A—From my own knowledge I would avoid operations on opium eaters.

**Evidence of Mr. Herambu Chunder Mittra, M.A.,**

By Mr Wilson I am Professor of English in the City College, Examiner in English of the Calcutta University

The City College has about 1,500 students in all departments I belong to Nuddea, which is a malarious district I have never seen opium used as a preventive or prophylactic against malaria, nor is it ordinarily used as a domestic medicine It is only so used in some few cases

Q—What do you wish to say about its physical and moral effects ?

A—As far as I have been able to observe, its physical effects are injurious in the extreme Want of energy and vigour manifest itself almost in every way The people are generally able to distinguish opium-eaters or opium-smokers from those who do not use the drug, by their emaciated features, sunken eyes, and their lethargy and indolence In the case of a very well-to-do man who can afford to take plenty of milk and other nourishing food, the injurious physical effects of the drug are to great extent counteracted, and I remember one case in which the physical effects of opium-smoking were not perceptible I cannot account for this exceptional case otherwise than by supposing that the physical constitution of this man was sufficiently strong to resist the effects of the drug But in the vast majority of cases opium-smoking is disastrous in its results. Opium eating is less injurious than opium-smoking, but, except when used for medical purposes, it is seriously harmful Very often opium-eaters and opium-smokers die a premature death from dysentery or other diseases I have known some most painful cases of premature death from the effects of opium As to the moral results of the consumption of opium, in most cases all manhood is crushed out of a person addicted to it The habit is so terrible in its power over its victim, that he is driven to the sacrifice of all considerations of health, respectability, and usefulness for its sake

Q.—What do you say in reference to public opinion in connection with opium eating ?

A.—That the habit of taking opium is looked upon as disgraceful, is easily proved by certain well-known facts In the first place, the extreme secrecy with which the habit is indulged in, indicates the strong reluctance of opium-eaters or smokers to allow their habit to be known

Secondly, the terms *golikhor* (opium-smoker) and *afimkhor* (opium eater) are regarded as most abusive, being taken to cover the meaning of the words "insane," "dishonest," "indolent." They would be resented by any one to whom they might be applied. Thirdly, if any one looks very lean and emaciated, people say of him "he looks like an opium-smoker or opium-eater." I may mention two more facts to show how extremely disgraceful and degrading the habit is considered to be. An aunt of mine was advised to take opium as a medicine in consequence of certain disorders from which she suffered, she said, with a very sad look "If I must take opium, I shall submit to it as an inevitable affliction." My father suffered from chronic diarrhoea for nearly twenty years before his death. He once said in my presence that he had been advised by many to take opium, but he would never do it even for the sake of life.

Q—Have you any suggestion to make as to how the loss of revenue might be made up, provided there was a loss and England did not make it up?

A—If the traffic can be shown to be injurious and degrading, we must submit to the inevitable loss and must make it up as the Government of India is now bound to make up the loss it has inflicted upon itself by granting an exchange compensation allowance to its European servants. I am not a financial expert, and can only speak of the question from a moral aspect. I further suggest that a curtailment of expenditure might be profitably tried in certain departments of administration in order partially to meet the loss. In my opinion the sale of opium ought to be permitted only at dispensaries and on the prescriptions of medical men.

Q—Is it not the case that there are many parts of Bengal in which there are no medical men to give prescriptions?

A—Certainly such is the case, but I would rather have people go without opium than have it placed within their reach, as is the case with other poisons that are not vended except in dispensaries.

Q—If the cases in which there are no medical men who could give these prescriptions, is there any class of persons in the Bengal villages who you think might be entrusted with a discretionary power to supply it for medical purposes and to refuse it where it was not so required?

A—I am certainly aware of various classes of men who practise, though they are not qualified. There are some whom I would not entrust with the sale of opium, on the other hand, there are others who have had some training, they have not passed the examinations of the Medical College of any Indian University or of the medical schools, but they have studied at these places or seats of learning for several years.

and, therefore, have some little knowledge of medical subjects, Such men I would entrust, and also those who have had some little training in the old Hindu method of treating cases, the *Kobirajee*

I have been invited to give evidence here by the Indian Association which consists solely of Natives of India and by the Brahmo Somaj.

By Mr. Haridas Voharidas — Would you compare the effects of opium with those of alcohol taken in excess ?

A — I would rather avoid making any comparison because I regard both as extremely injurious

Q.—Both are equally bad ?

A.—Yes in different ways It may be that alcohol stimulates, and opium enfeebles and enervates—that is the only difference Nature in both cases is ruined, disordered, in the one case by being pushed beyond its normal limits, and in the other by being enervated and enfeebled.

Q — You say that the opium habit and the alcohol habits are two evils ; if you were asked, which you would prefer ?

A.—It would be like asking me whether I would prefer to die of cholera or paralysis.

By the Chairman — You regard the indulgence in alcohol or in opium as a vice ?

A.—Yes

By Mr. Haridas Voharidas — Which would you deal with first ?

A — From a financial point of view I do not know that I can make any suggestion of any value, but I might suggest that a further restriction of consumption might be practised in both fields

By Mr. Fanshawe.—Do you think that the alcohol habit is doing more harm than opium or less harm ?

A.—I confess it is rather difficult to make any comparison I have known people who have been ruined by indulgence in alcohol, and I have known people who have been ruined by indulgence in opium.

Q — You are not prepared to express any opinion as to the comparative harm which from your point of view they are doing.

A.—It would be difficult for this reason, that the proportion of those who indulge in alcohol or opium varies considerably at various places. If I saw in certain villages that opium was doing a great deal of harm I should be inclined to do away with it, and if in another place I saw alcohol was doing harm I should be inclined to do away with that,

**Q.**—Do your remarks apply more particularly to the eating of opium in excess or also to the eating in moderation?

**A.**—I find it very difficult to make a distinction between eating in excess and moderate eating though I can make a distinction between those who eat opium for medicinal purposes, and those who use it merely for the pleasure they derive from the narcotic effects of the drug.

There are cases where the use of it has begun only from the motive of preserving health, and that is not regarded as equally disgraceful with those cases in which it is used merely for its narcotic effects. A sufferer from certain complaints might be advised by his doctor to take opium for a day or two, and that would not be regarded as disgraceful, but if, even from motives of health, he took to the use of opium daily his feeling would be that he would not be quite understood, that his conduct might be misinterpreted.

**Q.**—Does the word "*Afim-khor*" mean an opium-eater in excess or in moderation?

**A.**—I do not know the quantity of opium which must be taken daily to justify the word "*afim-khor*." It would not be used as a term of reproach to those who took opium only for medical purposes.

**Q.**—Do you mean those who use it habitually for medical purposes?

**A.**—If habitually used, all I can say is that it would be unjust to them, but people would apply it even to them.

**Q.**—Is the opium habit fairly common in the Nuddea District?

**A.**—In one sense it is not common, only a small proportion of the population take it. The proportion of opium eaters or smokers varies considerably in different localities. In some places fifty per cent of the people take it. In a place near my own native village fifty per cent of the people at least are consumers of opium, but in my own native village I have not seen a single person using opium.

**Q.**—Can you give any reason for that?

**A.**—The only reason I can think of is that the habit is contagious, and that it spreads in those places where there have been opium smokers for a long time.

#### **Evidence of Mr. H. M. Rustomjee of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.**

Mr. Rustomjee in reply to the Chairman said that he was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Chamber and had been an Honorary Presidency Magistrate for more than sixteen years. He did not remember ever having a serious case of a criminal addicted to opium-eating. He considered that the majority of opium-eaters were consumers in moderate

amounts, and that to them the use of opium was beneficial and harmless. The people of India were very heavily taxed already, and if fresh taxation were imposed in consequence of the suppression of the opium revenue, it would create great discontent and dissatisfaction. If the use of opium were prohibited, he thought it would lead to the increased consumption of alcohol, which would demoralize the people. He did not think it could be done by reduction of the Civil or Military expenditure, as reducing salaries would bring an inferior class of men into the Government Service.

#### **Evidence of Mr. Nil Comul' Mookerjee.**

Mr. Mookerjee, a Port Commissioner, concurred in these views. He had had the management of the Tagore States in Rajshahi, Mymensing, Pubna and Krishnaguri, and in these districts he often came into contact with the poorer classes. The poor ryots took opium for medicine, or as a special luxury. To these men it often meant life, and he thought that if deprived of opium, they would be driven to use spirits, ganja, and other still more deleterious drugs. He thought it would be desirable if some sort of prohibition were adopted to put a stop to the increasing cases of opium suicide. In reply to Mr. Wilson, the witness stated that he would not like his son or nephew, or any young man in whom he was interested, to take opium except under medical advice. He also stated that there was reluctance on the part of many to admit the habit. He had himself taken opium for the last six years for medical reasons. He had tried four or five times to give it up but had fallen ill and was advised not to give it up.

#### **Evidence of Rai Sheo Bux Bogla, Bahadur.**

Rai Sheo Bux Bogla, Bahadur, in reply to the Chairman, said he was a merchant and banker, whose family originally came from Rajputana. He spoke of the use of opium by Rajputs and Sikhs. He considered that the use of opium amongst those races did not bring physical injury or demoralization.

In reply to Mr. Wilson, he estimated the proportion of Rajputs and Sikhs who take opium as a daily ration at seventy or eighty per cent.

In reply to Mr. Fanshawe, he said that he represented the Marwari community amongst whom the habit of opium-eating was fairly common. It was generally begun about the age of forty. His own country was Bikaner.

#### **Evidence of Maharaja Sir Norondra Krishna.**

In reply to the Chairman, the witness said — Generally the people of Bengal, especially in malarial, low and swampy districts, take a small

quantity of opium as a tonic to preserve their health ; the dose daily used is not exceeded by them, and it has no deleterious effect either on their moral or physical condition. People begin to take it for medical purposes, though after the disease is cured they continue it to prevent a relapse

The prohibition of the cultivation of poppy lands would deprive the Government of a large amount of revenue derived from the manufacture and sale of opium, and I do not know that the Government can devise any other easy mode of raising this large income. Besides, the moderate use of opium does not lead to the commission of heinous offences. It is beneficial to health, it is better than brandy or whiskey. He had no personal interest in poppy growing. He believed that the consumption of a moderate quantity of opium is not harmful to the persons who take it. It does affect the brain and has no depressing effects afterwards like the drinking of alcohol.

In reply to Mr. Wilson, witness said that if he had sons or young men in whom he was interested, he would not allow them to begin taking opium regularly in their younger days. He would not allow them to touch opium until they arrived at a ripe age, say fifty, if necessary for their health. In their younger days he would object to their touching opium, or any intoxicating drink. His opinion that the people of Bengal, especially in malarial swampy districts, take opium to preserve their health was based on what he had heard generally from others. He was personally acquainted with some of the Eastern districts of Bengal. When Deputy Magistrate in the service of the Government, he had visited Dacca, Farridpore and Mymensing, in which places people take opium. This was about forty-five years ago. He had lived in Calcutta since his birth except eight or ten years, when he had lived in the Mofussil. He had once visited his zemindari in the twenty-four Pargunnahs, about sixteen years ago. In his capacity as Senior Vice-President of the British Indian Association, he signed a letter to the Commission, in which it was stated that prohibition would reduce rents. His explanation of this was that the opium cultivators pay more rents to the zemindars than the cultivators of other food crops or grains. He admitted, however, that if the ryot cultivates sugarcane or other plants of his own inclination in the poppy growing lands, he could not claim reduction of rents. He could not cite a case where the zemindar had reduced the rent because Government had withheld the license to grow poppy. So far as that part of the letter of the British Indian Association was concerned, he had no personal knowledge, and referred the



Commission to the other members of the Association who have lands in the poppy growing districts.

In reply to Mr. Haridas Vehardas, witness said that did not think the habit of opium so bad as that of drinking.

In reply to Mr. Fanshawe, witness expressed the opinion that the habit of eating opium was generally begun by middle-aged people who take small quantities after arriving at the age of fifty, when they find that their digestive power is weakened

By the Maharaja of Dhurbhanga —Q —I suppose the chief objection of the British Indian Association to the abolition of the opium monopoly is that, in case the opium revenue were done away with altogether, Government would very likely have recourse to direct taxation, and I suppose the people of the country prefer the opium monopoly to any direct taxation ; is that the view of your Association ?

A.—They think that the opium monopoly should not be abolished.

#### **Evidence of Maharaja Durga Churn Law, C. I. E.**

In reply to the Chairman, the witness said that he was at the head of a large commercial concern. He attended, not as a representative of the British Indian Association, but to represent his own individual views. He expressed the opinion that people who consume opium have taken it as a remedy against miasmatic influences and several other diseases, such as diabetes, bronchitis and complaints arising from cold. His experience did not extend beyond Calcutta and Chinsurah. He had not heard of a single case of moral depravity of people who were accustomed to eat opium in moderation. On the contrary, he had always heard of the good effects of opium among people after they have reached about fifty. It prolongs life ; that is the general impression, and I believe it is a fact. It gives tone and spirit to the man who takes it. It is, so to speak, an instinctively adopted indigenous remedy or preventive against what are known to be the effects of the unhealthy surroundings of the people. There would be a general discontent among the people if a new tax had to be imposed upon them in lieu of the revenue derived from opium. The zamindars in the opium districts would suffer by prohibition as they could not get the same rents for their lands.

By Mr. Wilson.—Q —Under the Tenancy Laws can the ryot claim a reduction of his rent if he ceases to grow poppy ?

A.—I think he can.

Q.—Do you know of any case in which he has got a reduction ?

A.—I am not aware of any case.

Q.—Do you take any personal part in the management of your estates ?

A.—I do not take a large interest in the management of my estates now-a-days. The active management is left with my son.

The letter which he had signed was not a letter of the British Indian Association. Those members of that Association, who signed it, did so on their own individual account.

Q.—It is dated from 18, British India Street, is that the office ?

A.—That is the office of the Association.

Q.—And I think the last signature is the signature of your secretary ?

A.—Yes, but he does not sign as secretary,

Q.—The first signature is the signature of one of your vice-presidents ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—This was given to me as a letter from the British Indian Association, is that wrong ?

A.—It was a mistake.

Q.—Still you signed it and it expressed your opinion ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Now will you explain it a little ? In paragraph three you state that “where a monopoly is so strict as that of opium is in India, it becomes practically prohibitive to the general body of the people;” that is your opinion ?

A.—Yes, it is as far as possible.

Q.—Then you say that “prohibition of the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium would practically mean unjustifiable interference” ?

A.—So it will be.

Q.—But then it is already interfered with as regards the general body of the people ?

A.—Yes, so long as the poppy is allowed to be grown it is not a prohibition.

Q.—But so far as the general body of the people is concerned it is prohibited ?

A.—In cases where it was already allowed, if prohibition is to take effect, it will interfere with the rights of the people. It is already allowed by the Government to be grown in certain districts ; on what

ground is the Government to take away that right from the owner of the place ?

Q.—I must not answer questions, but ask them. I want to know why you say that prohibition is unjustifiable interference when in the greater part of India it is absolutely prohibited ?

A.—It is absolutely prohibited in other parts of India, but where prohibition does not exist, if Government tried to withdraw or to prohibit in those parts, it would be an interference with the rights of property there.

Q.—In the case of Assam, prohibition of the poppy was enforced twenty years ago, do you consider that was unjustifiable interference with the rights of private property ?

A.—I have no knowledge of that interference, and therefore cannot answer that question. If the Government were bent upon poisoning the whole or the greater part of its subjects, I would certainly prohibit opium everywhere, but such not being the case, I do not see why there should be any attempt made to urge the Government to prevent the cultivation of opium.

Q.—If it is an interference with the rights of property and the liberty of the subject, is not that liberty already interfered with as regards the larger part of India ?

A.—We see that it is good for the country that that prohibition is made, because if the whole of India was allowed to grow opium, there would be a famine every year.

Q.—Then if it is good for the country that the prohibition is made to prohibit it entirely would be justifiable ?

A.—I do not think so.

By the Chairman.—Q.—If you thought that opium was necessarily a poison you would consider that the policy of the Government should be changed ?

Q.—Yes, I would.

Asked by Mr Wilson how he knew that the cultivators would be opposed to the change, he replied, It is fair to conclude that when their interests suffer they would be opposed to the change, it is not that I have consulted them.

Q.—Then you speak not from what you know but what you conjecture ?

A.—I have not consulted them.

By Mr. Fanshawe :—He had no poppy cultivation in his own zemindar, and had no practical knowledge of it

**Evidence of Maharaja Sir Joteniro Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I.**

In reply to the Chairman, the witness stated that his property did not lie in the poppy growing districts. He believed that the moderate use of opium was beneficial to the people, but in cases of abuse it might bring on injury. He thought that the cases of abuse were relatively very few, and that medicinally opium was of great value to the people of India. He considered that a policy of prohibition would create a great deal of dissatisfaction, and would drive the people to an increased use of alcohol.

In reply to Mr. Wilson, witness stated that he had signed the letter of the British Indian Association with five other gentlemen. Asked whether he could throw any further light on the question put to the last witness about reducing rents, he replied, the question stands in this way. When the ryots grow a crop which is less profitable than another, the zemindar is bound to reduce the rent by no legal act, but it is for his own interest as well as the interest of the estate that he should not claim the same amount of money or rent from him which the ryot used to pay when cultivating a crop which paid him better.

Q.—As a matter of fact when the Government withholds the license to cultivate the poppy from any ryot, does the zemindar reduce the rent?

A.—Most likely he will have to do it. It was never tried. When a cultivator has been cultivating beetle-leaf or sugar-cane, and when by rotation or by some accident he cannot get an equally paying crop the zemindar is obliged to make a reduction in the rent; and it necessarily follows that the same thing will occur in a case of this kind.

Q.—Can you give any cases in which it has been done?

A.—In my own estate several cases of the kind have occurred.

**Evidence of Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, C. S. I.**

In reply to the Chairman, the witness said that he held estates in five districts in the Bengal Presidency, none of them in the poppy growing districts. He agreed with the previous witnesses. He thought that greater restrictions might be introduced as regards smoking *chandu*.

In reply to Mr. Wilson, he said that he regularly visited his estates during the last thirty or thirty-five years. He had seen opium taken habitually as a preventive against fever and with good results. In some cases they take it for failing health, for failing powers of assimilation for the gradual decay of bodily power and a variety of causes.

In his native town of Utterpara he estimated the number of persons taking opium to be 821. This large proportion of opium takers might

be due to the large floating population. He thought that the Government monopoly is far from injurious, and that its abolition would result in a much greater use of opium in this country.

In reply to Mr. Fanshawe, the witness said that he knew hundreds of cases of moderate opium-eating. After a certain age, it was found very beneficial. It does not affect their health or their morals injuriously, on the contrary, it renovates the health in the case of persons whose powers of assimilation have been failing, whose health has lost all elasticity, whose powers of nutrition have been diminished; in all these cases opium does immense good, even in the case of young men of thirty-five. One of my nephews takes opium. He began when he was thirty; he is now thirty-seven. The habit is not regarded as showing any want of respectability or as a vice, whilst the man who drinks alcohol labours under a social ostracism.

In reply to Mr. Wilson, witness said that the letter from the British Indian Association could not be considered as an official letter, because the question was not discussed formally at a meeting and a decision come to. This letter, however, represented the views of all the members of the Association whom he had had occasion to consult on the subject. In August last their Association did send a formal letter to the Viceroy upon this subject, but the present letter was not an official one. Asked why in the official letter of August last, the Association stated that "no proposal is made by the advocates of these measures in recouping the loss of revenue that this country would suffer at this critical time," he replied.—Because we have not heard that any proposal has been seriously made for recouping the revenue if the opium revenue is lost to the country.

Q.—Then you do not know anything of the publications of the of the society to which you are referring?

A.—We refer simply to the resolution of Parliament.

Q.—I am referring to the Anti-Opium Society. Let me ask you, is Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, the late Judge of High Court, a member of your Committee?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Was he invited to sign this letter?

A.—I believe he was not at the time in Calcutta.

Q.—Are you sure that he was not asked to sign this letter?

A.—I am perfectly ignorant about it.

**Evidence of Rajkumar Sarvadhikari.**

In reply to the Chairman, the witness stated that he had signed the letter addressed to the Commission in his individual capacity and that he held the office of secretary to the British Indian Association. He concurred in the views expressed by the preceding witnesses. In reply to Mr. Wilson, he said that his committee had not considered this question since their memorial presented in August last. Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter was not asked to sign the letter addressed to the Commission. Witness was editor of the "*Hindu Patriot*." He could not tell how many copies of the paper were taken by Government. He should think about fifty copies, not more. Asked whether he had personal knowledge of the facts stated in the memorial, he said that he had come across many people who use opium. He was not familiar with any opium growing districts himself.

By Mr. Fanshawe —Q —You say that Government takes copies of the "*Hindu Patriot*," does it stand on any different footing from other papers in that respect?

A.—No.

Q —Do you happen to know whether my own office, the Post Office, takes a copy of the paper or not?

A.—I think it does.

Q —I suppose the Government Departments take it as they require it as an advertising medium, or whatever the reasons may be?

A.—As they send to other papers, so they send to us.

**Evidence of Babu Saligram Singh**

In reply to the Chairman, the witness said that he came from a village in the district of Shahabad in Behar, in which opium is not largely consumed. Those who take it as a habit and for the sake of pleasure are generally Mahomedans. Not much opium is used in the district as a medicine. If a man takes opium except for medical purposes it is looked upon as improper.

Q.—Do you think that they would approve of Government prohibiting the use of opium for other than medical purposes?

A.—If opium be supplied freely to the people for medical purposes, if the effect of prohibition be not to interfere with that free supply, and if it does not lead to the imposition of any tax, the people would like to have some further restriction. There are already existing restrictions; but in spite of those restrictions we find *chandu* and *madak* being smoked by the people, and we also find in some cases that opium is taken

*as a pernicious habit which leads to the ruin of people. If some restrictive measures could be adopted to stop the recurrence of those evils it would be very desirable. He had not thought of any scheme for further restriction*

Q.—Do you think it possible absolutely to prohibit the growth, manufacture, and sale of opium in British India for any other than medical purposes?

A.—I do not think at present that it is possible unless Government were to prohibit private persons from growing opium. If the Government were to withdraw the monopoly and leave it open, like indigo and other things, to private individuals, the evils might be much worse

Q.—It has been said that the prohibition of poppy cultivation would reduce rents?

A.—Certainly as regards money rents according to law they could not be reduced, but in Behar and in parts of Shahabad and Gya rent is paid in kind, all my people in Patna and Gya districts invariably pay rent of poppy lands in money, with respect to poppy land, therefore, it is a matter wholly of unconcern with the landlord if the cultivation of the poppy be stopped, because the money rent established by law cannot be reduced. When the tenant agrees to pay a money rent it is his look-out what he cultivates, not the look-out of the landlords. If he does not wish to cultivate upon those terms, he can abandon the tenure

By Mr Wilson —Q—I am a Pleader in the High Court, and I know the law. I know that in no case can a tenant go to the landlord and ask for a reduction of his rent because he has ceased to grow opium

Q.—It is stated on the top of the printed paper that I hold in my hand that you are nominated by the British Indian Association?

A.—When I sent in my manuscript statement those words were not there.

Q—You say in paragraphs five and six that the growing of opium is not viewed as profitable now-a-days. I suppose that is so?

A.—That is so. My special reason for making that statement is that during September or October last I happened to be in my village and some common officer connected with the Opium Department came and reported to me that the lumbaradar was not agreeable to cultivate opium in that village, and suggested that I should ask him or persuade him to enter into an arrangement with the Opium Department to cultivate some lands. I sent for the lumbaradar, and told him that it was desirable that he should cultivate opium unless it was a losing business for him. I

could not compel him to do so, but if he chose he could do so ; he had a free option in the matter, but at the same time I told him it would be desirable if he could see his way to cultivate. The lumbaradar is a man who enters in the contract on behalf of the other tenants. He agrees to take up one hundred bighas or fifty bighas and he brings in other tenants and distributes it between them. He brings the advances from the Opium Department and distributes them, and finally when the opium is sent in he brings the price of it as it is supplied by the cultivators. There is only one man to whom they look up in the village, and he is the lumbaradar. As I have said, I sent for him and asked him whether he was willing to cultivate, but he was not willing because the tenants generally were averse to doing what was not a very profitable business. This was in the village of Kalharia, near the town of Arrah. Later on I had a letter addressed to me or to my brother—I am not sure which it was—a letter from Mr Sen (the son of Keshub Chunder Sen), an officer connected with the Opium Department, saying that he would like to know why the tenants were averse to growing opium, and that he would like to have a conference with me on the subject. If I remember rightly, we said in answer that the reason was that it was not a very profitable business, and therefore they did not like to cultivate it.

Q.—Have you heard of anything of that kind before, or was that the first and only instance ?

A.—Before that I had also heard from those tenants that they were not very keen about cultivating opium, I heard from people also in the Patna District.

By Mr. Fanshawe.—Q.—What conclusion would you found on that single instance as regards the large number of cultivators who cultivate the poppy in Behar, some 630,000 ?

A.—The man who came asked me to persuade a particular tenant to do it, and he said, “There are other villages where the tenants are also unwilling to cultivate.”

Q.—Would you place any reliance upon this as proving general unwillingness to cultivate poppy when you have 630,000 cultivators to deal with ?

A.—Where the growth of sugarcane is fast increasing, as in Shahabad and also in Patna, and in some parts of Gya, there it would be a matter of indifference to the tenants and landlords whether opium or sugarcane is grown. So far as the tenants are concerned, they will prefer sugarcane, which is more profitable.



Q.—Does not the cultivation of sugarcane depend upon various conditions—upon whether there is a market and whether there is certain measure to be had, and various conditions of that kind?

A.—It does not depend upon that altogether. It requires three or four times watering; it takes a little more trouble to water.

Q.—Is it not the case that the cultivator who grows poppy is regarded as a good solvent tenant, likely to pay his rent punctually?

A.—There is this advantage, that when the advances are made, the man is able to pay his rent more readily from the money that he gets, and he is not put to the inconvenience of selling his grain to pay the landlord.

Q.—You think that the prohibition to cultivate poppy would not affect the landlord indirectly?

A.—Indirectly in regard to the payment of rent. In some cases there may be a delay on account of the man not growing poppy.

Q.—You expressed an opinion as to the injurious effects caused by opium. Do you mean by opium-eating in excess? If so, what would be the number of opium-eating cases in excess which have come within your own experience? Would they be few or many, speaking generally?

A.—They are few, and that in towns, not in the villages.

Q.—Would the majority of people who eat opium be those who eat it in moderation?

A.—There are a good number, regard being had to the population but I could not give you the percentage, the majority of people take it in small quantities.

Q.—Do you include in the use for medical purposes the cases of such persons as take opium at a later age?

A.—Yes, to prevent the effects of colds and chills. I admit that it is taken in some cases as a preventive against chills and colds.

Q.—With your knowledge of the country, do you think it is practicable to provide that people who want to obtain opium for this purpose should be able to do so while others should be prevented from obtaining opium for purposes not included under the head of medical?

A.—I have not considered over any scheme, and I should not like to adopt any scheme the effect of which may be to deprive those who want opium for the purposes of medicine of the opportunity of getting it.

By Mr. Wilson.—The lumbaradar is the principal tenant of the village; he gets his name registered in the Opium Department and enters into a sort of agreement with that Department to get certain quantities of land within his village cultivated either by himself or by

others. For these lands he gets advances from the Opium Department.

Q.—Is he appointed by the Government or elected by the villagers?

A.—I should say both. The villagers choose and recognise him as their lumbaradar, and the Government looks upon him also as a man through whom the advances can be distributed.

Q.—He is not a servant?

A.—There is no appointment.

Q.—Suppose the villagers do not like him, can they get rid of him?

A.—They will not cultivate the land at his instance if they dislike him. That is the most effective way of prohibiting him. He is something like a go-between between the Government and the tenant.

Q.—Does he get any profit out of it?

A.—Very little. Perhaps two pice in a rupee for the trouble of going and coming.

Q.—By Mr. Fanshawe—He belongs to the village and he is a representative of the villagers?

A.—Yes.

Q.—But so far as any appointment goes?

A.—The Government does not appoint him.

Q.—In no way?

A.—No. But he is recognised by the Government Department as a go-between so far as opium is concerned.

Q.—He is put forward by the villagers as their representative?

A.—Yes.

### **Evidence of Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar.**

In reply to the Chairman, the witness stated that he was a member of the British Indian Association, that he received a circular asking him to attend and give evidence, not from the Association, but from Mr. Inglis, Mr. Lyall's Secretary. Some time ago a member of the British Indian Association asked him if he would like to give evidence before the Commission, and he said that he would have no objection if he was required. As a medical practitioner, his experience was limited chiefly to Calcutta. He regarded opium as having value, but not much, in affording relief from pains. He did not think it had a permanent value for this purpose. A pretty large percentage of opium-eating originates in the desire to obtain relief from pain. Opium is often recommended by opium-eaters who have themselves experienced some temporary relief from its use, but witness did not approve of such advice. By far the largest class of opium

eaters consists of persons who have taken to the habit for the sake of the pleasures which its intoxication brings on, the chief of these pleasures is what I may call sexual endurance. When once adopted, it is almost impossible to give up the use of opium. I have not observed any serious organic disease or moral depravity, from a moderate habitual use of opium. I have found it when taken in immoderate quantities to produce great mischief. It acts as a poison. Taken in immoderate doses opium often gives rise to fatal obstruction of the bowels and retention of urine from paralysis of the muscular fibre of the viscera; or it may lead to the opposite conditions of diarrhoea, dysentery, and encuresis. It often leads to a condition of the brain which makes the victim lead a most wretched and miserable existence of dullness and stupidity, the very picture of living death. If the dose is suddenly increased, as it sometimes is, then there may be actual apoplexy.

Witness had recently visited two *chandu*-smoking dens and one *madak*-smoking den. The smokers were very familiar with me and confessed many things which I put down. In the first *chandu* shop that I visited all the smokers were males, and did not appear to be such as may be called poor. Indeed, one of them was a zemindar from the North-West. All of them seemed to be well nourished, and some of them even appeared to be robust. I entered into a pretty long and familiar conversation with them. They one and all confessed that they had begun to take to the smoking from the assurance they had received from smokers of its strengthening effects on the sexual powers and they told me that this invariably was the origin of what they all most emphatically called the pernicious habit.

The witness would desire that Government should abolish shops at which *chandu* or *madak* can be smoked or purchased. The smokers themselves would be glad if Government would abolish these shops. He considered opium-eating less pernicious than opium-smoking. He was opposed to the use of all intoxicating drugs, and he looked upon tea, coffee, cocoa, &c., as absolutely unnecessary for men. In his opinion, rest, healthy recreation, and adequate nourishment are all that man requires for the due performance of the functions of life, physical, and psychical. As a practical man, he thought it impossible to prohibit the use of opium, and that Government should strive to regulate its consumption as far as it can. He was not prepared with any specific suggestion, but considered that more stringent measures should be adopted to prevent abuse. In reply to Mr. Wilson, the witness explained that the heading of his statement, in which he was said to have been nominated by the British

Indian Association, had not been supplied by himself. He had headed his paper "Notes on opium-eating and smoking for the Royal Commission," when the print came into his hands, he found it altered. Only one other medical gentleman in India had received the distinction of C.I.E. He found opium to act as a palliative and seldom as a curative agent. It seems to arrest the progress of disease but this is seeming only in the majority of cases. The disease which appears to yield often returns with greater violence. Partly owing to the recklessness of practitioners many a patient has been driven into the habit of taking the drug, from which neither could he free himself nor could he be freed without causing a return of the suffering which had necessitated the use of the drug, or without fresh and peculiar sufferings due to the cessation of the drug's primary action.

The use of which he had spoken for sexual endurance, or prolongation of the sexual act, is afterwards followed by impotence. He did not go so far as to say that the habit cannot be broken, but the cases are very few and far between. The only depravity that he had observed was the unconquerable hankering after the drug. In both the *chandu* and *madaah* smoking dens, the smokers said they would be glad if Government would abolish the shops. They knew they would suffer individually, but they would rather do so than that future generations should be entangled in a habit which entails such a perversion of the will, and in the end deprives them of the very power for the strengthening of which they prized it so much in the beginning," and the owners of the shops who were themselves smokers did not dispute what their customers said. He did not put beer, tea, and opium on a level as things that he would like to see equally abolished. Tea, cocoa, and coffee he regarded as much more innocent than opium, but absolutely unnecessary.

By the Chairman — Alcohol is a deadly poison, one of the worst poisons in existence for a man to take, infinitely worse than opium.

By Mr. Wilson — Q — Is beer worse than opium ?

A — Yes. Whatever contains alcohol is worse than opium as regards its effects on the physical as well as on the mental constitution.

Q — Is that in your experience as regards Europeans as well as the Natives of India ?

A. — I have had very little experience of Europeans who are opium-eaters as to whether the effect of beer and spirits is equal to, or worse than, the effects of opium. If the people take beer in moderate quantities they may not have body or mind diseased in any way, but generally

these things are never taken in moderate quantities. Europeans in India fare worse for their drinking habits in this climate. His practice was in Calcutta and in the suburbs. He did not know much of the habits of the poorer classes in the remote districts of Bengal.

By Mr Fanshawe —Q—His statement that the largest class of opium-eaters take to the habit because of its pleasures, applied mainly to Calcutta. He had chiefly found opium-eaters among Mahomedans, but the habit belonged to all classes. His remarks were applicable more to the middle and upper classes than to the lower in Calcutta. The difficulty in giving up the habit applied to all cases, even to those who only take a grain a day, though it becomes greater with an increase of the doses. In the first *chandu* shop that he visited there were about ten and in the next about eight. The statements made to him by the smokers were volunteered. He simply asked them why they had taken to the habit, and they made that confession. He had not made any chemical or medical analysis enabling him to ascertain the effect in eating and smoking opium. He spoke from simple experience. He would not interfere with the man who habitually smokes in his house, but he thought that private gatherings or clubs for smoking should and could be prohibited.

Q—There has been a certain amount of smoking going on in private places called smoking clubs. Would you propose to interfere with them?

A—It would be impossible to interfere with them.

He did not regard tea, coffee, or cocoa as nourishment at all, if it were not for the little milk and sugar with which they are mixed.

By the Chairman —I am a graduate of medicine in the Calcutta University. I did not say that drinking tends to shorten life.

Q—But you think it a pernicious habit?

A—I do not say it is a pernicious habit, but an unnecessary habit. The time devoted to tea-drinking and coffee drinking might be better occupied.

By Mr Fanshawe —Q—Is it or is it not the case that the British Indian Association sent in your name with those of other gentlemen as the name of those who were ready to give evidence?

A.—I did not know that before this was sent to me. I did not know that I was to come here as a nominee of the Association.

**Evidence of the Hon'ble Gonesh Chander Chander**

I am a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and of the British Indian Association. I concur generally with what has been said by the previous witnesses. Some of those who are addicted to the smoking of *madak* and *chandu* commit petty thefts and other minor offences, but the eating of opium in moderate doses has not been the cause of moral depravity of any kind among any class of persons.

Witness did not believe that the people of Bengal would be willing to bear the cost of prohibitive measures and he recommended no alteration of any sort in existing arrangements for the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium. The prohibition of the poppy would be prejudicial, and would be difficult to maintain in view of the risks from smuggling.

By Mr Wilson—Witness was a member of the legal profession. He visited the outlying districts of Bengal once a year during the vacation. The evidence of Babu Saligram Singh to the effect that poppy cultivation was not profitable, and that the people did not care for it, did not at all affect his opinion as to its being one of the most valuable agricultural resources. So far as witness' information went, he did not think that Babu Saligram Singh was right. He would put the sale of opium under police regulations in Calcutta. He considered the arrangements as to growth and cultivation perfect, but the retail sale ought to be put under further restriction.

By Mr Fanshawe—Eating opium in moderation has no injurious effects on the visible condition of the people or on their moral character. The practice is fairly common. All retail vendors of opium in Calcutta should be placed under the supervision of the police of the thanas in which their shops are.

Q—What do you mean by that—that he would be liable to have his shop visited at all times, or that the police should check his issues or what?

A—There should be some guarantee that purchasers do not use opium for other than lawful purposes.

Q—How are the police to maintain that?

A—In the same way as arms and ammunition are under the police supervision.

Q.—A register being kept of all purchases?

A—Some such thing ought to be done.

MR J. PRESCOTT HEWETT, Secretary of the Commission, was then called to explain how the statement of Babu Saligram Singh came to have

the words "a witness nominated by the British Indian Association" at its head. He stated that he had not had the paper printed, and that the heading was upon the paper when he received it from Mr. Dane or Mr. Inglis. He gave the same answer as to the statement of Dr. Mohendro Lal Surcar. With regard to the letter signed by six gentlemen, dated from No. 18, British Indian Street on which was written "Letter from the British Indian Association", those words were written by his clerk.

Supplement to "Indian Witness," April 7th, 1894.

# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part XIV. 9th December, 1893.

. SITTING AT RANGOON.

*(Containing Preface on the History of the Opium Question in  
Burma, and copy of the new Burma Regulations)*

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PRICE ONE PENNY, or ONE ANNA, for each part.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

## Preface to Report of Burma Evidence.

The facts relating to the opium question in Burma are so different from those relating to India Proper that it seems desirable, for the proper understanding of the evidence taken in Burma, to give a brief sketch of the administration of opium in Burma, based on the official documents presented to the Commission, and on the books from time to time laid before Parliament

### I. Lower Burma

In a Memorandum by Sir Charles Aitchison, then Chief Commissioner of British Burma, on the Consumption of Opium in that Province, dated 30th April, 1880, he says "When reviewing the Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice for the year 1877, my attention was drawn to the change which was alleged to be gradually coming over the Burmese national character under British rule. One of the principal causes alleged was the growing habit of opium smoking. Shortly afterwards, when on a visit to Akyab, I was waited upon by a large deputation of the most influential Natives of the town, who presented a petition describing in very forcible terms the misery entailed on the population by opium, and praying that the traffic in opium might be altogether abolished in Arakan. In consequence of these representations, a circular was issued, on 14th December, 1878, instructing Commissioners of divisions to obtain the opinions of district officers and educated and intelligent Natives on the question of the increase of opium smoking among the Burmese, and to submit for consideration any remedial measures of a practical kind."

Sir Charles Aitchison's Memorandum, which was presented to Parliament in 1881, contains the following summary of these reports.—

"The papers now presented for consideration present a painful picture of the demoralisation, misery and ruin produced among the Burmese by opium-smoking. Responsible officers in all divisions and districts of the province, and Natives everywhere, bear testimony to it. To facilitate examination of the evidence on this point, I have thrown some extracts from the reports into an appendix to this memorandum. These show that, among the Burmans the habitual use of the drug saps the physical and

mental energies, destroys the nerves, emaciates the body, predisposes to disease, induces indolent and filthy habits of life, destroys self-respect, is one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime, fills the jails with men of relaxed frame, predisposed to dysentery and cholera, prevents the due extension of cultivation, and the development of the land revenue, checks the natural growth of the population, and enfeebles the constitution of succeeding generations "

The Chief Commissioner did not, however, advise the total prohibition of the supply of opium, on the grounds that a sudden withdrawal would involve "risk of the lives of the unhappy consumers," and that "there are large numbers of the non-Burmese community, constituting perhaps the most thriving and industrious section of the population, to whom the drug is a necessary of life and by whom it is rarely abused " In consequence however, of Sir Charles Aitchison's representations, the number of shops for the sale of opium was reduced from sixty-eight in 1880-81 to twenty-eight in 1881-82 and to eighteen in 1882-83, the price of the drug was also considerably raised. As a result, the annual consumption of opium in Lower Burma fell from 46,000 seers to 37,000 seers, but it soon began to increase again, and had in the year 1892-93 reached the figure of 64 127 seers, there being at this time twenty licensed shops

In 1890 the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade presented a memorial to Viscount Cross, Secretary of State, on the consumption of opium in India. This memorial was sent to each province for inquiry and report. Sir Alexander Mackenzie was at the time Chief Commissioner of Burma, and he directed inquiries on the subject to be made, similar to those ordered by his predecessor in 1878. He summed up the results of this inquiry by the statement that "the unanimous voice of all respectable Burmans denounces the use of opium by men of their race and temperament as deleterious and harmful in a very special degree. This statement is confirmed by every European authority in the province, official and non-official." "In view of this consensus of opinion," the Chief Commissioner recommended the prohibition of the sale of opium to Burmans and of its possession by them, in accordance with the law already in force in Upper Burma, "save under medical certificate "

The Indian Government, in a despatch dated 29th July, 1891, declined to acquiesce in these proposals, until it should be satisfied, by further facts and statistics, on the following points.

- (1). That the evil to be removed is as great as you depict it;

- (2). That it would be practicable to enforce the prohibition ,  
 (3). That the enforcement of the prohibition would not entail and be accompanied by evils as great as that which it is desirable to remove "

### **Upper Burma.**

In Upper Burma, on the annexation of that country, 1st January, 1881, the British Government proclaimed its intention of adhering to the existing law, which forbade the consumption of opium by Burmans. Provision was, however, made for the sale of opium to Chinese and other non-Burmese residents. The possession of opium by Burmans was not distinctly prohibited in the regulations first adopted, but this defect in the law was remedied by revised opium rules dated 29th August, 1891.

### **Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Proposals.**

In consequence of the Government of India's despatch, Sir A. Mackenzie directed a fuller and more careful investigation of the facts to be made in both Lower and Upper Burma the results of which were summarised in a Note by Mr Donald Smeaton, Financial Commissioner. This note recommended, as regards Lower Burma, the "absolute and speedy prohibition of the use of opium in any form by Burmans," the first step requisite, in his opinion, being "to close all opium shops in the province." He proposed to provide for the needs of (a) "the non-Burmese races who use opium" and (b) "the Burmese consumers who are wholly given over to opium and to whom it has become a real necessity of continued life," by means of a register those entered in the register being allowed still to obtain the drug in limited quantities. Provision was to be made for medical use and for use by professional tattooers, who are accustomed to use it for the purpose of lessening the pain of the operation of tattooing customary with Burmese boys. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in a brief accompanying minute, written on the eve of his departure for England on special leave, endorsed these proposals, with slight modifications as to details. The Government of India thereupon requested Mr Fryer, Acting Chief Commissioner, to "prepare a detailed review of the whole case such as Sir A. Mackenzie intended to prepare had not the circumstance prevented him," and to give his "own opinions and recommendations in the matter." Mr Fryer, in a note dated 14th July, 1892, criticised the figures as to the number of opium consumers in Upper and Lower Burma contained in Mr Smeaton's note, which he considered to be "much exaggerated." Mr Fryer thus commented on Sir A. Mackenzie's proposals, "Sir Alexander Mackenzie proposes total prohibition of the supply of opium to men of all races in Burma. He would allow opium only to persons specially licensed

by the Deputy Commissioner to possess it. He considers that the prohibition could be made effectual. I am certain that it could not. "I would," Mr Fryer recommended, "allow any Burman who has been in the habit of using opium to get it at the present shops . . . provided that he registers himself as an opium consumer, and obtains a certificate from the Deputy Commissioner that he is allowed to purchase opium . . . non-Burmans I would allow to obtain opium as before, though they also should be registered and receive certificates binding them to purchase from specified shops as in the case of Burmans." He considered no change to be necessary in Upper Burma. "To close all the shops in Upper Burma would simply mean that non-Burmans would get their supply by smuggling, and that the control of the opium trade would pass from the hands of Government into those of desperate adventurers." "In addition to rendering the possession of opium by Burmans in Lower Burma illegal as it is in Upper Burma, I would also limit the amount of opium to be issued from each shop." His proposals were summed up thus —

(1) To render the possession of opium by Burmans in Lower Burma illegal, as it is in Upper Burma.

(2) To prevent undue hardship to Burmans in Lower Burma who have become habituated to the use of opium by permitting Deputy Commissioners to grant them certificates that they are opium consumers and may be supplied with opium. A list of all certificates issued would be kept, and copies would be sent to the police and to the opium farmers. The certificates would be issued free of charge. It is of course understood that no man could get a certificate who could not show that he was a habitual consumer.

(3) To fix a maximum quantity of opium to be issued by each shop, based on the number of its legitimate customers, which would be ascertained from the registered number of Burman and non-Burman opium consumers."

#### **The Register Sanctioned.**

On the 10th November, 1893, an influential deputation, representing the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade and almost all the Missionary Societies and Christian Churches engaged in missionary work in China waited upon Lord Kimberley, the newly appointed Secretary of State for India, to urge the suppression of the opium traffic for other than medical purposes. His Lordship held out to them no prospect of acceding to their views, except as regards Burma. On the 9th February, 1898, he telegraphed to the Indian Government to know what decision

they had arrived at with regard to opium in Burma. In reply, the Government of India stated —

“ The latest recommendation from Chief Commissioner, Burma, is to assimilate the rule in Lower Burma to those in force in Upper Burma, that is, prohibit sale to and possession by Burmans, making special arrangements to prevent serious hardship to persons in Lower Burma who are habituated to use of opium. We fear this measure may be followed by extensive smuggling. It will create a new and artificial class of criminal offences, and will afford opportunities for police oppression to an extent constituting a very serious evil. But we feel it may be difficult to defend the differential treatment of Lower Burma, and if your lordship desire it we are prepared to authorize the Chief Commissioner to try what he proposes.” The required sanction was given, and instructions were accordingly given to the Chief Commissioner. A circular was addressed by the Financial Commissioner to all Commissioners in Lower Burma, dated Rangoon, 11th March, 1893, intimating the decision of Government to prohibit the possession and use of opium by Burmans in Lower Burma. The circular stated — “ When the new rules come into operation, possession and use of opium by any person in Lower Burma shall be lawful only if the name of such person is registered, the registered persons of Burmese race being habitual consumers of twenty-five years of age or upwards, the registered non-Burman consumers being any persons not of the Burmese race of twenty years of age or upwards, who may choose to register themselves. When the registers are complete and closed it shall be an offence for any unregistered person to possess or use opium in any form.” Provision was made for the registration of doctors and tattooers. “ Under no circumstances” would “ any Burman not being a doctor or tattooer, be permitted to register himself after the registers have been closed.” A notification was to be issued, inviting all persons desiring to be registered to present themselves before the appropriate officers of their districts for that purpose within a given time, and officers were directed to satisfy themselves as to the good faith of each application. It was originally proposed that the register should come into force by the first July, 1893. The note presented to the Commission by Mr. Bayne on the first day of its sittings in Rangoon states that the number of Burmans who had registered themselves up to that date was 7,513, and that the number of opium-consuming non-Burmans was estimated at 6,819.

Under date, second May, 1893, the Chief Commissioner of Burma submitted to the Government of India a draft of revised rules under the

Opium Act for Burma, in accordance with the circular first referred to Government however, modified those rules in many respects. A despatch, dated Simla, 20th June, 1893, contained the following —

“The more essential points in which the rules submitted by you have been modified are four in number, and are as follows. —

(1) The omission of restrictions on the possession and use of opium for medical purposes

(2) The treatment of non-Burmans

(3) The grant of certificates to registered consumers, with permission to purchase opium without restriction of locality

(4) The extension of the time allowed for registration”

As regards the second point, the Indian Government argued —

“Opium is considered to be specially injurious to persons of Burmese race, and for this reason it has been decided to attempt to restrict and ultimately to prevent the use of opium by such persons. But this consideration does not apply to non-Burmans. In Upper Burma, non-Burmans are permitted to use opium subject only to restrictions similar to those in force in the Indian provinces. In order to ascertain the consumption, the Government of India would have been willing to approve rules requiring the registration of non-Burmian consumers of opium for information only, and not as a condition of possession. But they are advised that such rules are not authorized by the Opium Act, would possess no legal validity, and could not be enforced if disregarded. It is therefore not considered expedient to include them among rules issued under the Act”

As to point (4), registration of Burmans was to be allowed for six months after the rules should come into force, and even after that in the case of those prevented by absence or other reasonable cause

After some further correspondence, embodying these modifications, new Rules were finally approved of by Government of India on the 11th November, 1893, to come into operation on the 1st January, 1894.

J G A.

# THE NEW BURMA REGULATIONS. FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT.

## NOTIFICATION

*Dated Rangoon, 23rd November, 1893*

No 42 —In exercise of the power conferred by sections 5 and 13 of the Opium Act, 1878, and in supersession of the notifications in the Financial Department cited in the margin and of all notifications superseded thereby, the Chief Commissioner, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, makes the following rules to regulate the matters referred to in the said sections. These rules shall come into force on the 1st January, 1894.

### *Definitions.*

1 In these rules, unless there be something repugnant in the subject or context—

- (i) "India" means the territory included within the British frontier lines on the extreme west, north, and east of British India.
- (ii) "Lower Burma" means the territories for the time being comprised in Lower Burma under sub-sections (1) and (2) of section 2 of the Upper Burma Laws Act, 1886. "Upper Burma" means the whole of Burma, except Lower Burma and the Shan States.
- (iii) "Opium" means the inspissated juice of the poppy and beinsi and beinchi, but does not include poppy-heads, nor kunbon, nor beinye, nor any preparation or admixture thereof, nor any other intoxicating or narcotic preparation of opium or of the poppy.
- (iv) "Government opium" means opium sold or issued by a Government officer empowered to sell or issue opium and includes beinsi and beinchi made or prepared from such opium.
- (v) "Medical preparation" means any preparation or admixture of opium intended for medical purposes only.
- (vi) "Poppy-heads" means the capsules of the poppy-plant.
- (vii) "Tola" means a weight of 180 grains Troy.
- (viii) "Seer" means a weight of 80 tolas.
- (ix) "Viss" means 3·65 pounds Avoirdupois.
- (x) "Pé" means 1 75 of an acre.



- (xi) "Opium" "Government opium," and "medical preparation," when sold in any quantity not exceeding 3 tolas in weight, shall be deemed to be sold "by retail," and when sold in larger quantities shall be deemed to be sold "wholesale" Poppy-heads, when sold in any quantity not exceeding 5 seers in weight, shall be deemed to be sold "by retail," and when sold in any larger quantity shall be deemed to be sold "wholesale"
- (xii) "Licensed vendor," used with reference to opium or to poppy-heads, means a person to whom a license for the sale of opium or poppy-heads, or both, by retail has been granted by the Deputy Commissioner under Rule 60
- (xiii) "Medical practitioner" means a person who has been registered under an English medical act or who has received a medical diploma from an Indian University and who practises medicine according to European methods
- (xiv) "Pharmacist" means a person who deals in European medicines and drugs as a means of livelihood, and to whom a license has been granted by the Deputy Commissioner under Rule 62
- (xv) "Doctor" means a person who practises medicine according to Asiatic methods as a means of livelihood, and to whom a license has been granted by the Deputy Commissioner under Rule 62
- (xvi) "Tattooer" means a Burman who practises tattooing of the human body according to Burmese methods, and to whom a license has been granted by the Deputy Commissioner under Rule 62
- (xvii) "Import," "export," and "transport" have the respective meanings assigned to them in the Opium Act, 1878
- (xviii) "Upper Burma-grown opium" means opium manufactured from the poppy-plant grown in those parts of Upper Burma in which the cultivation of the plant is permitted
- (xix) "Civil Surgeon" means a Civil Surgeon or other principal medical officer of a district
- (xx) "Burman" means any person born of parents both of whom belong to races indigenous to Burma, except a Kachin, or a Shan, or a Palaung.

Every person who ordinarily wears a dress commonly worn by persons of any race indigenous to Burma and speaks Burmese, Karen, or Talaing as his vernacular language, shall be presumed to be a Burman until the contrary is proved.

(xxi) "Non-Burman" means any person who is not a Burman.

(xxii) "Village" means a village as defined in the Lower Burma Village Act, 1889, and the Upper Burma Village Regulation, 1887

(xxiii) "Town" means an area declared to be a town for the purposes of the Lower Burma Towns Act, 1892, or the Upper Burma Towns Regulation, 1891

(xxiv) "Headman" means, in the case of villages, a headman as defined in the Lower Burma Village Act, 1889, or the Upper Burma Village Regulation, 1887, and in the case of towns a headman of a ward appointed under the Lower Burma Towns Act, 1892, or the Upper Burma Towns Regulations, 1891, as the case may be.

#### *Cultivation*

2 Subject to the payment of the duty and to the conditions laid down in the following rules, the poppy-plant may be grown in the Kachin villages in the Katha, Bhamo, and Upper Chindwin districts, and in other local areas in which the Chief Commissioner may, from time to time by notification in the *Burma Gazette*, permit such cultivation

3. A duty of eight annas shall be levied for each quarter of a pe of poppy cultivation. A fraction of a quarter of a pe shall be charged as a quarter of a pe. The above duty may, with the sanction of the Commissioner of the division, be commuted to a lump-sum payment by any village or tribe, or may be remitted entirely by the Financial Commissioner.

4. The local Government may, at any time by notification in the *Burma Gazette* giving six months' notice, enhance the rate of duty in any local area up to any rate not exceeding Rs. 1 for a quarter of a pe or fraction thereof.

5 The measurement of the area under poppy cultivation shall be effected by headmen under such rules as to supervision and otherwise as the Financial Commissioner may from time to time prescribe

#### *Manufacture*

6. Opium may be manufactured on account of Government

7. Opium and medical preparations may be manufactured by a medical practitioner

8. In any local area in Upper Burma in which the cultivation of the poppy-plant is permitted, Upper Burma-grown opium and medical preparations therefrom may be manufactured by any non-Burman from poppy-grown in such area.

9. (a) in Upper Burma—

- (i) Opium may be manufactured by a licensed vendor, subject to the conditions of his license.
- (ii) Opium and medical preparations may be manufactured by a pharmacist, doctor, or tattooer, subject to the conditions of his license

(b) In Lower Burma—

- (i) Government opium may be manufactured by a licensed vendor subject to the conditions of his license
- (ii) Government opium and medical preparations therefrom may be manufactured by a doctor or tattooer, subject to the conditions of his license
- (iii) Opium and medical preparations may be manufactured by a pharmacist, subject to the conditions of his license

#### *Possession*

10. Any person duly authorized in that behalf may possess opium, medical preparations, and poppy-heads on account of Government

11. A medical practitioner may possess opium, poppy-heads, and medical preparations.

12. Any person may possess poppy-heads not exceeding 5 seers in weight, opium not exceeding 3 tolas in weight, and medical preparations not exceeding 6 tolas in weight, provided that he has bought the poppy-heads, opium, or medical preparations from a medical practitioner or pharmacist or doctor, and requires them for medical purposes only

13. In Upper Burma any non-Burman may possess poppy-heads not exceeding 5 seers in weight which have been bought from a cultivator in a local area in which the cultivation of the poppy plant is permitted, or from Government or a licensed vendor, and opium not exceeding 3 tolas in weight which he has bought from a cultivator in a local area in which the cultivation of the poppy-plant is permitted, or from Government or a licensed vendor

14. In Lower Burma—

- (i) Any Burman whose name has been entered in, and has not been removed from, the register prescribed in Rule 26 may possess poppy-heads not exceeding 5 seers in weight and Government opium not exceeding 3 tolas

in weight which he has bought from Government, or from a licensed vendor.

- (ii) Any non-Burman may possess poppy-heads not exceeding 5 seers in weight and Government opium not exceeding 3 tolas in weight which he has bought from Government or from a licensed vendor.

15 In any local area in which the cultivation of the poppy-plant is permitted, any non-Burman may possess any quantity of poppy-heads or opium being the produce of poppy-plants grown in such local area, or medical preparations manufactured therefrom.

16 Subject to the conditions of his license, a licensed vendor in Lower Burma may possess any quantity of Government opium and poppy-heads obtained by him from Government, or from any other licensed vendor who has sold the same to him in accordance with the conditions of his license

17 Subject to the conditions of his license, a licensed vendor in Upper Burma may possess any quantity of opium and poppy-heads obtained by him from Government or from a holder of a license for wholesale vend, and sold to him by such vendor in accordance with the conditions of his license, or from a cultivator authorized to sell the same under Rule 53 (ii)

18 Subject to the conditions of the pass, a holder of a pass for transport or import may possess the poppy-heads or opium covered by the pass

19 Subject to the conditions of his license, a pharmacist may possess any quantity of poppy-heads not exceeding 10 seers in weight, and of opium not exceeding one seer in weight, and of medical preparations not exceeding one seer in weight. But in special cases the Financial Commissioner may authorise the possession of such larger quantities of opium and of medical preparations as he may think necessary

20 Subject to the conditions of his license, a doctor in Upper Burma may possess any quantity of poppy-heads not exceeding 10 seers in weight, and of opium or of medical preparations not exceeding 10 tolas in weight

21 Subject to the conditions of his license, a doctor in Lower Burma may possess any quantity of poppy-heads not exceeding 10 seers in weight, and of Government opium or of medical preparations made therefrom not exceeding 10 tolas in weight

22 Subject to the conditions of his license, a tattooer may possess in Upper Burma any quantity of opium and of medical preparations not

exceeding 10 tolas in weight, and in Lower Burma any quantity, of Government opium and of medical preparations made therefrom not exceeding 10 tolas in weight

23. A traveller or visitor entering Burma by land from the Shan States or from a country out of India may, while in Burma, possess opium produced in the Shan States or out of India for the personal use of himself and his attendants, and not for sale or barter, in any quantity not exceeding in weight five tolas for each person.

24. A horse-dealer importing horses or ponies into Burma from the Shan States or a country out of India may, while in Burma, possess opium produced in the Shan States or out of India in any quantity not exceeding in weight five tolas for each horse or pony for the time being in his possession

25. Any person specially licensed in that behalf by the Deputy Commissioner of the district in which he resides or trades may possess in Upper Burma opium and medical preparations, and in Lower Burma Government opium and medical preparations made therefrom, in such quantity and for such period as may be specified in the special license. Provided that no such special license shall be granted without the previous sanction of the Commissioner.

*Registration of persons in Lower Burma who are permitted to possess Government opium*

26. A register in the form prescribed in the appendix to these rules shall be maintained in each township of every district in Lower Buama, showing the names of Burmans resident in the township, who desire to be registered as consumers of opium. An extract of the register for each village or ward, called the Village Register, shall be given to the headman of the village or ward, and shall be maintained by him. A combined register for the entire district, called the District Register, shall be maintained by the Deputy Commissioner

In this Register shall be entered only the names of Burmans of twenty-five years of age or upwards. To every person whose name is entered in the register a certificate in the following form, signed by the Deputy Commissioner or by an Assistant or Extra Assistant Commissioner who has a competent knowledge of the English language, and to whom the Deputy Commissioner may delegate the power of signing certificates, shall be given —

"Certified that the name of \_\_\_\_\_, a Burman, son of \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ village, has been entered in the register prescribed by Rule twenty-six of the rules framed under the Opium Act I, of 1878, for Burma, for

the registration of Burmans who desire to be registered as consumers of opium, of the township of \_\_\_\_\_ and that the licensed vendor of

the opium shop located at\* \_\_\_\_\_ or any other licensed vendor in Lower Burma, is authorised to sell to the said \_\_\_\_\_ poppy-heads or opium in the quantities permitted by or under the said rules on the production of this certificate "

27 In the Rangoon Town district the Deputy Commissioner shall exercise the powers and perform the duties assigned by these rules to a Township Officer in addition to those of a Deputy Commissioner

28 When six months or such longer period as the Chief Commissioner may prescribe by notification in the *Burma Gazette*, shall have elapsed from the date on which these rules come into force the register shall be closed and no new name shall be entered in it, except as provided below in this rule or in the subsequent rules providing for transfer of names from the register of one township or district to that of another. Provided that any Burman of twenty-five years of age or upwards who may have been prevented by absence or other reasonable cause from registering his name before the prescribed date shall be entitled to have his name registered at any time if he is otherwise eligible for registration.

29 Any person whose name is borne on the register may at any time apply orally or in writing to the Township Officer to have his name struck off the register, and the Township Officer shall forthwith after recovering the certificate granted to him under Rule 26, cause his name to be struck off the Township and Village Register, and shall report to the Deputy Commissioner, who shall strike his name off the District Register. But no such person shall be entitled to have his name restored to the register

30. When any person whose name is borne on the register dies, the headman of the village or ward shall report his death to the Township Officer, who shall thereupon recover and destroy the certificate granted to him under Rule 26, cause his name to be struck off the Township and Village Register, and make report to the Deputy Commissioner, shall who cause his name to be struck off the District Register.

31. When any person whose name is borne on the register intends permanently to leave the township or district, he shall inform the headman of the village or ward. The headman shall make report to the Township Officer, who shall thereupon endorse on the certificate granted to him under Rule 26 the words "The name of \_\_\_\_\_ may be transferred to the register of township \_\_\_\_\_," and shall cause his

name to be struck off the Township and Village Register and shall report to the Deputy Commissioner. If the person aforesaid is leaving the district, the Deputy Commissioner shall strike his name off the District Register. If he is changing his residence to another township of the same district, the Deputy Commissioner shall cause the District Register to be corrected accordingly, and shall direct the person to report himself to the officer in charge of the township in which he intends to reside.

32 Any person whose name has been struck off the register under Rule 31 may apply to the officer in charge of the township to which he has changed his residence to have his name entered in the register, and on production by such person of the certificate granted under Rule 26, duly endorsed under Rule 31, the Township Officer shall, after such enquiry as he may consider necessary, cause his name to be entered in the Township and Village Register, and shall report to the Deputy Commissioner, who shall cause his name to be entered in the District Register. The Township Officer shall also cause to be delivered to such person as aforesaid a new certificate to be exchanged for the old one, which shall be destroyed. If a person produces before a Township Officer a document purporting to be a certificate granted under Rule 26, duly endorsed under Rule 31 the Township Officer shall, if he doubts the genuineness of the document, make such enquiries as he considers necessary, and, if he finds that the document is not genuine, shall refuse to enter the applicant's name in the register.

33 The Township Officer and, in the Rangoon Town District, the Deputy Commissioner shall annually, during the months of February and March, test the entries in the register by verifying the existence of the persons whose name are borne on the register and the death or removal of the persons whose names have been struck off the register during the year, and shall, if necessary, correct the register.

#### *Transport*

34 Any person, other than a licensed vendor, or holder of a license for wholesale vend, may transport opium, medical preparations, and poppy-heads, which he may legally possess, from one place to another.

35. (1) A licensed vendor or holder of a license for wholesale vend under Rule 55 may transport, under a transport pass granted in such form as the Financial Commissioner may, from time to time, prescribe, opium or poppy-heads—

(a) from one district to another, or

(b) from one township to another township of the same district

(n) A transport pass must be obtained for each consignment

(m) The transport pass shall be granted—

in case (a), by the Deputy Commissioner of the district, and

in case (b), by the Township Officer of the township

from which, as the case may be, the opium or poppy-heads is or are to be transported.

36 (i) The transport pass shall specify—

(1) the name of the consignor,

(2) the name of the person in charge of the consignment,

(3) the place from which the consignment is to be transported,

(4) the name of the consignee,

(5) the number of packages and the weight and contents of each,

(6) the destination of the consignment, and

(7) the period for which the pass shall remain in force

Each package in the consignment shall be stamped in the presence of the officer granting the pass with his official seal across the seams

(ii) Such transport pass shall be granted only on production by the person applying for it of a written permission to apply for such pass—

in case (a), from the Deputy Commissioner of the district;

and in case (b), from the Township Officer of the township to which, as the case may be, the opium or poppy-heads is or are to be transported

(iii) In the case (a), if the officer granting the written permission thinks fit, he may expressly permit the application to be made for transport direct to the township of destination, and in this case he shall send a copy of the written permission to the Township Officer of the township

(iv) A copy of the transport pass shall be sent—

in case (a), to the Deputy Commissioner of the district,

in case (b), to the Township Officer of the township

to which, as the case may be, the consignment is to be transported

(v) Every pass granted for the transport to another district of opium or poppy-heads shall show on the face of it whether it is to be presented for examination to the Deputy Commissioner of the district to which the consignment is to be transported, or to the Township Officer of the township of destination. Such a pass may be enfaced for presentation to the Township Officer of the township of destination only



when the written permission to apply for the pass expressly allows this. If the pass is so enfaced, the Deputy Commissioner of the district to which the consignment is being transported shall, without delay, forward on receipt the copy of the transport pass referred to in sub-rule (iv) to the Township Officer of the township of destination.

(vi) On arrival at its destination the transport pass and the consignment shall be presented for examination and weighment to, and shall without delay be examined and weighed by—

in case (a), the officer named in this behalf on the face of the pass and

in case (b), the Township Officer of the township to which the consignment has been transported

37 Any Deputy Commissioner may extend the period for which a transport pass under Rule 35 has been granted upon application for such extension by the person in charge of the consignment of opium or poppy-heads covered by the pass. Provided that—

(i) due cause, satisfactory to such Deputy Commissioner, be shown for such extension, and

(ii) the package or packages of the consignment is or are intact. Any extension so granted shall be endorsed upon the pass by the Deputy Commissioner granting it.

38. An officer granting a transport pass may make it a condition of the pass that the bulk of the consignment shall not be broken in transit.

If no such condition is made, the holder of a license for wholesale vend under Rule 55, who is transporting a consignment under a transport pass obtained in accordance with Rule 35, may break bulk in transit for the purpose of effecting, within the area specified in his license, a wholesale sale of the whole or part of the opium or poppy-heads covered by the said pass provided that such sale shall be recorded and attested on the transport pass by an officer not below the rank of a Township Officer. An officer attesting a sale shall re-seal the packages as required by Rule 36 after re-examining and re-weighing them.

On all Upper Burma-grown opium or poppy-heads transported from a local area in which the cultivation of the poppy-plant is permitted to a district or township in which such cultivation is not permitted, there shall be levied the same duty as may for the time being be leviable on opium or poppy-heads imported by land into Burma.

#### *Import*

39. Government may import opium, medical preparations, and poppy-heads on its own account

40. A Shan or foreign horse-dealer importing horses or ponies into Burma may import into Burma opium produced in the Shan States or out of India in any quantity not exceeding 5 tolas for each horse or pony in his possession.

41. A Shan or foreign traveller or visitor entering Burma by land from the Shan States or from a country out of India may import into Burma opium produced in the Shan States or out of India for the personal use of himself and his attendants and not for sale or barter in any quantity not exceeding in weight 5 tolas for each such person

42 (i) Subject to the payment of the duty which may for the time being be imposed by the Governor-General in Council, opium or poppy-heads produced out of India may be imported by land into Upper Burma by a licensed vendor or holder of a license for wholesale vend under and subject to the conditions of an import pass granted in such form as the Financial Commissioner may, from time to time, prescribe

(ii) An import pass must be obtained for each importation

(iii) Opium or poppy-heads imported into Upper Burma under a pass shall be taken as soon as possible to the opium warehouse or treasury office of the district into which the opium or poppy-heads is or are first imported

(iv) The import pass shall be granted by the Deputy Commissioner of the district into which the opium or poppy-heads is or are imported or by some officer authorised by him to grant such passes —

(v) The import pass shall specify

- (1) the name of the importer ,
- (2) the name of the person in charge of the importation .
- (3) the route by which the importation is to be brought ;
- (4) the number of packages and the weight and contents of each .
- (5) the warehouse or treasury to which the opium or poppy-heads must be taken ;
- (6) the period for which the pass shall remain in force . and
- (7) the amount of duty paid or payable

(vi) A copy of every import pass granted by an officer, other than the Deputy Commissioner of the district, shall be forthwith sent by the officer granting it to the Deputy Commissioner

43. On arrival at the opium warehouse or treasury, the opium or poppy-heads shall be examined and weighed and compared with the pass by the officer in charge of the warehouse or treasury who shall retain the pass, and give the person bringing the opium or poppy-heads a receipt for the same in such form as the Financial Commissioner may prescribe.

44. No opium shall be removed from an opium warehouse or treasury until the full duty payable on it has been paid

The officer in charge of an opium warehouse or treasury shall report to the Deputy Commissioner of the district the arrival of each importation, and shall send him the pass under which the opium or poppy-heads has or have been imported as soon as possible after the arrival of each importation.

45 The officer in charge of an opium warehouse or treasury shall keep a register of arrivals, deliveries, and other transactions under his charge in such form as the Financial Commissioner may, from time to time, prescribe.

46 Opium, medical preparations, and poppy heads produced out of India may be imported by sea by a medical practitioner.

47 Opium medical preparations, and poppy-heads produced out of India and not exceeding one seer in weight in the case of opium, one seer in weight in the case of medical preparations, and 10 seers in weight in the case of poppy-heads, may be imported by sea by a pharmacist holding a license under Rule 62 But in special cases the Financial Commissioner may authorize the import of such larger quantities of opium and of medical preparations as he may think necessary

#### *Export*

48. Government may export opium, medical preparations, and poppy-heads on its own account

*Further general provisions regarding Opium and Poppy-heads in transit.*

49 Every Deputy Commissioner and other Revenue Officer not below the rank of a Myook, every Police officer not below the rank of a Head Constable, and every Customs Officer not below the rank of a Preventive Officer is authorized to detain, so long as may be reasonably necessary for the inspection of the same, and to inspect any consignment of opium or poppy heads in transit passing through his jurisdiction, and to call for production of the pass under which such opium or poppy-heads is or are transported or imported

50 No railway administration or steam-boat company shall receive or convey opium or poppy-heads not covered and accompanied by a pass issued by an officer competent under these rules to grant the same, or shall convey opium or poppy-heads otherwise than in the immediate custody of its own officers to the station or landing place at which, according to the route prescribed in such pass, it should leave the railway or vessel. Opium or poppy-heads in transit by railway or steam-boat may be detained so long as may be reasonably necessary for the examination of the same

and the weight of each package and the number (when there are more than one) of the packages may be verified at any railway station or landing place at which the Chief Commissioner may, either generally or specially direct such detention or examination

51 (i) On weighment of transported opium on its arrival at its destination, or by an officer attesting a sale during transit, an allowance for dryage may be made by the officer making the weighment up to such extent as the Financial Commissioner may from time to time prescribe by notification in the *Burma Gazette*

(ii) If on inspection of a consignment under Rule 43 or Rule 49 or on the arrival of a consignment at its destination, any deficiency is found that cannot be accounted for by dryage or by any wholesale sale as permitted by Rule 38, the fact shall be reported to the Deputy Commissioner of the district

#### *Wholesale Sale*

52 In Lower Burma Government opium in quantities exceeding 3 tolas and poppy-heads in quantities exceeding 5 seers in weight may be sold by one licensed vendor to another and by Deputy Commissioners, Township and Treasury Officers, and by such other Government officers, as may be specially empowered by the Financial Commissioner so to do, to any licensed vendor, or medical practitioner, or pharmacist, or doctor or tattooer

53 (i) In Upper Burma opium in quantities exceeding 3 tolas or poppy-heads in quantities exceeding 5 seers in weight may be sold under such conditions as the Financial Commissioner may prescribe, by Deputy Commissioners of districts or Township Officers to any licensed vendor, to any holder of a license for wholesale vend, to any medical practitioner, to any pharmacist, to any doctor, and to any tattooer

(ii) In local areas in Upper Burma in which the cultivation of the poppy-plant is permitted, a cultivator may sell to any non Burman any quantity of opium or poppy-heads the produce of his cultivation

(iii) Subject to the conditions of his license, a holder of a license for wholesale vend in Upper Burma may sell opium in quantities exceeding 3 tolas or poppy-heads in quantities exceeding 5 seers to Government, or to a licensed vendor, or to a holder of a license for wholesale vend, or to a medical practitioner, or to a pharmacist, doctor, or tattooer

54 A medical practitioner may sell opium and medical preparations in quantities exceeding 3 tolas and poppy-heads in quantities exceeding 5 seers in weight to any person who is authorised to possess the same in such quantities.

55. Subject to the payment of the fee for the time being prescribed under Rule 56 and to the conditions laid down in the Opium Act, 1878, and in these rules, a Commissioner of a division in Upper Burma may grant to any non-Burman a license for the wholesale vend of opium and poppy-heads within his division or any part thereof.

56. The Financial Commissioner may, with the previous sanction of the Chief Commissioner, fix the fee to be paid in each district for such a license, and may, from time to time, subject to the same sanction, alter, in the case of any district or districts, the fee so fixed.

57. Such license shall specify the district or districts in which the sale of opium and poppy-heads may be made under it. It shall be in force from the date on which it is issued until the 1st April next following such date, and it shall then be returned to the Commissioner who issued it.

#### *Retail Sale*

58. (i) A Deputy Commissioner within his district, or a Township Officer within his township, or any other officer of Government specially empowered by the Financial Commissioner, may sell by retail, at such price as the Financial Commissioner may fix, Government opium or poppy-heads to any person in Lower Burma who is permitted to possess opium.

(ii) A Medical practitioner may sell by retail opium, medical preparations, and poppy-heads for medical purposes only.

(iii) Subject to the conditions of his license, a licensed vendor may sell by retail Government opium or poppy-heads to any person in Lower Burma who is permitted to possess opium, and opium or poppy-heads to any non-Burman in Upper Burma.

(iv) Subject to the conditions of his license, a pharmacist may sell by retail opium, medical preparations, or poppy-heads to any person for medical purposes only.

(v) Subject to the conditions of his license, a doctor in Upper Burma may sell by retail opium, medical preparations, or poppy-heads to any person for medical purposes only.

(vi) Subject to the conditions of his license, a doctor in Lower Burma may sell by retail Government opium, medical preparations therefrom, or poppy-heads to any person for medical purposes only.

59. Unless the Financial Commissioner otherwise specially direct, a license for sale by retail shall be granted for one year only.

60 (i) Such limited number of shops in Upper Burma for the sale by retail of opium or poppy-heads or both, and in Lower Burma for the

sale by retail of Government opium or poppy-heads, or both, as the Financial Commissioner may from time to time determine, may be allowed in each district, and the exclusive right of selling opium or poppy-heads by retail at one or more of these shops, under a license to be granted by the Deputy Commissioner, may be sold by or under the orders of the Deputy Commissioner before the commencement of each official year by public auction, or in such other mode as the Financial Commissioner, with the sanction of the local Government, may direct. The Deputy Commissioner shall not be bound to accept the highest or any other bid. But if he refuses to accept any bid, he shall record his reasons for such refusal in writing. He shall not be bound to inform any bidder of his reasons for refusing his bid.

(n) Such sale, whether by auction or otherwise, shall not be deemed to be complete until it has been confirmed by the Commissioner of the division. If the Commissioner declines to confirm the sale, he may order a fresh sale, or he may authorize the Deputy Commissioner to grant a license to any person to carry on the sale by retail on behalf of Government in the whole or in any part of a district.

61. Every person taking out a license for sale by retail under Rule 60 shall sign a counterpart of the same in token of an engagement by him to duly observe and perform all the conditions expressed in the said license and in these rules, and shall give such security for the performance of his engagement or make such deposit in lieu of security as the Deputy Commissioner may require.

62. A Deputy Commissioner may grant a license —

- (a) to any pharmacist for the sale by retail of opium, medical preparations, or poppy-heads, or all or any of them for medical purposes only
- (b) to any doctor in Upper Burma for the sale by retail of opium, medical preparations or poppy-heads, or all or any of them for medical purposes only,
- (c) to any doctor in Lower Burma for the sale by retail of Government opium, medical preparations therefrom, or poppy-heads, or all or any of them, for medical purposes only,
- (d) to any tattooer in Upper Burma for the possession of such quantity of opium or medical preparations, not exceeding ten tolas in weight, as may be necessary for the ordinary practice of his profession, to be used only for tattooing purposes,

- (e) to any tattooer in Lower Burma for the possession of such quantity of Government opium or medical preparations therefrom, not exceeding ten tolas in weight, as may be necessary for the ordinary practice of his profession, to be used only for tattooing purposes.

63 Every person to whom a license is granted under Rule 62 for the sale by retail of opium or medical preparations, or poppy-heads, or all or any of them, shall pay for his license such fee as may, from time to time, be fixed with the sanction of the Financial Commissioner, or a fee regulated in such manner and in accordance with such rules as the Financial Commissioner, may prescribe, and the fee shall be specified in the license and shall be payable in such instalments, and the instalments shall be payable at such times and places as the Financial Commissioner may direct.

64. (i) A license for sale by retail of opium or poppy-heads, or both, granted under Rule 60 may be recalled by the Deputy Commissioner if the holder violates any of the provisions of the Opium Act, 1878, or of the rules made thereunder, or any condition entered in the license, or if the holder of the license is convicted of breach of the peace, or of any other criminal offence during the term of the license.

(ii) If the license is recalled for any of these causes, the holder will have no claim to any compensation whatever, or to refund of any duty or instalment of duty already paid or to remission of any sum due from him to Government

But it shall be in the discretion of the Deputy Commissioner to make such compensation, refund, or remission as he may think right

(iii) If the Deputy Commissioner desires to recall a license before expiry of its term for any cause not specified in sub-rule (i), he may do so, subject to the conditions that—

- (a) he shall give 15 days' previous notice of his intention to recall the license, and shall remit a sum equal to the duty for 15 days ; or
- (b) if notice be not given, he shall remit a sum equal to the duty for 15 days, and shall also make such farther compensation in consideration of want of notice as the Commissioner may think fit

65. A person who has been granted a license for the sale by retail of opium or poppy-heads, or both, under Rule 60, may surrender his license on giving one month's notice to the Deputy Commissioner and on paying such fine, not exceeding the amount of duty for six months, or the

amount of the loss caused to Government by the surrender, as the Deputy Commissioner may adjudge. If the Deputy Commissioner is satisfied that the reason for surrendering the license is adequate, he may, with the consent of the Financial Commissioner, remit the fine.

66. The Financial Commissioner may, from time to time, fix the maximum and minimum price at which in any district holders of licenses for sale by retail may sell opium or poppy-heads to the public.

If such maximum and minimum prices are fixed, they shall be specified in the license.

*Manner in which retail sales are to be made in Lower Burma.*

67. In every township and in the Rangoon Town district the retail vendor of opium shall be furnished with a copy of the register of Burmans registered as consumers of opium in that township or district. A vendor may sell opium and poppy-heads within the prescribed limits of quantities—

(1) to non-Burmans,

(2) to Burmans who produce certificates under Rule 26.

If any Burman produces a certificate the name in which is not included in the extract from the register received by the licensed vendor, he should at once report the particulars of the sale, as entered in the daily account or retail sales, to the Deputy Commissioner for such inquiry as that officer may consider necessary.

68. Every retail vendor, whether official or licensed vendor, shall keep in Burmese or English a daily account of sales of opium in the forms prescribed in the appendix to these rules, and shall record therein, immediately after making each sale, the amount of opium daily sold to each person.

*Disposal of articles remaining with a licensed vendor after expiration of his license*

69. If any person who has been a licensed vendor or holder of a license for wholesale vend under Rule 55, has in his possession, on the expiration of his license, any opium or poppy-heads which he is unable to dispose of to the satisfaction of the Deputy Commissioner by private sale to other licensed vendors, or holders of licenses for wholesale vend under Rule 55, or to a medical practitioner or pharmacist, he shall surrender the same to the Deputy Commissioner or to the officer in charge of the excise revenue.

And the incoming licensed vendor, or holder of a license for wholesale vend under Rule 55, or, if the license has not been renewed, any licensed vendor, or holder of a license for wholesale vend under Rule 55



within the district, shall, on the requisition of the Deputy Commissioner be bound, under penalty, if the Deputy Commissioner sees fit, of forfeiting his license, to buy the opium or poppy-heads, as the case may be, at such price as the Deputy Commissioner may adjudge and in any quantity not exceeding that which the Deputy Commissioner may determine to be ordinarily saleable in two months by the persons in whose favour the license has been renewed, or by the licensed vendor, or holder of a license for wholesale vend under Rule 55, as the case may be.

Provided that if the opium or poppy-heads, or any part thereof, be declared by the Civil Surgeon to be unfit for use, the Deputy Commissioner shall cause it or them, or that part, to be destroyed.

*Disposal of things confiscated*

70 (i) All things confiscated under the Opium Act, 1878, except opium, medical preparations, poppy-heads and the preparations and admixtures provided for in clause (iv) of this rule, shall be disposed of by the Deputy Commissioner by public auction

(ii) Opium and medical preparations so confiscated shall be sent for examination to the Civil Surgeon, and, if declared by him to be fit for use, shall be disposed of in such manner as the Financial Commissioner may by general or special order direct. If declared to be unfit for use, it or they shall be immediately destroyed in the presence of the Deputy Commissioner, or some other officer deputed by him for the purpose. Such officer shall not be below the rank of a Township Officer.

(iii) Poppy-heads so confiscated shall be disposed of as may be directed by the Deputy Commissioner or the officer in charge of the excise revenue of the district in which the confiscation is made.

(iv) All preparations and admixtures of opium or of the poppy not included in the definition of "opium" or of "medical preparations" in these rules shall, when so confiscated, be immediately destroyed.

*Rewards to be paid out of the proceeds of Fines and Confiscations.*

71 (i) Any Magistrate convicting an offender under section 9, or any Magistrate or other authorized officer ordering the confiscation of anything under section twelve of the Opium Act, 1878, may grant, in such proportions as he thinks fit, to any person or persons who have contributed to the conviction of the offender or to the seizure of the thing or things confiscated, a reward or rewards not exceeding in the aggregate the value of the things confiscated, plus the amount of any fine imposed.

(ii) If in any case the fine is not realized, or is only realized in part, or if the value of the confiscated articles is not realized, or is only realized in part, and if the total sum realized appears to the convicting Magistrate

or to the Magistrate or officer ordering confiscation, as the case may be, to be insufficient for the purpose of rewarding the person or persons who have contributed to the conviction of the offender or to the seizure of the thing or things confiscated, the Deputy Commissioner may, on the application of the said Magistrate or officer, as the case may be, grant to the said person or persons any reasonable reward or rewards not exceeding Rs 100 in the aggregate as may seem fit. In like manner the Commissioner may grant rewards not exceeding Rs 200, and the Financial Commissioner may grant rewards not exceeding Rs 500.

72 The Financial Commissioner may direct by general order what classes of excise officers shall receive rewards and what classes shall have no title to share therein.

#### *Forms of Licenses, Passes, Permits and other Documents*

73 (1) The Financial Commissioner may, with the sanction of the local Government, from time to time, prescribe the forms in which licenses and passes under these rules shall be granted by the Deputy Commissioner.

(2) The Financial Commissioner may also, from time to time, of his own authority, prescribe the forms of all registers, returns, accounts and other documents not mentioned in sub-rule (1) for which he considers that forms should be provided.

(3) The Forms referred to in sub-rules (1) and (2) shall be consistent with the provisions of the Opium Act, 1878, and with these rules.

#### *Miscellaneous*

74 (1) Suspensions and remissions of demand on account of pe duty or on account of any other fees or duties leviable under these rules may be made under the sanction of the Commissioner of the division.

(2) In the case of suspensions, a date or dates for payment shall be fixed.

(3) Refunds of pe duty or of any other fees or duties levied under these rules, may be made under the rules for the time being applicable to refunds on account of land revenue.

(4) All suspensions, remissions, and refunds sanctioned by Commissioners shall be reported at once to the Financial Commissioner.

#### *Appeal and Revision.*

75 (1) An appeal shall lie from an order of a Deputy Commissioner or from an original or appellate order of a Commissioner of a division as follows, namely,—

(a) to the Commissioner of the division when the order is made by a Deputy Commissioner,

By Sir William Roberts. Q.—Are there any similar restrictive regulations with regard to spirits ?

A.—No.

Q.—A Burman may get what spirits he likes ?

A.—Yes ; but there is a maximum amount of spirits which a man may possess under the Excise Act. A man may not possess an unlimited quantity of spirits.

Q.—Do you mean a dealer ?

A.—No, a private individual.

Q.—Practically there is no restriction ?

A.—No.

By Mr Mowbray—Q.—Is there any regular list or register of pharmacists and doctors ?

A.—Such would be kept.

Q.—Who actually issues the licenses to these pharmacists and doctors ?

A.—The Deputy Commissioner or the Collector.

Q.—Each person who comes to the Collector or Deputy Commissioner to ask for a license has to prove to the satisfaction of the Deputy Commissioner or of the Collector that he is a pharmacist or doctor ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—In Upper Burma I understand that there is no register either of non-Burmans or of smoking Burmans ?

A.—No.

Q.—It was suggested in the first instance that there should be a register of non-Burmans as well as of smoking Burmans ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Do you know why that was abandoned ?

A.—The reason is because there is a legal objection. I understand that the Government of India considered that it was permissible under the opium law to maintain a register as a step towards total prohibition ; but it was not admissible to maintain a register merely as a method of making and taking a census. The Opium Act prohibits possession of opium, and it is legal to maintain a register as a step towards total prohibition merely in order to ascertain the number of people to whom you are going to supply opium.

By the Chairman.—Q—I believe that the consumption on the premises of licensed shops is prohibited ?

A.—Yes, except in the Ruby Mines at Bhamo, as will be seen at the end of Form No. 9. When notices were issued that consumption on the premises was to be prohibited the local officers represented that it would be very difficult to enforce it in this district ; and it was retained as a temporary measure

Q.—You say it is prohibited in licensed shops , is there any law as to smoking in other premises ?

A.—No

Q.—Has any legislation been proposed to prevent the establishment of smoking clubs or saloons ?

A.—No

Q.—Can you give us any particulars regarding the preventive establishments now existing ?

A.—There are existing establishments both for excise and opium. The police have excise duties, but there is a special excise establishment

Q.—Has that been augmented lately ?

A.—It is proposed to augment it

Q.—Can you give us particulars ?

A.—It is proposed to augment it by preventive establishments in the Akyab, Sandoway and Kayantpiyin Districts, to prevent smuggling by sea and from Chittagong. The idea is to have boats going on beats to intercept smugglers. It is proposed also to have an establishment in the Amherst District and the Tavoy, which is in the Tennasserim Division for the same purpose, to prevent smuggling by sea

By Mr Pease —Q.—In a statement we have here it is said —“The Government of India informed the Home Government that any one found selling opium to others than Chinese, or keeping a saloon for consuming opium will be liable to conviction ” Is that carried out in these rules ?

A.—If he lets people smoke in his house and sells opium to them, certainly he is punished for selling opium , but if a man lets his friends come into his house, and they are each entitled by law to smoke opium and have each in their possession only the quantity of opium they are entitled by law to possess and they merely smoke it nobody is punished

Q.—Has it been found that the fact that the Government have prohibited the consumption of opium has led to people giving up the practice or has affected public opinion with regard to the practice ?

been increased vigilance which enabled you to make a so much more favorable report?

A.—My information is based on the statement of officers that the percentage of consumers is so very small. It is also borne out by jail statistics.

Supplement to Indian Witness, April 14th.

# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part XV. 11th, 12th & 13th December, 1893.

SITTING AT RANGOON.

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PRICE ONE PENNY, or ONE ANNA, for each part.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

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## Evidence of Mr. A. M. B. Irwin, C S., Deputy Commissioner

By the Chairman.—I have been in the service since 1876, and in Burma since 1877 My service has been entirely District service I have served in Shwegyin, Toungoo, Bassein, Rangoon, Pegu, Henzada, Sandoway, and Akyab Districts I was about two years in Arakan, I have just come from there,—two months ago I have served in the Tenasserim Division in the Shwegyin District, for three years at the commencement of my service I have also served in Pegu and in Irrawaddy

Q —I believe the shops were reduced in number some two years ago were not they?

A —Yes, in 1890 or 1891

Q —Had that the effect of making it difficult or impossible for the Burmese people to get opium?

A —I do not think so The only effect it had was to encourage smoking, and perhaps to raise the price of opium a little

Q.—What have you to say about the consumption of opium amongst the races in Lower Burma?

A —I have not taken any particular pains to find out that point I was on furlough at the time when particular enquiries were made two years ago The Arakanese, I think, consume more than the Burmese do per head of the population and the Chinese, I think, consume more than any one I think most of the Chinese consume opium.

Q —Do the people from India consume opium?

A —As far as I can make out the Natives from Upper India use a great deal Bengalis use more *ganga*, at least in the Arakan District They smuggle opium excessively on the frontier of Chittagong There are a great number of Bengalis in the Akyab District and on the frontier. I do not think they consume it themselves as much as the Arakanese

Q —Has any special arrangement been made to stop smuggling?

A —There is a small Excise Establishment, but it can do very little The frontier is very easy to smuggle across There is a large estuary,—The Naap estuary—which is about two miles wide and perhaps forty or fifty miles long, and they smuggle it across there. On the



Clittagong side I believe there are a great number of opium shops .It is constantly smuggled across there and smuggled through the hills by foot There is extensive smuggling carried on by steam and by boat The British India steamers generally bring down some smuggled opium

Q —What arrangements are there to prevent smuggling by steamer or by boat?

A —The Custom Officers and the Excise Officers at times board the steamers when they come in, and they keep as sharp a watch as they can They examine the goods and frequently find some opium concealed , but a great deal passes without being detected Whilst I was at Akyab, a servant of one of the officers on the steamer one day brought two trunks up to the pilot's house in Akyab and asked if he might leave them there I think he said that he had mistaken the house he had gone to, and he left the trunks there, saying that he would come back The pilot suspected him, and after a time his son smelt the opium, and they opened the boxes and found that there were 170 seers of opium There was also a British Indian steamer's table-cloth in the box The man was never caught, for he never came back

Q.—Are the Custom Officers on the look-out to see whether there is any smuggling?

A —They only watch the landing places in Akyab town It is impossible for them to watch anything more

Q —Do you know anything of smuggling opium in the Tenasserim District?

A —I suppose it is principally derived from the license shops My experience has been most in the Shwegyin District, where there never has been a licensed shop It was about thirteen years ago that I was there Opium was very commonly consumed at that time I do not think there ever has been a licensed shop in the Shwegyin District

Q —There have been no facilities for inland smuggling from Siam, has there?

A —I do not think so I think it was Government opium which came from Pegu and Moulmein

Q —The total prohibition of *ganya* has been in force about twenty years has it not?

A.—Since 1874 or thereabouts The prohibition was made before I came to Burma , but I know that *ganya* is extensively used up to the present by Natives of India I do not think Burmans ever took to it at all.

Q —What have you to tell us with reference to the effect of the consumption of opium ?

A —I have seen very little effects, either physical or moral. A tendency to self-indulgence is a potent factor in leading men into crime, and the Burman possesses this tendency rather largely. The same tendency leads of course to the consumption of opium, which is a form of self-indulgence. Burmans of the poorest class are extremely improvident in marked contrast to the poorest class of Natives of India. Poor Burmans treat themselves to the luxury of opium with a light heart, and as they cannot afford it they are driven to petty theft. So far as my experience goes, this is the only kind of crime that is produced by indulgence in opium. I have no reason to believe that it produces either crimes of violence or serious crimes against property. A poor Burman cannot get opium regularly, and in consequence he takes too much when he does get it. Thus, I believe, injures his health. The typical opium-eater about whom we hear so much is the man who indulges in the luxury though he cannot afford it. I believe there are plenty of opium-eaters who can afford it, and we hear little about them. They live respectable lives, and are respected, and there is nothing in their outward appearance to denote that their health has suffered. I cannot recall a single instance of any person whom I know to have been physically or morally ruined by indulgence in opium. As Deputy Commissioner it was part of my duty to inspect the jails. I do not recollect that the medical officers in charge ever drew my attention to cases of men physically broken down by the use of opium. I have not been in charge of a district where there has been a jail for a great many years, except for the last two years in Akyab.

Q —You say that indulgence in opium tends to drive the people to petty thefts. Did many of these opium thieves come before you ?

A —No, not lately. They are generally brought up for petty offences, and I seldom try petty cases unless there have been three or four previous convictions.

Q —You do not remember seeing any men who were apparently physically wrecked ?

A —I do not recollect any instance at the present moment.

By Sir William Roberts —Q —You say “the percentage of the population who consume opium is probably not large.” Do you mean the percentage of the total population ?

A —Yes.

By Mr. Pease —Q.—Can you tell us whether these twenty houses for the retail sale mentioned in the tables which have been put before us apply to the whole of Burma ?

A —I think they apply to the whole of Lower Burma.

Q.—The Chinese and Arakanese are larger consumers than the Burmans, are they not ?

A —Yes.

Q —Are there any other races ?

A —There are a large number of indigenous races in Burma I do not know much about the consumption of opium.

Q —In what way is it consumed principally ?

A.—I think eating it.

Q.—Smoking is an exception ?

A —There are Chinamen who sell it to the people They usually have apparatus for smoking a Burman usually eats opium.

Q —Do you think there are many cases of poor Burmans who take too much when they get it ?

A —“Many” is a relative term I think it is a very small part of the population.

Q —Why has Government been making all the efforts it has to prevent the purchase of opium ?

A —Because Government believe it to be deleterious as far as I can understand.

Q —As far as I understand you do not agree yourself personally with the action of the Government ?

A —I do not think that it is so serious as the Government has held it to be.

Q —Are there many regular smokers among Burmans, or is that principally confined to the Chinese population ?

A.—I think there are but few regular smokers among Burmans.

By Mr. Mowbray —Q —How many shops are there in Arakan ?

A —One licensed shop.

Q —What is Arakan ?

A —Arakan is a division consisting of four districts called Akyab, Kyaukpau and Sandoway, and the Arakan Hill Tracts It reaches from the Naap River, which is the boundary of Bengal down to the latitude of the northern part of the Bassein District The southern part of the division of the Sandoway District is a narrow strip between high hills and

the sea The Akyab District is something over 4,000 square miles. I should think the other three districts taken together would be probably about 8,000 or 9,000 square miles. The population of Arakan is about 200,000 This one shop is in Akyab.

By Mr Pease —Q.—Is it not a fact that people purchase opium from the opium dens and do not go individually to the shop for what they want?

A —One man probably in a thousand purchases his opium at the licensed shop If the consumers at Akyab were all to go to the Akyab shop to purchase opium they would not be able to get in, they would throng the street

By Mr Mowbray —Q —Where do they obtain opium from?

A —They obtain it from illicit vendors in almost every village—probably emissaries of the licensed vendors

Q —Are there any prosecutions?

A —Yes. Frequent prosecutions They are often sent to jail for two months or three months or perhaps six months, but seldom for more than that I think they are usually fined, perhaps from Rs 20 to Rs. 200 or Rs 300

Q —I was under the impression that some special efforts had been made to deal with opium in the Arakan division?

A —An excise establishment, I think, was sanctioned principally for the purpose of dealing with opium, but it would require even an establishment ten times the size, and then it would have very little effect on them

Q —Can you give the Commission any information as to whether the consumption of opium in Arakan has been diminished since the number of shops in Arakan has been diminished?

A.—I can only speak from the printed papers, in which I see the District Officers in Kyaukpyu and Sandoway have from time to time reported that within the last ten years they consider it has been checked a good deal in these two districts In Akyab, the people generally tell a different story They will generally tell you that it is increasing.

Q —The Akyab division is the one which immediately adjoins the land frontier of Bengal?

A —Yes

Q.—You have told us that probably a considerable amount of opium is smuggled from the frontier—from Bengal?

A.—Yes It is constantly smuggled It can be bought in Bengal for Rs. 24 a seer, and in Akyab it costs Rs 28

By the Chairman.—Q.—Do you think that the illicit vendors in every village whom you talk about are almost all secret agents of licensed vendors, or, do you think many of them get opium smuggled from outside the district ?

A.—I think it is quite possible that a good many get it from outside the districts, but at the same time when the fee for a licensed shop is forced up by auction to a great height, I think the vendor is bound to put his own energies into it, and he would probably drive the other people out of the field throughout the whole division When his license is extremely high it is almost invariably observed that the issues from the Government Opium Treasury fall off He simply cannot afford it, and he is unable to push his sales of Government opium sold to the Akyab Treasury to the extent which would recoup him for the license fee He is bound to go to Chittagong where he can get it cheaper, and smuggle it from there and sell it throughout the whole division That is the conclusion I have come to from the figures of ten years

Q.—Supposing that instead of auctioning the license you raised the price of your opium to the opium vendor to a higher figure, he would have still greater temptation to smuggle ?

A.—Yes but I do not think that is the only alternative

Q.—What do you think is the other alternative ?

A.—To forbid the possession of opium without a license and charge a small fee for every license possessed I would not allow any consumer to possess opium without a license.

Q.—Do you think you would get more revenue in that way ?

A.—No, I mean it would prevent smuggling, and it would also tend to check youngsters from taking to opium

Q.—How would it prevent smuggling, because if any man is now found in possession of opium in excess of three tolas without a license he is liable to punishment and imprisonment, and the opium is liable to confiscation ?

A.—Yes, it should be accompanied by an extension of the number of shops, so that when there is a demand (and people will have it legally or illegally), let them get the chance of having it legally

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—Are there not also two other alternatives, one is that you should fix the license fee, and the other is that opium should

be sold by a person who is in Government appointment, and who has no direct interest in the sale ?

A —I think those alternatives are certainly possible, but it would be extremely difficult to fix the license fee at the proper figure. If it is fixed high enough to raise the price of opium as we desire, there remains the same incentive to smuggle as if it were bought at auction. One of the greatest difficulties we have to contend against in Burma is the fact that opium is sold cheaper from the Government Treasury in Bengal than it is from the Government Treasury in Burma.

Q —If a man has paid an excessive sum for his license he has a stronger inducement to push the sale ?

A —Quite so. As for selling by Government officials, I think it is the worst possible method. I think it would merely demoralize all the officials that have anything to do with it. The temptation would be tremendous.

By Mr Mowbray —Q —I suppose if the sale was conducted by Government officials the price would have to be fixed very high in order to check consumption and the natural tendency of people would be to try and get it from smugglers, and not from the Government office ?

A —Precisely.

Q —It would put a great temptation also in the way of Government officials to supply opium at prices lower than the fixed Government price ?

A —I do not think they could well supply it at a lower figure, but it would be a great temptation for them to sell it wholesale in order to smuggle it into the villages.

By the Chairman —Q —Does not the system of licensed retail vendors give the Government great assistance in the way of prohibiting smuggling ?

A.—No, quite the contrary. The licensed vendor is bound to smuggle if he can possibly do so in order to recoup his license fee.

Q.—But still it is to his interest to prevent anybody smuggling but himself ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Is there anybody else who would make any effort in that direction to prevent smuggling in the districts outside Government officials ?

A.—Not a single soul There are plenty of men who are loud enough in denouncing the consumption of opium but they will not lift a finger to help the Government

Q.—In your report that you wrote in December, 1891, after recording briefly the opinions of the Burmese officials you conclude with the following remark — “In conclusion I beg to state that it is the opinion of all the officers whom I have directed to report on this matter, after personal investigation, that the ill-effects of opium on the Arakanese are apparent on all those whom they have examined, but that with perhaps a few exceptions the use of the drug has not either physically or morally affected the non-Burmans ” Do you think the reports of these Burmese officials are deserving of confidence ?

A —I think they are greatly exaggerated I did not at that time venture any opinion of my own as I was quite new to Arakan The Burmese and Arakanese have got into the habit of considering it quite a foregone conclusion that opium is ruination to a man, body and soul. I think that that is principally derived from their religious opinions

Q —Where are the Chinese mostly to be found in Burma ?

A —In Rangoon and the adjacent parts. There are very few Chinese in Arakan I have not seen very much of them There are some who are poor working men, but it is a small percentage I think they are pretty well-to-do generally They keep shops and that sort of thing in the villages

Q.—Do the poor men do coolie labour ?

A —No, they do not work as coolies as a rule, except to a slight extent for their own countrymen

Q.—You have not noticed any cases of men being physically injured among the Chinese from the use of opium ?

A —I have not. If I saw a man in a bad state of health and using opium, and knew he was an opium-eater, I think it would be rather rash to jump to the conclusion that his bad state of health would be caused by the use of opium

By Mr. Mowbray —Q —You have told us you would recommend absolute prohibition or possession Would that be applied to non-Burmans as well as to Burmans ?

A.—Yes, I think the great defect in the rules which have just been passed is not registering the non-Burmans. That will be the greatest difficulty in administering those rules.

Q —You say that it is impossible to deal with possession in the case of Burmans, unless you deal also with possession in the case of non-Burmans ?

A —That is so

Q —But if you have a register both of smoking Burmans, as is laid down in the new rules, and also a register of non-Burmans, do you think that that method would work ?

A —I think it would give the new rules a much better chance of succeeding That is all I can say

Q —You have told us that you think if possession were prohibited, it would be necessary to increase the number of shops ?

A —Possession without a licence,—I think in any case it is necessary.

Q —Would you also recommend that consumption should be permitted on the premises of shops which are licensed to possess ?

A —I think it would be better not to permit consumption on the premises, because that leads to more smuggling than would otherwise take place I am led to that belief by what I have read that opium-smoking is more injurious than opium-eating Personally, however I know nothing whatever about the relative effects of the two

Q —How would you practically deal with possession by unlicensed persons ?

A —The matter is chiefly in the hands of the Police there are no other preventive establishments The village headmen are also excise officers, and they occasionally give us a little help The way it is done is frequently by searching people on the road who are suspected of having opium in their possession and occasionally searching the houses which is only permitted during the day without a warrant

Q —The only illegality which can be brought home to them at present is the possession of a quantity of opium beyond a certain amount ?

A —No, any amount so long as they cannot prove that it was bought at a licensed shop

Q —Is the person compelled to prove that he has bought the opium from a licensed shop if he has only a small quantity ?

A —It is rather difficult to say exactly where the burden of proof lies, but I think if you take the law very literally, every man might be compelled to produce proof that he had bought the opium from a licensed



shop. Practically, I think, he is very seldom driven to that. I think the burden of proof is generally put on the prosecutor.

Q—Practically, requiring him to have a license to justify possession is really only simplifying the question of proof?

A.—It is more than that, as it means raising the price without putting up the license to auction,—if you could raise part of the price direct to the consumer

By the Chairman—Q—By making everybody Burman or non-Burman consuming opium pay a license fee?

A.—Yes

Q—He would have to register himself and apply for a license?

A.—Yes, registration in that case would be that the license would be registered

**Evidence of Surgeon-Major F. W. Dalzell, Civil Surgeon,  
Bassein.**

By the Chairman.—I have been in Burma nearly 14 years, and have served in all the districts of Lower Burma. As regards the prevalence of the opium habit, I can only quote actual figures with respect to the jail population, any other evidence must be more or less from general impressions gathered from a variety of sources, and must be taken for what it is worth. The criminal population of the Bassein jail numbers 979, of which three are females and the rest males. The total number of opium consumers among these is 111, which gives a ratio of 11.33 per cent. None of the females are addicted to the opium habit. Out of 886 Lower Burmans, 107 are opium-eaters or smokers. Out of 53 Upper Burmans only one is addicted to the habit. Of three Chinamen in jail only one smokes opium. Of 33 Natives of India only two smoke opium. The largest consumer is a Chinaman who smokes Rs. 1-8-0 worth of the drug per day. He has been an opium-smoker for ten years. His age is 24. His health on admission was recorded as indifferent, weight 106lb. He gets no opium now and is quite well. He says he intends to resume the habit on release. Two days after another Chinaman was admitted, age 32 years, he had eaten opium for 19 years. He began with four annas' worth, and has eaten one rupee's worth for 8 years. He was a trader and weighed 127lb. and was in perfect health. Three of the prisoners consumed Re. 1 worth of the drug daily, they practised the habit for 12, 7, and 10 years, respectively, all were in good health. Two weighed more and one less than on admission, three Burmans consumed 12 annas' worth for 10, 7 and 5 years, respectively, they are all in good health and are robust active men. Nineteen persons consumed 8 annas' worth of opium. Of

these nine were in good health on admission, eight indifferent, and two bad. They are all in good health now. Four prisoners who consumed 6 annas' worth were all in indifferent health on admission: one in good health now. One of these had practised the habit for 26 years, another 10 years. Of fifty prisoners who consumed 4 annas' worth, seventeen were admitted in good health, twenty-five in indifferent health, and eight in bad health. All are in good health now. Of the rest, one consumed 3 annas' worth, twenty-five 2 annas' worth, four 1 anna worth, and one 6 pies' worth daily. Of the total 111 consumers, only four are in indifferent or bad health now. Of the total number 58 smoked and 53 ate it. These figures show that in this jail at present about 11.33 per cent of the population consume opium. The greatest consumers are the Chinese, the jail ratio being 33 per cent. Next come Lower Burmans, of whom 12 per cent are opium-consumers, then follow Natives of India, 6 per cent, and lastly Upper Burmans 2 per cent. These figures bear out the general impression I have formed regarding the opium habit among the various races here. By far the largest consumers are the Chinese. I am inclined to think that at least 75 per cent use opium. Of course the ratios among the criminal population vary from time to time, 12 per cent is a low figure for Bassein, it is sometimes as high as 30 per cent. I should put the ratio among the free population outside the jail at 5 per cent of the adult males. The habit is almost entirely confined to the males. Amongst Natives of India, the habit varies with the race, those who find their way to jail are of all races, and it is difficult to judge of Indians collectively from the small number under observation. I believe the habit to be prevalent among coolies from Madras chiefly, but by them the drug is used only in small quantities. Confirmed opium-eaters are rarely found among them here.

Q.—By “confirmed opium-eaters,” do you mean opium sots?

A.—I mean men who are physically wrecked, who cannot do their work, who are physically in a bad state of health. It is chiefly amongst Burmans that any evil effects on their moral and physical condition are observable. Owing to their natural habits of indolence and their proverbial want of self-restraint, the Burman is more apt to run to excess than any other race.

By Sir William Roberts.—Q.—That remark applies to Natives of Lower Burma as well as to Natives of Upper Burma?

A.—Yes, to the whole of Burma, more especially to Lower Burma because Lower Burma is more prosperous and more healthy than Upper Burma. I do not know much of Upper Burma.

By the Chairman.—Q —What is the popular opinion with regard to the habit?

A —The habit is regarded by the generality of the people as disgraceful, and to call a Burman an opium-eater is equivalent to applying the term drunkard to a European

Q —Does that apply chiefly to eating or smoking?

A —It applies to both, but it is only when a man begins to leave off his work and becomes incapacitated that it is observable

By Sir William Roberts —Q —Is there a religious sentiment connected with this?

A —I believe that it is prohibited by the laws of Buddha, but I do not know much about Buddhism

Q —You have not formed any opinion whether that is the reason why it is regarded as disgraceful?

A —No, it is only when the habit is carried to excess. It is generally associated with vicious life and past crime

By the Chairman —Q —How do you think the habit begins?

A —The habit is often begun by the victims taking opium to allay some pain or physical distress and is then continued. In other cases it is the result of bad example. There can be no doubt that the opium habit has a degrading effect on the moral and physical nature of the Burman and often leads to the commission of petty crime, but it is a question whether those who indulge in opium would not take to ardent spirits or other drugs if opium were not procurable. I cannot, however, say that the evil effects of opium on the people as a whole are observable. It is indeed a rare sight to see a completely shattered wreck of humanity resulting from the opium habit. If such were common the medical officers would certainly meet with these, for they would lose all their friends, and die in the jail or the hospital. As for other races, I cannot say that I have seen any ill-effects resulting from the use of opium in moderate quantities. The drug is taken by them just as alcohol is taken by Europeans, and has much the same effect on the system, as far as the senses are concerned, but it is much less injurious in every sense. I have no experience of the prophylactic virtues of opium against malaria, but I can understand that the inhabitants of malarious tracts find great relief from the many painful complications of that disease by the moderate use of opium. My experience, however, is chiefly confined to Lower Burma, a flourishing and fairly healthy country, and there at all events I do not consider opium necessary to the health or happiness of the people (Arakan

perhaps excepted), and I would therefore advocate the restriction of the sale of opium as much as possible, but, unless, the same measure be taken with regard to alcohol, I do not think much benefit will accrue from the total prohibition of opium

Q—You said just now that of 33 Natives of India, only two smoked opium. Did none of them eat opium as far as you know,—or do you use the phrase generally?

A—I think the two Natives of India ate opium. The Natives of India generally consume it by eating it

Q—In speaking of the prisoners who consumed 8 annas' worth and 6 annas' worth and 4 annas' worth daily, you mentioned that a great many were in indifferent health when they entered the jail, and that they were in good health when they left. Did you trace their bad health to opium in those cases or not?

A—It is very difficult to say, in the case of a man who comes in indifferent health whether the ill-health results from the opium habit, or whether the habit begins owing to his being in ill-health and taking opium to relieve his suffering. I have not the exact figures, but nearly half of the prisoners admitted that they took opium to relieve certain physical symptoms. The commonest is pain in the chest and abdomen, and pain in the stomach, diarrhoea, dysentery, and rheumatic pains.

Q—Have you treated Chinese out of jail?

A—Very few. They do not seek European treatment very much.

Q—Have you any knowledge as to what extent opium is used as a medicine by Chinese doctors or by Burmese doctors on the Native system?

A—No, I have not much knowledge of that. I know opium is used both by the Chinese and by the Burmese largely, especially the Chinese, because it is about the only real sedative they know. I could give no approximate figures.

Q—Do you think there is any danger of driving the people to take it as a domestic medicine if you make it too difficult for them to get?

A.—There would be a loss in one direction and there would be a gain in another. No doubt a large number of people would suffer from the want of it even as a medicine, at the same time if it were entirely prohibited and if smuggling could be put a stop to, then a fairly large number of people would be saved from ruin. I am firmly convinced that if it were prohibited altogether and alcohol obtainable, opium-eaters would take to drinking alcohol, they do it now. A great many opium-eaters consume alcohol.

By Mr Mowbray —Q.—In your opinion is that worse ?

A.—I think it is infinitely worse for Burmans A Burman who takes to alcohol comes to grief very early in his career, and commits violent crime Opium is responsible for little or no violent crime, but it is responsible for petty crime and theft to a certain extent, because if a man runs out of the means of procuring opium he craves for it and he must commit theft to obtain a means of purchasing it. But when a Burman particularly takes to alcohol, he runs a very short career He is of a very excitable nature and exhibits great want of self-control From his cradle upwards a Burman is never taught to control himself the result is that he runs to excess in a very short time.

By Sir William Roberts —Q —How do you class *ganja* in this comparison which you are making between opium and alcohol ?

A —The effects of *ganja* are infinitely worse than those of opium.

Q.—Have you been able in your experience in jails and hospitals to trace the direct effect of the opium habit as the cause of serious disease and death, apart from poverty and other diseases ?

A —No, I cannot say that I can recollect any special morbid conditions due to the opium habit

Q —What you say seems to infer that the “completely shattered wreck of humanity” whom you rarely see resulted from the opium habit alone ?

A —There are the concomitants The opium consumer loses his appetite if he takes opium in large quantities, consequently he becomes emaciated, and very often diarrhoea is really what does terminate life It seems to bring on an intractable form of diarrhoea which is generally the ultimate cause of death

Q —You have the impression that the opium habit alone carried to excess will in that way at length kill ?

A —Yes provided the opium-eater does not take sufficient nourishing food

Q.—Do you mean from poverty ?

A.—From poverty or he may increase the dose so rapidly as to deprive himself of the power of digesting food. I believe that that is why the Burmans suffer more than any other race. The Burman, as I said before, from his cradle upwards, is not taught to control himself in any way. It is a rich country, the parents do not educate their children; they allow them to do as they please, they grow up in that

way and they exhibit very little self-control. A Burman who once takes opium is more prone to run to excess than any other race. He may run on to take Rs. two or Rs. three worth a day and so quickly that his system will not get accustomed to it. He will not have any appetite, and diarrhoea will set in and a fatal result will ensue. There is really no morbid condition observable on *post mortem* examination, beyond the attenuated condition of all tissues, loss of fat and all the functions are in abeyance.

Q—You think that the opium habit alone carried to excess may produce at length fatal atrophy?

A—Yes, fatal atrophy.

By Mr. Pease—Q—What was the social position of the Chinaman you speak of who consumed Rs. fifty-five worth of opium in the year?

A—I spoke of two Chinaman, one was a trader.

Q—Was his crime in any way connected with his habit of taking opium?

A—No, not with the habit of taking opium. He was a well-to-do man—in fact both of them were well-to-do men. The one man had eaten opium for nineteen years. He had eaten one rupee's worth for eighteen years, he weighed 127 lb, and was in perfect health as far as I could make out.

Q—What proportion of the prisoners who come into the jail do you put down as “indifferent” or in bad health. In those you have given us, I see you have put down thirty-two as being in good health as against forty-eight bad and indifferent amongst the opium consumers?

A—I am afraid I have not got that figure here. The proportion of opium-eaters who are recorded as being in indifferent health would be much larger than the proportion of ordinary prisoners. I am speaking of Burmans now.

Q—You say the habit is generally regarded as disgraceful, does that apply to the Chinese as well as to the Burmese?

A—No, it does not, because Chinaman show no ill effects from it.

Q—Have you any evidence to show that the checking of the supply of opium would lead to the consumption of ardent spirits? Is there any consumption of ardent spirits in Upper Burma where opium has always been prohibited?

A.—I have no experience of Upper Burma, I have only been stationed there a few months. But I know that in Lower Burma a considerable amount of alcohol is at present consumed by the Burmans and I know that if a Burman were deprived of opium he would certainly want some sort of stimulant, he would take alcohol if he could get it.

Q.—I gather it is your view that there is need for legislation for the reduction and prevention of the consumption of alcohol?

A.—I think it would be necessary if we prohibit opium to prohibit alcohol also.

Q.—Do you not think it is necessary at the present time?

A.—I think it would be a great benefit to prohibit alcohol.

Q.—I would ask you whether you do not think the provisions under the new rules which were sent out on the 23rd November, meet the requirements of the people for obtaining opium for medicinal purposes any person may possess for medical purposes limited quantities of opium, poppy heads, and medical preparations of opium, which he has bought from medical practitioners, pharmacists, and doctors do you not think that even if the licensed houses were closed, as proposed, there would be plenty of opportunities for obtaining what was required for medical purposes with so wide a range of persons who are allowed to supply it?

A.—Yes if smoking could be prohibited, I think those rules would meet the case.

Q.—The suggestion was that they might not be able to obtain opium for medical purposes, but here provision is made and the doctor would be at liberty to supply them do you think that would meet the case for medical purposes?

A.—Yes, for medical purposes I think it would.

By Mr. Mowbray—Q.—Do not you think that there is some risk of some of these Native practitioners becoming in fact vendors of opium for all purposes, if all other legitimate sources were stopped?

A.—Not if proper safeguards were maintained.

Q.—Do you think it would be possible to take sufficient safeguards to prevent Native practitioners from dealing in opium?

A.—Although the number of opium shops has been greatly reduced, the consumption of opium is not much reduced. Opium could be had in any village in Burma in spite of all legislation. I know that for a fact. All prohibited and smuggled opium is sent to me for examination, and I do not exaggerate when I say that three days in the week I get

parcels of opium varying from several pounds down to a few ounces to report upon.

Q.—You say you do not consider opium necessary to the health or happiness of the people. I understand you to be speaking of the Burman people?

A.—Yes, the people of the country, the country is fairly healthy and they do not require any stimulant of that kind. I was not talking of Natives of India, or the Chinese.

By Sir William Roberts—Q.—Do you adhere to the statement which you have made, “I cannot, however say that the evil effects of opium on the people as a whole are observable?”

A.—I have lived in this country for nearly fourteen years, I have travelled all over it from north to south three times. I have been in every town in Burma and lived amongst the people and have been in the villages, and I say that one might go through the country from end to end and not observe any evil effects from opium. It does not force itself upon your attention as the consumption of alcohol does in England. You could not go about day and night throughout the cities of England for fourteen years without having it forcibly brought to your notice by seeing drunken men and women. In a village here and there you may see a man rather emaciated-looking, with his hair cut short and dirty, you may be sure that he is an opium-eater. That is one of the wrecks you rarely see, but you see him now and then. He is pointed out and you are told that he is a *beinsa*, an opium-eater, he is called the village scamp.

By the Chairman—Q.—Is he a village scamp from the fact of eating opium alone, or is he a village scamp anyhow?

A.—Some begin by taking opium on account of ill health and others cause ill-health by taking opium. If you were to ask a Burman, “why do you take to opium?” He would say, “I was foolish. I met some fellows at the *puè* and they said ‘Let us smoke opium’, I did so and I began in that way.” About one-half I should say will admit that they began the habit through foolishness.

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—And then found it difficult to break off?

A.—They found it pleasing, as boys smoke tobacco at home. Those are the cases that turn out worst. Those who take opium in more advanced life on account of some sickness or pain are not so prone to carry the habit to excess. I think the most confirmed opium-eaters probably die before they are forty, those who do really become opium-



wrecks, just the same as alcohol drunkards. The men become addicted to the use of opium and they do not work, they simply loaf about and get opium in any way they can.

**Evidence of Mr G. L. Weidemann, U.S., Officiating Commissioner, Irrawaddy Division.**

By the Chairman —I have been 23 years in the service in Burma, and have served in very nearly all parts of Burma. Principally in the Irrawaddy Division, but I have also spent about six years in the Tenasserim Division. My work has been entirely district work. General Fitch was Chief Commissioner when I first succeeded Sir Arthur Phayre, and Sir Ashley Eden succeeded him.

Q —I should like to know what your opinion is as to the opium habit being prevalent among the Chinese?

A.—I think there is a considerable amount of consumption of opium among them. It is difficult to get the precise amount, because the Chinese themselves are very largely interested in the opium business and in the opium traffic. I am not personally acquainted with their language and it is very difficult to get from them any reliable evidence upon the subject. They are of a very secretive disposition. Those who are in the best position to know are the most reluctant to speak,—I mean those who are intimately connected with the opium traffic. The majority state that about one-third or even less of the whole Chinese population consume opium. On the other hand, one highly intelligent person states that two-thirds consume and that one-half consume regularly. According to the last census the total Chinese population of Bassein town, where opium is readily procurable is 667. There are very few females.

Q —Does that convey your general opinion about the Chinese population in other towns?

A —Yes. I think what applies to Bassein would apply to most large towns in this Province. It is a sea-port and it is a place where there are a considerable number of wealthy Chinese merchants.

Q —Are there any poor Chinese?

A —There are some poor Chinese. I think it is the poorer classes that consume most, or possibly it may be that the habit of consuming opium has tended to make them poor. I find that even the Chinese connected with the opium farm are not smokers. The headmen do not smoke themselves. My opinion is that the habit of smoking opium, as far as the Chinese are concerned is confined to the middle and lower classes. I think the best men avoid it.

Q—Generally speaking the Chinese are an active and hard-working people, I believe ?

A.—Yes, very

Q—Will you tell us what you think is the effect on the physical condition of the Chinese as far as you have seen ?

A—The effect on the physical condition depends a great deal upon the amount consumed, and the regularity of the supply. A certain person who is probably the greatest consumer in Bassem is over sixty years of age, and he is able to go about his business. He told me himself that he consumed two tolas of opium every day.

By Sir William Roberts—Q—By smoking ?

A—Yes. But if he were deprived wholly of opium for a single day, the effects would be undoubtedly very serious, and he confesses that a continuous deprivation of the drug would put a speedy end to his life. I am scarcely prepared to state the exact point of consumption which must be reached before total deprivation becomes dangerous. The conclusion, however, to which I have come is that whether the consumption of opium shortens life or not (a medical question into which I am not prepared to enter) the effect of sudden deprivation after a certain point of consumption is reached is certainly dangerous.

By the Chairman—Q—What observations have you to make as to the effect of the habit on the moral condition of the Chinese ?

A—Moderate consumption appears to have no bad effect on the moral or physical condition of Chinese. Immoderate consumption undoubtedly unfits a man for steady application and leads to habits of gambling, that is, to the ownership and keeping of gambling dens, and also in this country to the seeking of illicit profits by retailing opium. It is my experience that even immoderate consumption among Chinese rarely, if ever, leads to the breach of any law comprised within the covers of the Indian Penal Code. I am not sufficiently intimate with Chinese habits of life to state whether it has a prejudicial effect on their domestic virtues.

Q—How does immoderate consumption lead to gambling and the ownership of gambling dens ?

A.—The keeping of gambling dens is a source of profit ; and if a man is very much demoralized by smoking opium and very much weakened, the habit will take up a great deal of his time. He would have to smoke regularly at certain times of the day. His general condition would become deteriorated and he would then take to easy

forms of getting money. I do not think there can be any doubt about that. Some of the opium-smokers are also largely employed by the Opium Farmers for retailing opium in the country, at a distance from the opium shops.

Q — With regard to the Natives of India who are to be found in Burma, what do you think the proportion of consumers amongst them is ?

A — Whatever may be the case with regard to ganja and spirituous liquors, the consumption of opium is so rare as to be of light import both among Mahomedans and Hindus from all provinces of India, except the coolies (chiefly mill-hands) known as Coringis. Of these about half consume opium, but by swallowing in small quantities, not by smoking, which they cannot afford.

Q — I suppose the Coringis are the most numerous section of the Indian population here ?

A — They are migratory. They come over for the working season to the mills and then go away to their homes. They come from the Madras coast.

Q — What is the effect of the habit upon the physical condition of these opium-eating Madrasis ?

A — Excessive consumption is almost unknown, and so long as supplies of opium are kept up there appears to be little difference between consumers and non-consumers. I am speaking chiefly of the Coringis who are regular users. It is, however, the case that some consume more than others, and on the sudden deprivation of the drug from stoppage of wages or other causes works prejudicially. It brings on dysentery, and unless solid and nourishing food are at hand, the victim becomes emaciated, and among such persons deaths are not infrequent. As to the precise effect, however, of opium-smoking in undermining the constitution in such cases, it is difficult to speak. Ill-health and loss of wages among the labouring classes would naturally lead to fatal results in many cases without bringing in opium as a predisposing cause.

Q — What have you to say as to the effect on the moral condition of these Indian opium-eaters ?

A — The comparatively moderate use of opium among Natives of India is not known to me to have any bad results on their moral character. I say that as a man having the experience of a District Magistrate.

Q — Is it not true that up to Sir Arthur Phayre's time, the policy of the Burmese Government was very strongly to suppress the extension of opium among the people in Burma ?

A—I think it was. I cannot of course speak from my own personal knowledge, but from what I have always heard. I think it was the tradition to prohibit opium as much as possible.

Q.—In whose time did any change occur in the policy?

A—I imagine it came in with our occupation more or less. I think it has been gradual. I do not know that there was any marked change in our policy with regard to opium. As far as I know it has been continuous, it has been the same all through.

By Mr Mowbray—Q—How would you describe that continuous policy?

A—I think the object of the British Government was to substitute duty-paid opium for opium that had not paid duty, and which came from Yunnan. I think there is no doubt that in Burmese times Yunnan opium did filter through the country. It was the part of the Burmese Kings to suppress opium as much as possible, but it did filter through the country, and I think there can be no doubt that there were opium-smokers in Burma when we took the country. I think the policy of the British Government was, finding opium and finding opium consumers, to substitute opium that had paid duty and which they could regulate, for opium that had paid no duty, and the consumption and importation of which they could not regulate. As far as I know there has been no change of policy. I think that was the root idea all through,—to get the maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption.

Q—--I do not know how far you would like to express an opinion on restrictions and the general prohibition of the possession of opium under the new rules?

A—I think it is a step in the right direction, and for this reason. I think, as I was saying, the policy of the Government has been the same as long as I have been aware of it, but that gradually they did more than replace Yunnan opium by duty-paid opium. I think statistics show that the amount of opium consumed in the country has increased faster than the population. It is impossible for me to say the exact point at which duty-paid opium drove out Yunnan opium. I think Yunnan opium is not seen in the country now to any extent. When I first came into the country, Yunnan opium was more or less common. I am speaking of Lower Burma.

Q—What is your opinion with regard to the exception of the non-Burman population?

A.—My opinion is that the policy of the Government is the right one in making exceptions, provided the amount of opium which is allowed to the non-Burmans is restricted. If it is not restricted, I think then that there will be a temptation for the non-Burmans to sell illicitly what they did not require for their own use.

Q.—I see in a Despatch in 1886, when you were Deputy Commissioner of Shwegyin, you were in favour of exception being made in the case of foreign residents who had become habituated to the drug. Are you of the same opinion still?

A.—I am.

Q.—You suggested the establishment of a special Government agency in order to conduct sales in the case of foreign residents. Are you still in favour of a system of that kind?

A.—I think it ought to be tried. It may be more or less difficult to work it satisfactorily, but I am of opinion that the present method of putting up opium farms for sale, really is a temptation to smuggling. It is impossible for the Government to look after the shops and to supervise them in such a way that the opium does not filter out from the shops in the surrounding population. I will not say that it is impossible, because several schemes have been tried, or rather have been suggested, but apparently they have all been abandoned. None of them have come to anything. I think therefore the only way for the Government to keep a watch on the opium is to distribute it itself.

Q.—Would you make that recommendation universal in substitution of the present system?

A.—I think I would with regard to opium. My reason for saying that is because I think the present system is radically wrong.

Q.—I understand that you are speaking of the licensing system,—not of the system as to who should obtain the opium, but the system of distribution,—how it should be distributed?

A.—Just so, I think the present system of putting up licenses to auction and then selling the opium to the licensees and allowing them to distribute it is radically wrong, because I think there is an immense temptation for these Chinese to make money by selling as much opium as they possibly can. They have agencies everywhere for distributing the opium.

Mr Pease.—Q.—You also infer that they purchase illicit opium for sale?

A.—I do not think they purchase illicit opium in this sense; the word “contraband” can be used in two senses,—I am speaking with regard to Yunnan opium. It is contraband opium in the sense that it has never paid any duty, but British opium is not contraband in the sense that it has not paid duty, it is only contraband when a man is found in possession of more than three tolas. I think that makes a great difference. The tendency has been to increase the number of shops, because if a shop was instituted at the head-quarters of a district like Bassem, under the system which has all along been pursued, it would be for the lessee’s interest to distribute opium over as wide an area as possible. If a large amount of English opium was found at the head-quarters of a subdivision, the Government would then see that opium is clearly very largely consumed,—contraband opium, not contraband in the sense of its being Yunnan opium, but simply because it is over three tolas, therefore it would be a good thing to set up another shop, because evidently the consumption of opium wants regulating.

By Mr. Mowbray —Q.—There has been no increase in the number of shops since the last five years?

A.—Restriction in the number of shops has not gone hand in hand with the restriction of the opium which is sold to the lessees.

Q.—If opium is sold by Government it would have to be sold at a very high price?

A.—I think the higher the price is, the less the consumption. I do not think it necessarily follows that Government would be bound to sell at a high price, for this reason, that at present the person who buys a shop has to pay a high price for the license itself. Then he buys the opium at a certain price from the Government, he then has to retail it in such a way as to get a profit to cover, not only the price he has paid for the opium, but the price he has paid for the shop and also, as matters go now, he has to pay for an agency for distributing it illicitly. There is no doubt that opium is largely distributed. He has to pay all these persons, and then if these persons are caught (they are very often wretched Chinese with no money of their own), he has to pay their fines. He has to make a profit besides.

Q.—All which goes to prove that Government could afford to sell the opium a great deal cheaper than the licensed shops could sell it?

A.—Yes. I do not know of any counterbalancing argument the other way.

Q —But do you think Government if it sold opium directly could sell it at a lower price? Would it not be at once accused of stimulating the consumption of opium?

A.—I think that might be so. I meant more about the necessity for selling it at a high price to make a profit

Q —I am not considering the question of profit, I am looking at it as a practical question. Would it not be necessary that Government should sell it at a high price?

A.—I think it would

Q —Would not that lead to as great an opening in the illicit trade for opium as you have at present?

A —If the Government strictly confined the importation of opium to a certain amount, and then sold through a trustworthy agency and at a high price, I think it ought to go a long way towards restricting the consumption. It would be more difficult to get opium illicitly in that way

Q —Have you ever considered another suggestion which I see has been made by some people, viz, that you might have the facilities for consumption by non-Burmans limited to certain places?

A.—I have never considered that, but I think they ought to be limited to certain places.

Q—Is it the case that the Chinese population is concentrated in a comparatively small number of places?

A —Yes. I think there are large rural tracts where there are no Chinese they wander about as hawkers and traders in boats, there are several fairly large villages without any Chinese population at all

Q —You have not thought out the question of the possibility of limiting the supply to non-Burmans in places where there is a large Chinese population?

A —I certainly think that it ought to be limited to what a man may be expected to consume,—the average consumption of that population. What I mean is this we found that some Chinese came to register themselves as opium-smokers who were not, or at least were strongly suspected not to be, opium consumers at all. They put down their names as being consumers of really a large quantity of opium and that gave rise to the suspicion that they desired to register themselves as opium consumers, in order that they might get the opium to retail

Q —Is there any necessity at all for a Chinaman to register himself now ?

A —There is not any necessity now This was when the first orders were issued

By Sir William Roberts Q —I see you mention your experience with regard to both the Chinese and the Natives of India, but you do not say anything about the Burman population Have you anything you would like to say with regard to the effect of the opium habit on the Burman population ?

A —I agree with the majority of officials in this country I think that it has a bad effect upon the Burmans, both physically and morally, but I think, perhaps, morally more than physically .

By the Chairman —Q —Do you not think that the jealousy which smugglers or illicit consumers have for the licensed vendors who have paid a high price for the monopoly of retail sales in certain districts, is a very valuable assistance to the District officer in checking smuggling ?

A —No, I cannot say that it is I think that it would, if there were a strong party among the Chinese who wished to sell Yunnan opium that had paid no duty and, therefore, could afford to sell it cheaper but I think we have driven Yunnan opium out of Lower Burma, and now the different licenses at different places unite to push their opium

Q —But is it we or those men who hold the licenses, who have driven out Yunnan opium ?

A —Both We have done it through them

Q —If you get rid of those licensed vendors, and rely only on sales by direct official agency, you lose their assistance against smuggling, do you not ?

A —Yes, we certainly should

Q —Do not you think that under those circumstances Yunnan opium and Straits Settlements opium will come in ?

A —That is a very difficult question to answer I think there would be a decided tendency for it to come in, if it were not watched

Q.—There being no inducement to the vendors to stop illicit trade, do you think the disadvantages to the population would be greater than those which the population suffers from the temptation to the present vendors to push their trade in their own pecuniary interest ?

A —The new experiment is so entirely novel that I think it is difficult to state what its exact effects will be, but I think the present system of having licensed firms has tended to put money not only into the



pockets of the licensees, but it has also assisted the Government revenue. It has always been a very easy system to work. The substitution of Government agency, and the restriction of the amount of opium sold, I think, will be a very difficult matter to work satisfactorily. The policy is so new and so untried that I am quite unable to say what its ultimate effects will be. Whether it would be possible to keep out Yunnan opium, and at the same time to restrict the sale of Government opium, and prevent it spreading, is a very difficult question to answer.

Q — In the new system, which is the system we want to criticise, we have a few retail vendors who will obtain their licenses, but the amount of opium they will get and be able to obtain from Government will be a certain small limited amount calculated and based upon an estimate of the requirements of certain certificated Burman, and a certain number of reputed Chinese and Madras opium-eaters and smokers, so that they will not be able to push their sale in the way they formerly did—not, at any rate with Government opium?

A — No. I was not aware that Government had made up its mind how it would sell.

Q — It has made up its mind as a rule to sell it by auction. In certain places where the demand is very small it will dispense it through the treasury, and in places where the demand is comparatively large it will be by auction sales. Do your objections to auction sales apply equally to a system like that where the amount of opium which the vendor can get from Government is a small and limited amount?

A — I have no objection in that case to the system of auction sales. I do not think there would be very much inducement to these persons to buy.

Q — There will not be much competition.

A — I should say not.

Q — Unless they think that they can use a large amount of illicit opium?

A — Unless they saw their way to it, I do not quite know whether they would or whether they would not.

#### **Evidence of Surgeon-Captain Davis.**

By the Chairman — I am Superintendent of the Rangoon Jail, and have served eleven years in Burma, a little over eight years, since 1885, from 1885 to 1888 in Upper Burma, after that in Rangoon itself. I was partly in civil and partly military employ in Upper Burma.

Q.—What experience have you as to the effect of opium upon Burmans ?

A.—My experience is entirely limited to the criminal population which I have seen admitted to the jail. Comparing Burmans with Chinamen they bear the influence of the opium habit much worse. The Burman who consumes four annas' worth of opium daily as a rule shows it more than a Chinaman who smokes the same amount.

Q.—How do you discover when a man has smoked opium ?

A.—I ask him before the window. As a rule I think they confess it.

Q.—The opium is stopped ?

A.—My orders are that men are not to have opium, yet a certain illicit traffic takes place, but it can only be to a very limited extent.

Q.—In cases where the opium habit is thoroughly established to an immoderate extent, do you stop it at once ?

A.—A man is watched for a little bit, and if he seems out of sorts and if the diarrhoea gets excessive he is sent into hospital and kept, under observation, but, unless a man really shows symptoms of serious illness, the opium is withheld from him. About a month or six weeks after his admission he appears to turn the corner, I do not say in every case, but in a great number of cases, and he begins to gain weight.

Q.—Do you think they go through very great suffering ?

A.—I think so, when they first come in. Some do and some do not. It is only those who suffer much that come up and complain and go to the hospital. I never saw any of them die directly from the opium habit. They die from inter-current diseases. A man addicted to the opium habit would become below par and is liable to attacks of inter-current diseases. If he is liable to attacks of malaria or dysentery he would very probably get an attack of it in jail, and he might die of it. I have never seen a man die absolutely from opium alone.

By Sir William Roberts —Q.—Of course you exclude suicides ?

A.—I have never had any suicides.

By the Chairman —Q.—I believe there are very few Chinese in the jails.

A.—Very few, comparatively speaking.

Q.—Do the Chinese and the Burmese smoke the same drug ?

A.—From enquiries I have made it appears that Chinamen smoke a purer drug.

Q.—Have you any experience of the effect of opium upon the Natives of India ?

A —My experience is very limited I cannot say much about them

Q —Have you, in your own experience, ever seen people who could be described as physically wrecked by the use of opium ?

A —I think I have I have seen one or two men brought into jail. In many of these cases I think probably there was a combination of opium and other diseases as well It is not an uncommon thing for Burmans and sometimes for Chinamen also to take opium to allay pains of some constitutional disease, such as syphilis Of course the two combined make a man a perfect wreck

Q —Have you ever heard that opium is used as an aphrodisiac in this country of Burma ?

A.—I cannot say My knowledge is only hearsay evidence I have heard that impotence sometimes occurs in the case of opium-eaters and opium-smokers who are given to sexual excess

By Sir William Roberts —Q —A, I understand your experience is almost entirely confined to the jail ?

A —Yes, to criminals, and to the hospital in the jail

Q.—You said just now that you thought that the opium habit rendered people more liable to inter-current disorders ?

A —I think that is, perhaps, more than I intended to say If I did say so, I only referred to it with reference to people dying in jail who are opium eaters, and who eat opium to excess, but taking those who consume smaller doses of opium, say two annas or four annas' worth, I do not think there is a very large proportion of them who come into hospital

Q —Then you scarcely adhere to the statement that opium predisposes to disease ?

A.—I think it does

Q.—Have you anything besides an impression with regard to that point ?

A —All I know is from the patients I have seen in the jail itself.

Q —Do you mean that opium-eaters in excess coming into jail are more liable than the rest to take some disease that might happen to be prevalent in the jail ?

A —I think they would. I think opium-eaters in excess, as a rule are admitted into the hospital very soon after admission into jail, that is during the probationary period while they are recovering from the stoppage of the drug When they are in that weakened condition, before they have quite turned the corner, they are far more liable to inter-current

diseases than the ordinary prisoner, but when they have turned that corner and begin to gain weight, I think they take their position among the ordinary healthy class of prisoners

Q —I have no doubt you have seen some very extraordinary cases of the opium habit amongst the prisoners ?

A —I came across one extreme case I took his own statement. The man I refer to was a Chinaman, who said that he smoked three and a half tolas of opium a day He was a very fat man On the other hand, I have seen Chinamen who have smoked only a rupee's worth of opium a day, and who showed effects very badly.

Q —Have you seen those cases recover after three or four weeks ?

A —Yes

Q —I presume you regard that as a sign that they could not be suffering from organic disease ?

A —I cannot say that I have ever met with any organic disease which I could put down to opium alone

Q —I suppose you have seen the effects of alcohol likewise in the jail ?

A. —We do not see the effect of alcohol amongst Burmans here we very seldom come across it It is nothing like what it is at home

Q —As I understand a large number of the prisoners among the Chinese are in jail for offences against the Opium Act ?

A —Out of thirty-two in jail at present thirteen are in under the Opium Act

#### **Evidence of Captain R. G. MacMullen**

By the Chairman —I am Deputy Inspector-General of Military Police and have served in Burma about four years Before that I served mostly in the Punjab with a Frontier Force Regiment. I have served with races of India (the same as are enlisted for the Burma Military Police) for over thirteen years. Opium is most freely used, eaten more or less by all such races, and also smoked in addition by those races whose caste allows of such I use the word "freely" in the sense that a large proportion—and I am informed, and from personal knowledge can confirm it—one-third of all the men now serving in the Burma Military Police use the drug, but it is used in moderation and the abuse is *very much* the exception. In addition to the opium that is consumed by men in perfect health, a very large quantity is used as medicine, and, I believe, with excellent effect, and saves numbers of lives. Say a member of a family has looseness of the bowels,

they may not be near a dispensary, or the patient may be a female and the family does not wish her to see a doctor, an opium pill is at once given and very likely an attack of cholera, or some other disease, is avoided. I am assured this is the common everyday custom in every village, and that the people thoroughly and rightly believe in the virtue of opium as a medicine. Of all the races I have served with, the Sikhs are by far the largest consumers. I think it is generally admitted that the Sikhs are still, perhaps, one of the finest physically, if not the finest of all the races of India and if the race has deteriorated at all, it is the advance of civilization and patent leather shoes that has done it, not opium. I have served ten years with the sixth Punjab Infantry, Punjab Frontier Force. In the regiment there are two companies of Sikhs, who I believe to be a man consume opium, and they are perhaps the two finest companies in the regiment. I have on the different occasions my regiment has been warned for service, attended the Medical Officer's inspection, and there were fewer men cast in these two companies than in any other. A few, but a very few indeed, were not allowed to go on service because they had injured their constitution by the *abuse* of the drug (i.e. excessive use of it). I have also been informed by Medical Officers of the regiment that although it was likely these two companies might break down on service *if their opium was stopped*, yet if they got it in moderation, they would stand more hardship, and go through more than non-consumers, and I will further say this, in the hard work done by the military police in Upper Burma in the early days, Sikhs stood the hardships and malaria perhaps the best of all the races, and I know most of the Sikhs in my Military Police Battalion did take opium in moderation, because at one time, at the request of the men, I got it and issued it myself.

Q.—Have you seen any cases in hospital from the excessive use of opium?

A.—Yes, I have seen some cases at least the medical officer has told me that it was from excessive use. There were however, very few cases.

Q.—Among the Sikhs who were opium consumers in your own regiment and in the Burma Police, have you seen any appearance of detrimental effects upon the morals of the men?

A.—No, I do not think so,—not in the least.

Q.—Do you not think they might be led to steal?

A.—Yes, they might do that, if they had to get it and could not get it otherwise.

Q —What do you think about the effect in some way or other of prohibiting and stopping the use of opium?

A —I believe men would go in for it. If they did not get opium they would go in for *ganja* or some extract of hemp or perhaps cheap liquor which can be got any where in India now. The effects would be much worse

By Sir William Roberts —Q —Is the Burma Military Police recruited entirely from the Natives of India?

A —Yes, except the Karen Battalion. They are now enlisting Karens, but that is a very small proportion

By Mr Pease —Q —Do you think that the fine physical condition of the Sikhs is in any way attributable to their consumption of opium?

A.—No, I do not think so

Q —Do you think that the Sikhs who do not consume opium are in any way inferior to those who do?

A —I do not think opium has affected the race at all

Q —Do you not think that there is a serious danger from a military point of view in having your men dependent upon having a drug always present in the Commissariat?

A —I am not a medical man, and I cannot say if they can stop it or not. I am not in a position to say that

Q —But, as a military man, do you not think that it is a bad thing to have a body of men entirely dependent upon having a drug?

A —I do not think I have said that they were entirely dependent upon it.

Q —You say, "I have also been informed by medical officers of the regiment that it was likely these two companies might break down on service if their opium was stopped."

A —These men were used to it. That is what the medical officer told me—that they considered the men who were used to it if it were stopped might break down

Q.—Do you not think that it is a great disadvantage to have a body of soldiers who are dependent upon their opium in order to be able to go through the work they have to do?

A —I have been told by doctors, and it is my own opinion, that men, if accustomed to it, if it was stopped, might break down

Q —You see the disadvantage of such a position?

A.— If they get it they are nothing the worse for it, and most probably they might be the better for it

Q.—Do you suppose that these two companies were greater consumers of opium than the other companies of the Punjab Infantry?

A.—I know these two companies did consume more opium

By the Chairman —Q.—The other companies were men of other races I presume?

A.—Men of other races in the regiment We had Indians, Punjabis, Mahommedans, Dogras, and Sikhs That is what we were composed of

By Mr. Pease —Q.—Is it your experience that these men could go on from year to year without increasing the quantity, or that there was a tendency to increase the quantity to produce the desired effect

A.—I do not know that there is a tendency to increase the quantity That would be more a thing for the medical officer to answer

Q.—You say, “A few were not allowed to go on service because they had injured their constitution by the abuse of the drug”—those were men who had increased the quantity?

A.—I do not think taken in moderation it does injure the constitution

Q.—But there were men in the regiment who were unable to go on service?

A.—Yes, when the men were inspected for service I have seen the medical officer casting one or two men. When I asked why these men were cast, the medical officer on one or two occasions said that the men were excessive opium-eaters

By Mr. Mowbray —Q.—Are you quite satisfied with the physique of your Military Police in Burma?

A.—Yes, perfectly satisfied

Q.—Supposing it were decided to prohibit opium generally in Burma, are you of opinion that it would be necessary to make an exception and to allow your military police to consume it?

A.—Most decidedly

#### **Evidence of Mr. F. Bradley.**

By the Chairman —Q.—I believe you are an Apothecary, late Civil Surgeon, Northern Shan States Will you tell us what opportunities you have had of seeing the extent of opium consumption in the Northern Shan States?

A.—My opportunities of seeing the extent of opium consumption among the Shans of the Northern Shan States have been great. I was four years in the Northern Shan States and accompanied Messrs. Scott and Saunders in their tours through the Shan States. I was also out with Captain Daly and have visited a very large number of the villages of the Northern Shan States. I have been to Kokang, the principal centre of the opium production of the Northern Shan States where opium is largely grown and can be purchased at prices ranging from Rs 6 to Rs 10 a viss (3 65lb). So far as I know all the men in Kokang and the adjoining Shan States after reaching fifteen or sixteen years of age consume opium. This is more especially the case in Kokang. They both smoke and eat it, as a rule, a little in the morning and a little in the evening. So far as I could see the opium appeared to have no evil effect upon them. They struck me as being a particularly strong and healthy class of men. Mr Scott and I both used to remark on this. Their children are certainly very fine specimens. All the men in the State who have to do hard work, such as pedlars and others who carry about heavy loads, consume opium habitually. They cannot get through their work without it. These are Shans and Chinamen. The Chinese come in from Yunnan, they have been settled in these States for centuries past. I was in charge of the Lashio hospital for four years. During those four years I cannot remember a single case in which I could trace the cause of the patient's complaint to the evil effects of opium. The only people who ever carried the consumption of opium to excess were the immediate followers of the Sawbwas who led an idle life. The ordinary people never consumed it to excess. I think the people in that part of the country could not do without opium. I have occasionally taken opium myself when I have come in tired from a long day's march. I felt all the better for it, a few whiffs gave me immediate relief. In half an hour my appetite returned and the sense of fatigue appeared to have wholly disappeared. Next morning one is perfectly well and there is no sense of craving subsequently. I have never heard of any case in the Northern Shan States where opium has had a marked effect on the morals of a consumer and led him to do wrong. Opium is the only luxury and comfort the Shans in the Northern Shan States have. I consider it a necessity.

Q —Do you know the Southern Shan States ?

A.—I have not been in the Southern Shan States. I have gone round the borders of them.

Q —Are the men of the Southern Shan States easily distinguishable from the men of the Northern Shan States ?



A.—They are just the same

Q.—They both appear to take opium, so far as your experience goes?

A.—Yes. I have heard Mr Scott say the same thing—that they all take it

Q.—The people are a very strong and energetic sort of race?

A.—The Kokang people, who are half Chinese, are very energetic I could not say very much about the Shans being energetic

Q.—Where does this opium go to?

A.—A great deal is sent to China, and used amongst the people in the states round Some is brought down into Mandalay and in this direction The duty is very heavy The Chinamen and the Shans coming down from the States through Mandalay are allowed to bring a certain amount When they have over a certain amount they have to pay very heavily for it

Q.—Do you know what they do with the poppy seed?

A.—The Kachins carry it about and eat it I have often carried about a box with me It is very refreshing and they are very fond of it They eat it with their food You buy a little bag of seeds and carry it about with you It is eaten uncooked and mixed with the rice they eat They often carry a number of poppy heads about with them, and use the seeds as they are required

Q.—Do the Shans give any excuse or reason for taking opium?

A.—No They take it out of sheer laziness They have nothing else to do but smoke In the case of people who have to work hard it is used because they say that they could not go through the fatigue without it Some people have to carry very heavy loads about The people who have to live in the low-lands on the paddy fields, have to work very hard, and they say that it keeps fever off and I believe it does

Q.—You regard it as a stimulant?

A.—Yes

Q.—Is there any re-action?

A.—They do not seem to complain of any re-action They seem to be all right after it. It seems to do them no harm as far as I have seen.

Q.—You say you occasionally take it yourself. Have you any other sensation except the feeling of relief from fatigue, and that sort of thing?

A.—No. I have felt rather a happy sensation. The fatigue seemed to drop off me as if I had dropped a cloak suddenly. I got my appetite all right, slept well after it, and got up next day feeling perfectly fresh.

Q.—Supposing the supply of opium to the Burmans is cut off, as it is proposed, do you think that the smuggling of opium from Shan States could be prevented ?

A.—I do not think you could prevent smuggling. I think opium could always be got in. It could be brought in by anybody coming down. It is hardly expected that a man is bringing opium, and he will march through the Maymyo, where there is a guard to collect the revenue.

Q.—Is the border of the Shan States and the British districts of Burma a mountainous country ?

A.—Yes. You can cross the hills at any part. A good many of the hills are thick jungle, but there are pathways leading all through. You can come in from any part almost. Nearly all the Sikhs of the regiment I had medical charge of took opium. They thrived on it, and they certainly suffered less from fever and bowel complaints than other Sepoys. We had about a hundred Sikhs up in the Shan country. They belong to the Mandalay Battalion.

Q.—Would it be possible to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy in the Shan States ?

A.—I do not think they could prevent it. According to our present Government, it could not be prevented. We simply have a political officer. The country is governed by their own chiefs.

By Sir William Roberts.—Q.—I think you said that the people of Kokang are partly Chinese and partly Shans ?

A.—Yes. A good many of them. Some of them are pure Chinese. Others are half-breeds and Shans.

Q.—The two races consume opium equally ?

A.—They seem to take it about the same. They all take it in Kokang.

Q.—You say that they take a little in the morning and a little in the evening ?

A.—That it is the general rule among the hard-working people.

Q.—What quantity would they usually take morning and evening ?

A.—Every man takes what satisfies him. Various men I have spoken to have told me that they take it at different times.

Q.—You say opium is the only luxury which the Shan States have. Do not the people smoke tobacco ?

A.—Yes

Q.—So that it is not correct to say that opium is “the only luxury?”

A.—They do not look upon tobacco as opium, they think opium is far preferable

Q.—There is no spirit drunk among them?

A.—No, the Shans do not drink

Q.—It is a malarial country?

A.—Very. Some parts are very malarious and other parts are healthy. It is a very undulating country. Some parts are very low and other parts are very high.

Q.—Is there a popular belief that opium is good for the various troubles of malarial districts?

A.—Yes, people have great faith in it and have found it do good. They say that those people who take opium do not suffer from fever. They take it as a prophylactic.

Q.—Is it your impression as a medical man, that opium does act as a prophylactic?

A.—Yes. I have given it myself in cases, and I have found it act when nothing else would.

Q.—You have seen a great many cases of malarial diseases I suppose?

A.—Yes, hundreds of cases.

By Mr Pease.—Q.—Is there anything special in the race or the country to make opium a necessity?

A.—It is a very cold climate. It is very hilly and people have to carry loads about, and they have lots of hard work in climbing.

Q.—I gather that it is your opinion that if they give up the habit it would be to their disadvantage?

A.—I fancy they could not live there without opium now with the kind of food they get, and the way they have to live, and are clothed and so forth.

#### **Evidence of Mr C Findlay.**

By the Chairman.—I have been in Rangoon eleven years. I have been during the past eight years managing one or other of Messrs Bullock Brothers' mills in Rangoon. In that time I may say I have come into daily contact with the Indian coolies who consume opium. These men are employed carrying rice-bags for the most part, and of all mill labour this requires the most physical strength coupled with endurance. In physique

they are as good as any, and better than most, of the coolies we employ. They take opium regularly every day, and the practice is not confined to one or two men in a gang, but is almost universal, it being exceptional to find a man who does not take it. I have questioned them regarding the quantities they take at a time, and the number of times a day they take it. So far as I am aware they only take a small dose once a day when the day's work is over. They say it acts as a tonic or stimulant and enables them to eat as well as to sleep. They themselves say, without it they could not possibly bear the strain of work put on them, and invariably if a man stops it he turns sick and unfit for work. I do not know what the effects of not taking it may be, but I can testify to the fact that those men who do take it seem to be none the worse for doing so, and are, as I have said before, the best coolies we have. The work done by opium-eating Coringi coolies is as follows. In a mill producing, say, 8,000 bags of rice (800 tons) in twenty-four hours, 100 coolies are usually employed for handling the bags after they are sewn up. These coolies work in shifts arranged by themselves, there being always sufficient men in the mill to keep the work going. The work to be done is to carry the bags from the godown in which they are bagged to the one in which they are stored. The distance varies according to circumstances from ten to 100 yards, and the bags are stored in stacks up to about twenty tiers of bags from the floor. In addition to the above those 100 coolies will carry 5,000 to 6,000 bags (500 to 600 tons) daily from the godowns to lighters or cargo-boats. In the busy season our mills work from 6 A.M. on Monday mornings till noon on Saturdays without a stoppage.

Q.—Do you know if these men take alcohol as well in any shape?

A.—So far as I am aware they do not.

Q.—Has it the same effect upon them as alcohol has upon a European, or is there some different effect?

A.—I fancy it is very much the same, it is a stimulant. Taken to excess, I suppose it would stupify them, but moderately as they take it, acts as a sort of stimulant.

Q.—What is their character morally, are they an honest sort of people or the reverse?

A.—They are quite as honest as any Natives going. They are not blackguards. I suppose they would steal if they had the opportunity, but they are not professional thieves, and they work hard.

Q.—Chinamen do not work as coolies, do they?

A.—They are employed round Rangoon in cultivating gardens ; and they are also employed on the Chinese farms in Rangoon as coolies. I suppose they find that a lot of their own countrymen are cheaper than labour they can get here : otherwise, they are not employed. They do not work for Europeans.

Q.—You do not know anything about their habits with respect to opium ?

A.—No, I do not.

By Mr Mowbray.—Q —These people eat opium, I suppose ?

A. —Yes, they eat it. The opium I have seen is prepared, it is a glutinous substance, and the people roll it out in the palms of their hands into a small pill.

Q.—They come from the Madras Coast ?

A —Yes

Q —Do you know whether they bring the habit with them from Madras, or do they get it after they come here ?

A.—I think they bring it with them.

Q —Do you consider that it would create dissatisfaction among them if they were prevented from getting their opium ?

A.—I am quite sure they would.

By Mr Pease —Q —What steps did you take to find out how many took opium ?

A,—I questioned the headman of the gang with regard to the number of men in his gang who took opium.

Q —Do you think that those who do not take opium are any the worse men for it ?

A.—Personally I cannot say, because I never saw one who did not take it. But I have been told there are some who do not take opium, and that those men cannot work well.

Q—Have you watched its effect on these men for any considerable number of years—on individual men ?

A —No not individual men. They change nearly every year. They come over here for a season and then go back to their country. The same men, if they come back to this country do not often return to the same mill.

Q.—As a stimulant gradually sapping their powers.—you would not have the opportunity of observing it ?

A.—No.

**Evidence of the Rev. Dr. Cushing.**

In reply to the Chairman the witness stated that he had been in Burma since March, 1867. He had lived in Toungoo, Bhamo, and Rangoon. The first ten years he spent almost the whole of the season in travelling in different parts of the Shan States. He had visited almost all the Shan States, both east and west of the Salween. Kengtung, on the east of the Salween, near the border of Yunnan, was the furthest point he had reached. In regard to the districts adjoining the Kachin country, before the English annexation, he had been a great number of small villages skirting the mountains and he found that the consumption of opium was very extensive in those villages. It seemed to be very much on account of their proximity to the Kachin country. He found that opium was raised in many of the villages in the Kachin country, and it was a matter of common daily marketing between the Shans and the Kachins. He knew nothing about the condition of things since the annexation. About forty per cent. of the men amongst the Shans were consumers of opium, perhaps more. He was referring to both smoking and eating, the people followed the Kachin custom very largely of smoking a small quantity occasionally in the day.

Q — Did the habit extend at all among the Burmese in a secret way ?

A — I do not know, except in the town of Bhamo. There was quite a large number of opium-eaters amongst the Burman population but I could not dare to give you any percentage, because I do not know what it would be.

Q — Do you refer to the opium-eaters ?

A — I should say opium-chewers.

Q — In the Shan country at a distance from the Kachin country, how do matters stand there ?

A. — I think that the opium, as you come from the Kachin country southwards, is a great deal used. But it becomes less and less the further you go away towards Momek.

By Mr. Mowbray. — Q. — Are those districts you are now speaking of under British rule at present ?

A. — Yes, they are under British rule. The upper part of the district is under the Deputy Commissioner. His jurisdiction has been removed as you go further south towards Momek.

By the Chairman. — Q. — How do matters stand in Kengtung ?

A. — Kengtung is very much under Chinese influence owing to its close proximity to China. I found the use of opium there very extensive.

Great numbers of men there were accustomed to use opium. It was a very common thing in the market when I was there, but that was a good while ago. I doubt, however, if there has been very much change.

Q.—That was all independent country?

A.—It was semi-independent country. I think of all the Shan States it was the most independent of the Burman King. It had a Burman Military officer when I was there.

Q.—Prohibition of the Burmese Kings against opium did not extend to that Shan country?

A.—The further you got from Mandalay the less was its influence felt.

By Mr. Mowbray — Q.—Kontung is now under a Sawbwa, a tributary chief, like the other Shan States.

By the Chairman — Q.—This proposed prohibition of the use of opium would not apply in any way to the Shan country I suppose?

A.—I should think it would be very difficult to enforce it in that direction. It is to the east of the Salween. I think it has been only visited once or twice by English officers, indeed the Sawbwa did not present himself until two years ago. A great many of the Shans live in British Burma. In the Lower Province there is a large Shan population. Not so many in Upper Burma, if you except the districts to the north of Mandalay.

Q.—Among the Shans in British Burma, is opium consumed extensively?

A.—Yes. I should like to explain about the use of that word 'extensive'. The headmen of the villages and the better class of people will not acknowledge that it is extensive, and I think for this reason, because it is very disgraceful in their opinion. They are strict Buddhists, and they do not wish that the idea should prevail that the custom is widespread amongst their young people. The basis of my opinion has been formed largely from my personal intercourse with the people in their villages. I have had the heads of villages say to me "In 100 men, there are three or four who use opium." But many of the priests have acknowledged to me that at least thirty per cent of the men are more or less addicted to the use of opium. I think myself that that is probably the case. In the long journeys which I have taken, I have generally journeyed by means of coolies. These men go with me from these districts and return, and I have found that in starting at least twenty-five per cent. of these men have been addicted more or less to the use of

opium I am now speaking only of the Shans I have had no idea that many of these men were opium users until they came into the mountains when, being without their opium, their strength gave way, and they were unable to go on unless they could have a fresh supply of the drug

Q —Do these men eat it or smoke it ?

A —Some smoke it, and some eat it.

Q —In the Burman's opinion or in the Shan's opinion, is there any distinction as to the degree of disgrace between eating and smoking opium ?

A —I never heard of any so far as the Shan is concerned The term for calling a man accustomed to the use of opium is disgraceful I do not think there is any difference in the opinion whether he uses it secretly or openly, or whether he eats it or smokes it I never heard any difference

Q —Would the term be generally used in talking of men who eat it moderately ?

A —If a man uses it moderately it is not generally known, but the very fact that he uses opium is as much to his discredit in that way as if he uses it more openly Of course when a man uses it to a great excess the term might have stronger force. But I do not know of any special distinction amongst the Shans I never heard of it

Q —In India I fancy, and in most oriental countries, opium is used greatly as a domestic medicine ?

A —Yes

Q —I believe the idea prevails that it is a good thing to relieve pains of malarious fever and it is thought to be a prophylactic against fever ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—It is hard to distinguish between the medical use and the dietetic use ?

A —In the Shan States they sometimes acknowledge that it is a preventive in the case of fever, but I do not think that when it is used directly for medical purposes there is any special disgrace about it. Disgrace comes when the man is known to use it for his own pleasure

Q.—It must be rather hard to distinguish between the case of a man affected with malaria, who uses it in small doses daily to keep off the malaria, and the case of a man who consumes it for pleasure ?



A.—I have never met a man who used it for malaria daily. I have known a case where a man has used it, as I should myself, if it were prescribed. Taking it as a custom makes it more or less disgraceful

Q.—What is your opinion as to the effect of the use of opium ?

A.—The use of opium saps the physical strength of men. In the earlier stages of its use it produces a fulness of flesh tending to plumpness. This has been the result of my experience with my coolies more than any other class of men. Some of the finest men, apparently athletic in their build, have been men of this kind, who, as I said before, when they get beyond a place where opium can be obtained fail altogether, but they looked like fine well-built men at first. But it is not good flesh and strong muscle. Without this stimulant they do not seem able to do their work. I have had many cases among my Shan coolies during my Shan journeys. These journeys have extended over fifteen years. These men, when hired, seemed to promise excellent service, for they looked like strong and athletic men. They never mentioned their habit beforehand, but as soon as the supply of opium failed after entering the mountains they became utterly unable to carry any burden, and if not discharged at once, ran away at the first opportunity in order to return where their imperative need could be satisfied. In no case have I ever seen such men abandon the habit. In all cases under my observation they went on from bad to worse.

Q.—From your observation and experience with the men is it your opinion that they never voluntarily abandon the habit ?

A.—That is my opinion. When I travelled from Toungoo these men were residents of the Shan villages amongst which it was my custom frequently to visit, and I therefore knew their subsequent life. It is not like the hiring of coolies and then ceasing to have any knowledge of them after they have been in one's employ. Only two years ago in my last trip to the Shan States some of the men whom I took out turned out to be opium-smokers. I know that within the last two years here, from my observation, they have gone from bad to worse. In the old days when I was accustomed to travelling it was not safe to take coolies when I could get them along the route. According to the Shan custom I could get carried from one town to another by local coolies, but in order to facilitate my journey in the matter of speed, I employed coolies from Toungoo, who had families there, and who wished to return to their homes. In a large number of cases I kept track of these families.

Q.—You say they go from bad to worse, what do you mean by that ?

A —I consider it bad any way to use opium

Q —What is the stage which you call a worse stage ?

A —There is a case of a man who was living two years ago in Toungoo who perhaps twenty years ago went with me for the first time to the Shan country I was not aware that he was an opium-eater This man turned out to be an opium-eater , but apparently, under the influence of our religious efforts, he gave up the habit, and he subsequently professed himself to be a Christian A year or so after that it became evident that he had resumed the habit The man went on from that until he became a physical wreck, unable to do work and unwilling to do it He became very thin He had been a man of good build and of fulness of flesh, but he became very thin and emaciated That is my idea of going from bad to worse

Q —You say that about 30 per cent in the Shan States adopt the opium habit , how many would arrive at that stage of physical wreck you speak of ?

A —I should not dare to give any percentage, but I think a great many of them finally came to that , indeed, I have known a great many instances, but what the proportion would be, I could not tell I think a good many of these, 30 per cent had never come to that condition They continued to be moderate users The tendency however has been shown to increase more and more, and in the cases I have known in Toungoo, where I have had longer experience, I should say that at least five or six men out of the thirty would finally become utterly incapacitated, unwilling to do anything, and physically unable to do anything except at the moment they were under the influence of the drug

Q —Do you think that that is the effect of opium only, or is it on account of their not devoting all their money to proper food ?

A.—Of course in the case of some of these men they do not properly supply themselves with food They cannot afford food and opium I think the lack of food would be attributed to the opium habit

Q —It is much the same case as gin drinkers in London, and in the other big towns ?

A —Very likely

Q —Can you describe the condition of these excessive opium eaters ?

A —As a rule the body becomes emaciated, and there is a shrinking from work and from exertion in any form except as necessity compels and a constant supply of opium gives help. The normal condition of this

class seems to be the least amount of physical effort and the desire to spend the time in indolent repose or in sleep

Q.—What have you to say as to the moral effect?

A.—It often leads to loss of respect for one's word. I found that to be the case particularly with those men who engaged themselves. When the opium failed they were not only perfectly willing, but determined to break their contract. Before doing that, however, the pilfering of food and little things were prominent and common during the journey.

Q.—More prominent than in non-smokers?

A.—Yes, decidedly.

Q.—You are now speaking of immoderate consumers?

A.—Yes, those who require more or less of the stimulant. In that way they saved their money for the purchase of opium. Of course their supply of money on the journey was very scanty. It was according to special arrangement they were able to retain their money for the purchase of what they wished. I had a great deal of trouble in that direction.

Q.—What is your opinion of the moral effect in the case of excessive consumers?

A.—I found that the opium-smoker or opium-eater who used the drug excessively would resort to almost anything to obtain the means of getting the drug if he had not any. I personally know of a good many thefts, and in one case I know of the sale of a young daughter in a way that ought not to have been, simply because the father wished to obtain money for the purpose of obtaining opium. Men who take it excessively do not, and, as a rule, cannot, work very well. They must have the drug.

Q.—What, in your opinion, is the general feeling of the country with regard to the habit amongst the Shans?

A.—I think there is universal condemnation.

Q.—Although it is so common?

A.—The universal condemnation of the opium habit by all respectable Shans, the loss of reputation of those who indulge in it, and the customary saying of the people in regard to one who having this habit is caught in some crime or fault, "oh, he is an opium-user," show the sense of the people in regard to the moral deterioration which is considered to be attendant on the habit of using opium.

Q.—That applies chiefly to the excessive use?

A.—No, the condemnation of the habit does not apply to the excessive use, but the extreme use of it brings the most serious condemnation. The whole habit, as a habit, is condemned universally by the people.

Q.—I suppose every pious Buddhist must condemn it religiously ?

A.—Yes, if he adheres to his own religion

Q.—I suppose every conservative Burman or Shan who looks back with some regard to the old time of Church and State rule in Burma must also be prone to condemn it from those sorts of motives too ?

A.—That might be more with the Burmans than the Shans, because the Shans in the past days belonged to the Tributary States, and their emigration has been a modern thing since they have come under English rule. I do not think in their own country the thing was possible to be prohibited. In the Southern Shan States it does not exist so much as it does further north, and yet it does exist to a certain extent. I have not found that feeling amongst them myself. With regard to the opium question, except that they get the idea from the Burman, they do not seem to contrast it with what they had under Burman rule, because they were not directly under Burman rule in their own country.

Q.—In the time of Burman rule, prohibition was not extended to outsiders at all, was it ?

A.—I do not know that it was. As showing to what extent Burman ideas on these subjects made themselves felt in the Shan States, I went to a place where intoxicants were sold openly in the bazar on the bazar day. But the moment you crossed down from the plateau over the mountains, into the Burman Plain, it was rather a dangerous business to sell intoxicants. I think the same thing will apply in regard to opium.

Q.—I suppose under Burman rule, though the opium sale was prohibited, and it was a crime to eat or smoke it, there was a great deal of secret consumption, was there not ?

A.—Yes, no doubt. I remember coming late one night to a guard station, and being a white man they supposed I was accustomed to the use of intoxicants. A man came in the night and said to me that some intoxicants could be obtained if I wished it.

By Mr Pease—Q.—That was rather evidence of the stringency of the law ?

A.—That was in one of the towns where there was Burman Government.

By Sir William Roberts —Q —Did you say that the priests among the Northern Shan States condemned the habit

A.—Yes, those that I met in the proper opium country. I have never been in the Theinni country but I have been in a small state beyond, where the Shans are mixed up with the Kachins and some Chinese. I know that the priests from Theinni proper and southwards, as far as I have had any conversation with them, condemn the practice universally

Q.—You think that there is some religious basis for the sentiment of condemnation?

A.—Yes, decidedly. One of the five great commands is not to use any intoxicant, and this would be classed essentially under the same head.

Q.—The use of alcohol is put in the same category?

A.—Yes, certainly, indeed, if I may be pardoned for stating it, here in Lower Burma some of our own men have been openly reproached by the Buddhist priests for allowing the use of opium and alcoholic drinks.

Q.—Opium and *bhang* and alcoholic beverages all fall under this general religious condemnation?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Have you formed any opinion as to which is the most deleterious of these various intoxicants, opium, alcohol or *bhang*?

A.—I do not know of *bhang* being used in the Shan States, unless it has been introduced by the Natives of India. For myself I certainly should prefer to use alcoholic stimulants rather than opium. But I do not wish to express a liking for either.

Q.—Your mental attitude is one of hostility?

Q.—Yes

By Mr Pease —Q —Do you consider that the prohibition of opium arises simply from a religious feeling?

A.—No. I think it arises primarily from the religious feeling, and, secondly, I think it arises very strongly from the results they see in the persons who use it.

Q.—You said that the consumption of opium has given much trouble amongst the Christians?

A.—Yes, that statement should be enlarged. The number of Shan Christians is comparatively small, yet in our own Shan Mission we have had a great deal of trouble with the Christians, and we have often traced the troubles in the churches to the secret use of the drug, which seemed to destroy all sense of what I should consider honesty in their dealings.

with us as religious persons, I have known in the Burman villages quite a number of churches nearly destroyed by this habit,

Q.—Do you retain persons as members of the church whom you know to be consumers of opium?

A.—No.

Q.—Is that the result of Missionary regulations, or is it because of the feeling of the Christian Church generally?

A.—That is the result of our own regulations as missionaries, reinforced by the feeling of the people about us. We should feel that we lost influence over the people if we allowed persons using opium to remain in the churches,

By Mr. Mowbray—Q.—Could you give me any idea of the proportion of the Shan population in Burma?

A.—I have not examined the last census report. I know that ten years ago, when I had special reasons to look up the Shan population, there were over 20,000 within twenty miles of Rangoon. But it must have increased very much since then. The Shans are found in Pegu and Toungoo and other districts, and along the Prome railway.

Q.—What proportion of Christians have you in Burma, and what is your area of observation in that respect?

A.—Our Christians are principally in Lower Burma. According to the census we have adherents numbering nearly eighty thousand. We are more or less familiar with the state of the different missions, because we have our annual meetings, and all questions connected with these missions are discussed at those meetings. Besides that, almost all of us visit personally first and last nearly all the missions.

Q.—What proportion of that seventy-nine or eighty thousand would be Burmans and what non-Burman?

A.—I would rather give you the basis of the communicants, who are about thirty thousand. Among these, perhaps, there are two thousand Burmans. Then there are about twenty-seven thousand Karens. And the other thousand is divided amongst the Shans, the Kachins, and the different missions of a more recent date.

Q.—The bulk of your converts are Karens?

A.—Yes, the great bulk of them.

Q.—In speaking of the universal condemnation of the opium habit, you are speaking both of Shans in the Shan States and the Shans in British Burma?

A —Yes in both. It was only three or four days ago that I was out in one of the Shan villages near here, the head men of the village were together and spoke in a very strong manner about this opium habit.

Q —I notice you say, "In no case have I ever seen such men abandon the habit".

A —I never have—that there are persons who do abandon the habit I have no doubt.

Q —Could you form any opinion as to what would happen to these consumers if they were compelled to abandon the habit?

A —I fancy that would depend very much upon the stage of advance in the use of opium. I know of the case of a Shan who died in a very sad way. The man was employed by another missionary. He had been a slave caught by the Kachins and taken in his youth to the Kachin villages, where he became addicted to the use of opium. The man escaped and he was employed under the supervision of some missionaries for quite a while. He had no opium, and he became violently insane—not hurtful to others, but violent in his movements. Finally, his friends were sent for, and they said that it was simply because he had not his opium. It was a fact, he had no opium for some time. He was taken away and he died the next morning, although opium was given to him. I cannot speak of these things from a medical point of view. I have known cases of Shans who had dysentery very badly, who were accustomed to the use of opium, and the usual remedies, in which opium is a part, failed to have any effect upon them. I have never seen a case in which the Shans have abandoned the habit. Even those who profess to be Christians never can be persuaded to give it up.

Q —Could you not persuade people who become Christians to give up the habit?

A —We never take them as Christians unless we suppose that they are not opium users or have given up the habit. My experience in every case has been that where there was a real use of opium before they became Christians they returned to the habit and finally adhered to it.

By Mr Pease —Q —Would you be in favour of extending the Register which is to come into force on the 1st of January to the Shan residents in Burma?

A —Anything which would lead to its prohibition would be my idea of the thing.

Q.—The proposal is that those who are consumers of twenty-five years of age should be allowed to register themselves, if on the other hand they are not placed upon the register, they are not treated as Burmans and will have full liberty to purchase opium ?

A.—Certainly that would be better than nothing, most decidedly

By the Chairman —Q.—You said you found a considerable use of the drug amongst the Karen Christians which you say destroys all honesty in their dealings with you ?

A.—I do not refer to Christians merely

Q.—Might not that be the secret use rather than the effect of the drug on their honesty, that secret use involves incessant lying ?

A.—Yes, it is very easy to begin lying and go on with the principle of the thing afterwards. I do not see any occasion to recall what I have said with regard to the matter

Q.—Does not the concealment of the habit date from the old Burman rule ?

A.—I think the concealment is more from the disgrace of the thing than anything else. I have never heard any statement about concealing it, in my experience with them, on account of the Government at all. It has always been the disgrace that attaches to the use of the drug itself

Q.—By the new rules the use or possession of opium would be absolutely prohibited to Burmans. You are a gentleman of long experience in this country, and I should like to ask you whether you think that prohibition will be effectual, or do you think that the people will get opium all the same ?

A.—That is a hard question to answer. I should like to see it tried. I think there would be a good deal of illicit smuggling. But I think also it would cut off a good many who are not far advanced in the use of the drug in continuing its use. Young boys even are tricked into it, as I have occasion to know. It has also been stated in Government reports that men have been sent out by the opium vendors. If the thing were prohibited that would be stopped. Undoubtedly there would be smuggling and illicit trade, but I should like to see the experiment tried

Q.—You recognise that there is a sort of counterbalance of evil in the thing,—that if extensive smuggling and extensive illicit clandestine consumption goes on, that itself is demoralizing ?

A.—I quite recognise that. Still I should like to see the other way tried and see whether the evil would be less.



Q—Are there not a number of Chinese in the Shan country ?

A—In the Kengtung district there are a number, more or less scattered here and there in the Shan States, but the communities are not large. In my recent visit I found no large communities in the Shan States proper.

Q—As far as the Chinese, who live in Lower Burma, are concerned, is there any distinction in respect of the bad effect of opium on the Chinese and on the other people who surround them, as far as you can judge ?

A—I have had very little to do with the Chinese here, and I dislike to give an opinion upon the matter.

By Mr. Mowbray—Q—Is there any Christian mission among the Chinese here ?

A—There is one which is maintained in connection with the Presbyterian Church here. It is a small mission. It was designed more to look after the converts of that Church from Swatow. There is a catechist, who is under the charge of Mr. Mon of the Presbyterian Church.

Q—You do not maintain any mission amongst them ?

A.—No, we have no mission at all amongst the Chinese.

#### **Evidence of Mr. Cheng Taik.**

In reply to the Chairman, the witness stated that he was a general merchant and holder of wholesale and retail liquor licenses in Rangoon. He was of opinion that the consumers of opium among the Chinese population in Burma was from about thirty to forty per cent. He had been in Burma twenty-five years, and was born at Penang.

Q—What effect do you think the habit of opium-smoking has upon the morals of the people who use it ?

A—I may say that there are two classes of people who smoke. There are the rich men who can afford to smoke and afford plenty to eat. I do not think it has any effect upon them. An opium-smoker after he smokes opium must have lots of tiffin or sweetmeats, and it does not effect them. With regard to the poor classes who smoke, if they smoke a little it does not effect them, but by-and-by they cannot sleep without smoking. If a man smokes one day at ten o'clock, he will have to smoke every day at ten o'clock, and perhaps he smokes two or three times during the day. When the time comes for him to smoke he cannot stand it unless he does smoke. he must smoke something. If he is poor, he is obliged to go and get something for his pipe. That is what hurts the poor men.

Q.—He does not feed himself ?

A.—No He spends all his money and he commits petty thefts When he sees anything, he wants to snatch it or he may go to the pawn-broker

By Mr Pease.—Q.—What time does it take for these smokers to smoke three times a day ?

A.—Some of them smoke about one gram at a time Some people take about a quarter of an hour to smoke Sometimes people smoke lying on their beds and they might smoke three or four hours He hes lazily and perhaps he has a friend to talk to It is not like eating opium. The man who eats opium takes one pill and swallows it It is not so with the Chinaman, when he smokes he has a friend to talk with him and he spends hours over it

By the Chairman.—Q.—Do many Chinamen eat opium and not smoke opium ?

A.—I think they all smoke Some of the poor classes when they cannot afford to smoke buy *berchi* and swallow it

Q.—Is the effect of swallowing the same as the effect of smoking ?

A.—I think it might be the same, but if he can smoke it is better If he has no money to smoke he swallows it

Q.—Do many of the poorer classes go on smoking moderately for a long time or do they come to smoking in excess ?

A.—Sometimes the poor people have no money but a man must smoke until he is satisfied, when he has money he can smoke as much as he can When a man has not much money he can only smoke five pipes, but when he has more money he can smoke ten or twenty pipes, but if they have no money they are obliged to have five pipes

Q.—There are foolish men and wise men among the poor, do the wise men smoke twenty pipes or only smoke a few pipes ?

A.—Some of the wise men only smoke five pipes, but some of the lazy men smoke twenty pipes Some of the lazy men when they get money smoke until they have spent all their money They like to smoke twenty pipes

Q.—Those men get unfit for work ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Out of a hundred poor men who smoke opium how many get unfit for work from smoking ?

A —I should think about sixty per cent cannot work. They can of course do daily work but they cannot do very hard work

Q —Taking a hundred men who smoke, some little, some much, how many become unfit to work ?

A.—I think about thirty per cent

Q —How do they live in the end ?

A —When they have no money they go and commit theft, snatch here a little and there a little. They can do no work. Nobody trusts a man like that, nobody would employ him,—nobody will take those great smokers

I have never been a smoker. Asked as to the drinking habits of the Chinese, witness said that they drink brandy, gin, beer. The poorer classes in the jungle cannot get any brandy they are obliged to drink shumshoo. Some of them become drunkards. When they are drunk they cannot work. Some of my friends drink very much but when they have not got it they can stop one day, but they cannot stop opium for one day. One of my friends has stopped drink for ten days. He said, "I swear I will not have any more." As for opium, they cannot stand for two days without taking it. Witness dealt in every kind of liquor. Opium caused no crime.

By Sir William Roberts —Q —I understand that the Chinese community here are chiefly artisans, carpenters and shoe-makers ?

A —Yes

By the Chairman —I think about forty or forty-five per cent of the Chinamen in Burma are merchants, but some of them are carpenters blacksmiths, shoe-makers and that sort of thing

Q —Do many of these working men come to poverty ?

A —No. Very few

Q —You say that thirty or forty per cent of these artisans use opium yet very few as a matter of fact do come to poverty ?

A —I should think about thirty per cent out of forty come to poverty

Q —How much per cent would that be ?

A —About twelve out of hundred.

Q —Do you say that about twelve per cent of the artisan Chinamen come to poverty ?

A.—Yes those who smoke a great deal

Q —Do ten per cent of your countrymen who are artisans come to poverty here in Rangoon ?

A.—Yes, ten per cent

Q.—From excessive opium-smoking ?

A.—Yes

Q.—By Mr Pease —Have you known any of those who are well-to-do injure their health by smoking ?

A —Yes, at last, but not in the beginning , at last they injure their health

Q —Rich people ?

A —Yes

Q —In those cases does it not lead to their neglecting their business have you known any cases in which the habit of opium-smoking has made them poor men ?

A —Yes They always neglect their business or trade If a man wants to buy any goods at ten o'clock he will smoke and I think sometimes he neglects his business

By Mr. Mowbray —Q —Have you any experience of any Chinamen who have ruined their health by drinking brandy and gin ?

A.—No Not any Chinaman and not any Burmans

Q —Drinking is quite harmless here it does not do the Chinaman any harm ?

A —No

Q —What becomes of all these Chinamen who are ruined by opium in Rangoon,—where do they go, and where do they live ?

A —They live in poverty-stricken places Some of them are without any work They must do something in some way to find money for their food and their pipe

Q —What do they do ?

A —Some of them do nothing.

Q —But they cannot live on doing nothing What do they do ?

A —They commit small thefts.

Q —Do you mean to say that about ten per cent of the Chinamen living in Rangoon, live on thieving ?

A.—They live in poverty, sometimes they live by thieving If a man wants to get something for his pipe and has not got any money, he must go and snatch something I do not mean to say he comes a thief continually but at the time he wants to smoke and cannot get it, he is obliged to go and snatch or to mortgage or sell for his pipe What can they do when they have nothing ? They cannot go and ask anybody they want a pipe

Q —Suppose the Chinaman does not get his pipe, what happens to him then

A —He goes and snatches something,—a hat or a handkerchief That is what is called petty theft

Q —If the law said that no Chinaman was to have his pipe, what would he do then ?

A —Of course he would do his best,—take medicine and stop it , that is all

Q —Have you ever known a Chinaman who has been in the habit of smoking and who has given it up ?

A —There are some here

Q —Do they do yell without it ?

A —They can do well without it One of my friends got insolvent and he went to jail , the jail authorities would not allow him to smoke When he came out in two years' time he looked very stout , he had not smoked I do not know whether they give them some medicine inside the jail

Q —Did he go back to his pipe ?

A —Yes

Q —Do you think it would be possible for the law to prevent Chinamen in Rangoon from smoking ?

A —In one way they can prevent it

Q —How ?

A —Smokers smoke in their own houses The opium-smoker ought not to be allowed to smoke except at the opium farm Respectable Chinamen, I do not think, will go to the opium farm They ought to be ashamed to mix up with bad characters

Q —You want the law to prevent smuggling as much as possible ?

A —Yes

Q —You think that not allowing people to smoke in these opium-houses has encouraged smoking ?

A —If you allow men to smoke in their own houses that would encourage the smokers

By the Chairman.—Q —How can the law prevent a man doing what he likes in his own house ?

A.—That I cannot say

Q —Must the policeman be allowed to go in and open the door of anybody's house and see if he is smoking?

A —There must be a spy When men smoke they must have a pipe in their house and lamps, and everything like that It is not like eating opium They can eat opium in any corner, but the smoker must have lamp and pipe and everything complete

Q —The policeman must go in and search for the pipe?

A —When he heard there was smoking in the house, of course he might go there If anybody went to buy any opium from the opium farms they must not sell to them

By Mr Mowbray —Q —You would like everybody to be forbidden to have opium except at these opium-houses?

A —Yes, if they want to smoke let them go and smoke there Of course some of these poor classes and bad characters might go there, but some are good men and have business, and they would feel ashamed to mix up with those bad characters They might feel ashamed of themselves and they ought to stop it If a man takes medicine he can stop it

By the Chairman —Q —When a man drinks too much brandy or gin and begins to become a drunkard, does not he ever begin to take opium to stop the drinking?

A —No, I think drinking will stop the smoking

#### **Evidence of Mr. Park Chan.**

This witness, who was examined through an interpreter, was a holder of wholesale and retail liquor licenses and owner of a tannery in this town of Rangoon In reply to the Chairman, he said, I smoke opium I have smoked it for the last ten years I took to it because my health was bad I smoke for ten or fifteen days and then give up the practice If I feel ill I take to it again I smoke in small quantities I smoke about four annas' weight a day About six per cent of the Chinese in Burma smoke Well-to-do people who smoke opium suffer no evil effects because they are well nourished, but poor people who smoke opium to allay pain and cure their diseases often deprive themselves of food to get opium and in consequence suffer from smoking These people smoke as much as one rupee to one rupee eight annas' worth a day Chinese working men sometime eat a little opium while at work, not having time to smoke They do this to stimulate their strength He was thirty years of age, when he took to smoking Asked if he could stop easily, after smoking for ten or fifteen days he stated that he could cut it off by taking medicine pills He took these pills, sometimes

for four or five days, and sometimes for ten or twelve days After I take these pills I never smoke at all My body becomes weak and I smoke again

Q.—For how long do you stop smoking altogether ?

A.—Sometimes for two or three months after taking the pills . some times about one or two years

Q.—You say about six per cent of the Chinese smoke the last witness said about thirty or forty per cent ?

A.—It is not certain Sometimes the people come to Burma more , sometimes they go back to China, so I cannot say for certain.

He meant six per cent of men only Only six per cent are real smokers There would be about twenty per cent small smokers Very few Chinamen eat the drug

Q.—Of this six per cent who smoke much, do any become thieves and beggars ?

A.—Those men who are rich never steal or thieve, but those who are poor do steal and thieve

About seventy per cent of Chinamen drink liquor The same people who smoke opium also drink liquor

Q.—Do they often do themselves harm by drinking liquor ?

A.—No, they do themselves no harm

Q.—If opium-smoking were stopped by the Government would there be more liquor drunk ?

A.—I do not think so

By Sir William Roberts —Q.—Are there many poor among the Chinese in Rangoon ?

A.—Yes, a good many

Q.—What makes them poor ? Is it opium-smoking, or liquor drinking, or gambling, or ill-health ?

A.—It is their luck , their *lismet*

By Mr. Mowbray I sell beer mostly , more to other races than to Chinamen

#### **Evidence of Mr. Ah Nem.**

This witness, also examined through an interpreter, stated in reply to the Chairman that he was a doctor of Rangoon He said I smoke a little opium I smoke from four to six annas' weight a day I have smoked for about twelve years. I had to walk about a great

deal in the exercise of my profession and I took to opium to relieve my weariness. It did relieve my weariness. I suffer no evil effects. I smoke the same quantity every day. Opium-smoking has the effect of making the blood circulate better. I visit eight or ten Chinamen a day in the exercise of my profession. The non-smokers are more numerous than the smokers. I have not found people suffering from excess of opium-smoking. I consider opium smoking in moderation to be a good thing, opium-smoking in excess to be a bad thing. I consider anything over a rupee in weight excess. Chinamen generally smoke in moderation. Excess is rare. Opium taken in moderation strengthens men, allays pain, and cures disease. He estimated that over ten per cent. of Chinamen smoke opium. He could not say whether this ten per cent. smoke much or little.

Q.—You say that excessive smoking is rare, not common, do you know any men who have been quite ruined by smoking and who have become thieves and beggars?

A.—No, I do not know any men who smoke who have become thieves.

Q.—What diseases does opium cure among the Chinese?

A.—It is a cure for headache and stomach-ache.

Q.—Is it any good for fever?

A.—No, it is not good for fever.

Q.—Do not the country people in some places think that it protects them from fever?

A.—I cannot say.

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—Would you advise those people who do not take opium to take it when they are quite well?

A.—No, I would not advise them.

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q.—What would the Chinese who smoke opium in Burma think if Government stopped the sale of opium?

A.—If the Government stopped the opium, the smokers are cut off.

Q.—Would they wish opium to be cut off?

A.—I do not know their wish.

#### **Evidence of Mr. Tan Kyu.**

This witness, also examined through an interpreter made the following statement. I am a trader from Prome. I have been in Burma twenty-eight years, and for twenty-six years have been a regular opium-smoker. Almost all the Chinese in Burma are regular opium-smokers. Some, how-



ever, only take it occasionally Those Chinese who do not take opium are physically stronger than those who take opium Mentally, I consider opium-smokers are improved by taking opium They are of more even temper Chinese do not become criminals or vicious from taking opium I take about three ticals of opium daily A tical is a rupee weight, the same as a tola, began to smoke when I was twenty-two years of age, because I had a cough

Q—You say you think that opium-smoking makes a man weaker in body, but it makes him quicker in mind how does the quickness in mind show itself ?

A—It makes them good-tempered,—they are even-tempered

By Sir William Roberts.—Q—When you say you take three ticals of opium daily, do you mean that you smoke it ?

A—Yes

By Mr Pease.—Q—Do you think a man who does not take opium can do his business as well as the man who does take opium ?

A—A man who does not take opium is much better than the opium-smoker

By Mr Mowbray.—Q—Do you wish the Government to stop the smoking ?

A—I do not wish the Government to stop it There are one or two hundred Chinamen in Prome I do not think the people there wish the Government to stop opium smoking

### **Evidence of Mr Sit Kaing.**

This witness examined through an interpreter, said I am a trader from Prome I have been in Burma some 35 years, and have been for the last 33 years a regular consumer I consume about Rs 3 weight of opium daily I should say that not more than one-third of the Chinese in Burma are regular smokers There is a slight advantage physically in favour of those who do not consume opium I should say that opium smokers are more thoughtful and careful and cleverer than those who do not consume opium The Chinese do not become vicious or criminals from smoking opium

In reply to the Chairman, witness said that he came from Fuh Kien and was twenty when he left China At first he smoked half a tola, or three quarters of a tola, those who do not smoke opium at all were stronger than those who do smoke, but opium smokers were much more clever than non-opium smokers.

Q —How do they become more clever ?

A —Opium smokers can consider how to trade better , they can meditate better

Q —In Prome are there some Chinese who have become ruined and beggared from smoking opium too much ?

A —The Chinese ruins his body of his own accord and it is not from the opium

Q —Does the health of the poor man who smokes opium get ruined ?

A —If he gets no money to smoke opium he must go and work for his livelihood

Q —If Government stopped the sale of opium in Burma, what would the Chinese think of it ?

A —It would be death to the smokers If the Government objected to the Chinese smoking opium, they would run away to China where they could get the opium

By Sir William Roberts —Q —Are you in good health ?

A —As a rule I am well, but I am subject to headaches , otherwise my health is good,—that is the only thing I suffer from I am now 58.

By Mr Pease —Q —How much do you pay for this Rs 3 weight of opium ?

A —Rs 2-12

Q —How many pipes does that provide you with ?

A —When I have leisure I smoke I cannot count them

Q —How many hours a day do you spend over smoking ?

A —About four hours

Q —What time of the day do you smoke ?

A —I commence after 8 o'clock and smoke till 9-30, and then I get up again When my friends come I ask them to smoke

Q —Do you work a great many hours a day at your business ?

A —I have assistants to look after the shop If my assistant has to sell goods he comes and asks me My work is not very hard

#### **Evidence of Mr. Sit Hon. ၁**

This witness, who spoke through an interpreter, put in the following statement. I am a trader at Prome I have been over ten years in Burma I am a regular opium-smoker and take about Rs 2 weight of opium daily Most Chinese in Burma smoke opium occasionally, but the number of regular opium-smokers is less than the number of those who

take it occasionally Chinese who do not take opium at all are a little stronger than those who take it, but not very much I think the mind is improved by taking opium Opium consumers are more thoughtful The Chinese do not become criminals or vicious from taking opium

In reply to the Chairman, he stated that his age was 58, and that he kept a miscellaneous goods shop He came from China ten years ago, from Fuh-Kien He had been smoking as much as Rs 2 weight of opium daily for seven or eight years

Q—Before that I suppose you smoked less ?

A—Yes, now my son is getting trade, and I smoke more than I did before

Q—If Government closes all the opium shops what will the opium-smokers do ?

A—If the Government stops the opium shops, the smokers will be in a difficult and awkward position The consequence of shutting the opium shops will be that in two days they will suffer in health That will be the immediate effect. The price of opium in Burma is a little higher than it is in China

Q.—Have you known any poor people who have been reduced to beggars and thieves from smoking opium ?

A—Those who are poor people and have no money to smoke will borrow off their friends or turn thieves

By Mr Pease —Q—Do you think it a good thing for a young man, who is quite well, to begin to smoke opium ?

A—I cannot say

#### **Evidence of Mr. Kun Loang.**

This witness, examined through an interpreter, stated as follows — I am a shop-keeper in Rangoon I smoke opium I have smoked for twenty years When I have little work I smoke from eight to twelve annas weight a day. When I have heavy work I smoke Re 1 Re 1-8-0 weight a day My health is not damaged The effect on me is to make me feel brighter and to make me do my work better I should say five, six, eight per cent of Chinamen smoke Opium-smoking does no harm to well-to-do people It does harm to poor people, because they have not enough food, and opium without food does harm. In reply to the Chairman, witness said his age was fifty-three. There was no particular reason for his beginning to smoke opium. He took to it for pleasure.

Q.—Do many Chinamen eat opium and not smoke it ?

A — Poor men eat it and do not smoke it. They have no money to buy the proper opium for smoking, so they eat the refuse opium. They make a pill of it and swallow it. According to his idea,—most harm is done to those who eat opium, it does not hurt those who smoke.

By Mr. Pease — Q — Do you mean the eating of crude opium or the eating of pipe ashes ?

A — Chinamen eat the refuse opium not raw opium.

By the Chairman — Q — Does opium smoking do more harm to the Burmese than it does to the Chinese or is it the same ?

A — On Chinamen opium-smokers are all rich men, not like the Burmese. The Burman opium-smokers not like our Chinamen opium-smokers. The system of consumption is different.

By Sir William Roberts — Q — They smoke the best chundoo, they do not smoke crude opium ?

A — The Chinamen cannot stand the raw opium.

By Mr. Pease — Q — Do you smoke *bernsi* or *beruchi* ?

A — *Bernsi*.

By the Chairman — Q — Do you mean that the Chinaman is more prudent and wiser than the Burmese, or what is the difference ?

A — The Chinamen, the consuls, and all used to smoke opium, the rich men used to smoke opium. The Burmese who smoke opium look rather bad.

Q. — Is it because the Chinese know when they have had enough, and the Burmese do not, that it has a better effect on the Chinese ?

A — Some Chinamen take three or four tolas a day, and they know when they have had enough but I do not know whether the Burmans know when they have had enough or not.

#### **Evidence of Mr. Ah Chen.**

This witness, examined through an interpreter said I am a shopkeeper. I have been smoking opium for the last twelve years. I generally smoke from twelve annas to one rupee weight daily. I formerly had a weak chest and spat blood and in consequence took to opium to give me relief. This has done me much good. I think that eight to ten per cent of the Chinese community in Rangoon smoke opium. Poor people are in the habit of spending all their spare cash on opium and even curtail their food to procure the drug. The labouring classes when they feel fatigued at a small piece of opium which gives them relief,

In reply to the Chairman he said his age was thirty-six, he was born at Canton and came to Rangoon fifteen years ago. He never smoked in China.

Q.—If you stopped opium now, do you think the pain in your chest would come on again?

A.—If I had no opium to smoke my chest will pain me again.

Q.—Have you ever tried to stop smoking opium?

A.—I stopped it for two months then I coughed again and my chest pained me.

Q.—You say that poor people spend all their spare cash on opium and even curtail their food to procure the drug?

A.—What sort of people are those?

Q.—They have no occupation, they are poor men.

Q.—Have they no occupation because they smoke opium or because of some other reason?

A.—Some are lazy and some are getting diseased so that they have no occupation.

Q.—If Government stopped the opium shops what would the Chinese people say?

A.—The opium smokers would not like it to be stopped. Those who do not smoke opium have nothing to say.

By Mr. Mowbray—Q.—If Government stopped selling opium, do you think you would be able to get opium anywhere else?

A.—How can I get the opium from anywhere if Government stops the opium? If Government stopped the opium I would run away to China.

Supplement to Indian Witness, April 21st.

# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part XVI. 13th & 15th December, 1893.  
SITTING AT RANGOON AND MANDALAY.

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# The Royal Commission on Opium.

## Evidence of Mr. F. M. Madoeray Pillay.

In reply to the Chairman (Sir James Lyall) the witness stated that he was an Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner in Rangoon and had been in Burma twenty years, almost entirely in Rangoon. He read the following statement:—I am a merchant and a contractor for loading and unloading cargoes from vessels visiting this port. I am doing the largest trade in this line, besides I used to work for the Public Works Department, rice mills, and railway, etc., and own a saw mill and several parcels of paddy-land in Rangoon, Hanthawaddy, and Pegu districts. Most of the men whom I employ to carry out these works are people who come from the Madras Presidency, in Ganjam and Godavery districts. I engage an average of 1500 men daily. These men are commonly known as Coringis, 90 per cent of these men are opium eaters, they look healthy and are very hardworking men, they start their work at six in the morning and work till 1 p.m. and resume their work at 2 p.m. and continue to 6 p.m. Some of the carrying men are always busy in carrying rice bags, each weighing 220 to 230 lbs., on their shoulders. They take their meal at 4 a.m. and at 1 p.m., instead of mid-day meal they use to eat a small pill of opium and drink water. As soon as their work is over they take another pill of opium, and they return to their houses for cooking, etc. Unless these opium-eaters have opium they look like dead men and they cannot do their work. If they are suddenly stopped as to taking opium they are subject to severe sickness. When I was a passenger on board a steamer there were a large number of coolies coming across from the Madras Presidency here. Of course they were very strict about carrying opium from one port to another and all the opium was seized. Most of the men were very sick and never took a meal. Some of them were very dangerously ill, and I was obliged to ask the captain of that steamer to give them a little mixture of opium. After they had had it they got alright.

Q.—It was not sea-sickness but from not getting opium?

A.—Yes. They are accustomed to come across in the season, and then go back to their country.

Q.—Does the taking of opium seem to have any effect upon the moral or physical condition?



A.—Not in the least I can declare to the best of my knowledge and experience the eating of opium in no way affects their moral or physical condition I have had great experience in travelling in Northern, Southern, and Western India and have had the opportunity of seeing several countries, even in the North-West Provinces, say in Fyzabad, etc., where almost all the people eat opium, both men and women, and also give opium-water to infants I know for certain that several well-to-do Native gentlemen working in the Government, holding high offices, and land owners, are accustomed to eat opium In Burma there are seventy-five per cent of labourers from Northern India and the Madras Presidency, who are the largest majority of inhabitants in Burma, doing all sorts of labour work, who are opium eaters

Q.—What is your opinion about discontinuing the sale of opium ?

A.—If it is discontinued it will be the ruination of those people who have been already accustomed to it they will be subject to serious sickness, and we could not expect to get the work from them that we are getting now

Q.—Why ?

A.—The opium-eater requires a good deal of exercise If he eats opium and does not eat his food properly, he is subject to sickness

Q.—Do not they become lazy from taking the opium ?

A.—No

By Sir William Roberts.—Q.—Have you ever had to discharge any of your workmen on account of their taking too much opium ?

A.—No, I have not

Q.—Have you had to discharge any on account of drink ?

A.—Yes, I have

Q.—Have you had to discharge any on account of eating hemp preparation ?

A.—I have never come across any of this hemp it is not used here. Ganja-eaters are not fit persons to work

Q.—As far as your experience goes as an employer of labour, the habit of opium-eating amongst Natives of India is not injurious ?

A.—No, it is not

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—How do you know that ninety per cent of these men are opium eaters ?

A.—Because I know them very well Almost all these people eat opium. If I am not mistaken, I think I ought to have said ninety-five per cent.

Q.—Do those who do not take opium do then work well ?

A —Yes , but you have to consider the countries they come from

Q —You say that unless these opium-eaters have their opium, they look like dead men and cannot do then work tell us how they look?

A —I will explain it If they have not got opium they are not so energetic, and do not work so well They work slowly , they do not care to work , and every now and then they sit. If they get opium they are cheerful and run very fast and work You can get more work done from those who eat opium than from those who do not eat it.

Q —You say “ in Burma there are seventy-five per cent of labourers from Northern India and the Madras Presidency who are the largest majority of inhabitants in Burma ” do you think that there are as many as seventy-five per cent ?

A —Yes, the labouring class of men , there are not many Burman workmen at all . The people from Southern India are the labouring classes here On the railway, in buildings and in the cultivations, the Natives of India do almost all the work It is very seldom that you find Burmans on the railway or clearing jungle, or cultivating

By the Chairman —Q —Do you mean seventy-five per cent of them are opium-eaters ?

A —Yes, of the labouring classes

Q.—Do you say that ninety per cent of the Coringis take opium ?

A.—Yes

Q —And of the labourers from Northern India and Madras seventy-five per cent ?

A —Yes seventy-five per cent

By Mr Mowbray —The men go backwards and forwards between Madras and Burma We get the same men again They go in the months of July and August, and return in December and January I have had experience of these men working for me for years and years Opium, I believe, is increasing largely among them I mean more people now eat opium than used to be the case, not that the man who eats opium takes a larger dose

By the Chairman —Q —As far as you can judge from men that you have known for some years coming backward and forwards, they do not get any the worse for eating, do they ?

A —No

Q —I suppose none of your men smoke opium ?

A —No they never smoke it

By Sir William Roberts —Q —At 1 p. m. they do not take a meal, do they but take opium ?

A —No, they eat nothing at all at one o'clock

By Mr Mowbray —Q —But when they are working they take a meal at one o'clock do they not ?

A —No, never

By the Chairman —Q —Do you know what the weight of opium is in the pill that they take ?

A —I think it is as big as a peppercorn or a little larger.

By Sir William Roberts -- Q —About two grains ?

A.—Yes, I think so

By Mr Pease —Q —How long have you been able to watch the health of any particular man ?

A —I have had experience of men eating opium and working under me for the last fifteen years

Q —Have you been able to watch the health of one man for fifteen years ?

A —Yes

Q —Do you think they are really in as good health at the end of fifteen years as they were before ?

A —Yes, the same I see the same men year after year

### **Evidence of Meung Hpo Mhyin, K. S. M.**

In answer to the Chairman, the witness stated that he was a Burmese merchant and a Native of Moulmein, dealing in timber, rice, and the general produce of the country

He read the following statement —I have had experience amongst the Burmese and the Chinese in regard to the use of opium In Burma mostly opium-smoking is prevalent The habit is generally acquired amongst these people between the age of the fifteenth and the twentieth years. As to motives, they are oftener led by the bad example set before them. They are generally advised to smoke opium when intoxicated with alcohol to take away its effects, as it is supposed that opium serves as an antidote against the indisposing effect of alcohol This bad habit once formed is seldom relinquished The opium-smokers would rather spend all their income than give up the habit contracted They go on increasing the dose as they grow, in years They become the wrecks of their former selves, physically weak, mentally unable to think for themselves, morally degraded. The foregoing remarks apply to the Chinese as well as the

Burmese. In Burma opium is not known to be protective against fever or to be of any use in malarious districts. Burmese do not believe opium to be a necessary element to enable working people to get through their daily toil, they look upon the habit as disgraceful—even worse than alcohol. I think the existing system of granting licenses for the sale of opium tends to the spread of the habit. As to the measure to give effect to the policy of discountenancing opium-smoking, I would say in Burma that total abolition would be the best thing to be done, as they have done away in the case of *gunja*. It is desirable to prohibit the sale of opium. People of Burma would hail such a measure with delight. The loss of revenue resulting from such prohibition could be best met by either re-imposing import duty of piece-goods or by raising the salt duty in Burma, it is much lower here than in India at present.

Q.—Do you yourself think that the opium habit is worse than the drinking habit?

A.—It is a very degrading thing to be considered an opium-smoker in Burma. A young man if he takes drink, but is not a habitual drunkard, is not considered as an outcaste from society, but even a moderate smoker of opium is considered as an outcaste.

Q.—Both opium and alcohol are forbidden by the Buddhist religion why is there greater degradation with regard to opium?

A.—The general demeanour is very disreputable.

Q.—Are opium saloons, the places where they smoke opium, supposed to be particularly bad places?

A.—Yes, they are.

Q.—Are there any places for drinking liquor?

A.—There are liquor shops.

Q.—Do people drink in liquor shops?

A.—Only the low class of people drink in liquor shops. Burmese also, but very few in number.

Q.—Is the same disgrace supposed to be attached to the habit of taking a pill of opium as it is to the smoking of opium?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Do you think the effect is as bad?

A.—Yes, the effect is the same.

Q.—The Coring coolies all take pills?

A.—I have been employing Coringi coolies myself, and I have found a great many of them were opium-eaters. It seems to me that they were very badly off for it. When once the opium consumer gets a disease, especially the opium-smoker, he gets worse. The disease is very liable to stick to the man who smokes.

Q.—You say that opium is not supposed to be a protective against fever, or to be of any use in malarious districts?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Have you ever been in Arakan?

A.—No, but I have been in timber forests where malarious fever is most prevalent.

Q.—Did not the foresters take it?

A.—No, none of them would take it to prevent fever.

Q.—They have been reported by officers to say that they must have opium?

A.—That is not my experience. I used to employ two or three hundred men at a time in the season. I found amongst them ten per cent who were smokers, and who brought their pipes with them to the forests.

Q.—Were any opium-eaters?

A.—Very few men in Burma eat opium.

Q.—But it has been reported by Government officers who are opposed to opium that the foresters say that they must have opium when they are in the forest?

A.—I only found ten per cent. They are considered to be bad people, men who are of no consequence, and who cannot work properly. They joined the service in the forests. A man who could work and earn his living here would not join, but you generally find that men of very low habits join the forest work, and amongst them you find some opium-smokers.

Q.—Is not opium much used as a domestic medicine in Burma?

A.—No. If a patient is told that a dose of opium is given to him he will refuse to take it, simply because he considers if once he takes opium his disease will be liable to be prolonged. If a man finds out that opium is the cause of his going to sleep, when the doctor gives him a sleeping dose he will not take it.

Q.—You are speaking of pious, respectable Burmese?

A —Even an ordinary man. It is not on account of his religion, but it is on account of his belief that once he takes opium his disease, whatever it may be, will not go away from him easily.

Q —He will think it fixes the disease upon him.

A —He thinks it will become chronic. He considers opium is only good for a short time.

Q.—Would not total prohibition be rather hard on the Chinese and Shans who are great opium-eaters?

A —As far as my experience goes, I do not think it would injure their health. They might suffer for a while and get weakened for a month or so, but after that they would get on all right without smoking opium. Many of my acquaintances, well-to-do Chinamen living in Rangoon, smoke opium. I have in my mind especially one man now in Rangoon. He smoked opium, and he used to get thin and weak. About two years ago he gave up smoking and he became healthy and went about his business. He has commenced to smoke again, and he is getting very thin and weak. I asked him why he commenced again, and he told me he could not give up the habit. His friends have enticed him to smoke and now he is getting bad and ill again.

Q —Is it not the case that in the Burmese King's time, when opium-smoking was severely punished, still a great deal of opium was brought into the country?

A —Not a great deal. It was smuggled by the Kachins and Chinese. They gave some young Burmese men opium and seduced them into bad habits.

Q —If total prohibition were ordered now, do you think there would be much smuggling or not?

A —So far as Upper Burma goes, the Chinese frontier smuggling could be prevented. I could not say as to seaports, however.

Q —Have you been along that country and Upper Burma?

A —Yes, I have travelled in that country.

Q.—Do you think that smuggling could be easily prevented?

A.—Yes.

Q —There is a great deal of opium amongst the Shans, Kachins and Chinese in the Yunnan district, it is a forest country and it has not a great many paths through it?

A —Yes, it is a forest country.

Q —How are you going to stop it?

A.—It is a very hilly country, and there are roads and passes and country stations I would prevent it in the same way as you prevent arms and ammunition from being imported from China. There is not a single gun imported.

Q.—But a gun is rather a different thing to opium ?

A.—You prevent gunpowder.

Q.—At present are there not a great many prosecutions for illicit possession of opium ?

A.—Seventy-five per cent of the prosecutions are owing more to opium being sold by licensed farmers than they are entitled to sell, not to real smuggling, the opium found in the possession of a man who has more than he is legally entitled to is the same as opium issued from the Government treasury.

Q.—How is this opium discovered ?

A.—By Magistrates and others. The informer goes and tells that a certain man is in possession of so many tolas of opium, or so much more than he should possess. The police pounce upon him, and it is generally found in his house or in his possession.

Q.—Who are these informers—what sort of people are they ?

A.—They are mostly men hanging about having nothing to do.

Q.—Is not there a danger that these people would put a little bit of opium into a man's house ?

A.—Yes, there is a danger of that. Such a case only comes up occasionally, it is not the general rule. I do not think people could afford to buy opium to put into another man's house.

Q.—These informers get rewards ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Do the police often let these people go—take a bribe from them ?

A.—There are some instances in which that is supposed to have taken place.

Q.—Do you think it is necessary to suddenly stop the supplies to all habitual consumers, Burmans and Chinese and Shans ?

A.—Yes. So far as Burma is concerned, there has been no harm done by stopping the whole thing. You have suddenly stopped *ganja*, and there were a lot of *ganja* consumers here in Burma. No harm was done by suddenly stopping *ganja*, except that there might have been a little prosecution here and there. As time went on the people stopped smuggling, though they did attempt to smuggle it at first.

Q — Were not *ganya* smokers nearly all Indians ?

A — There were a great many Burmans who were *ganya* smokers, in fact there were more *ganya* smokers than opium smokers. Since you stopped *ganya* I think people have commenced to smoke opium. Many men have told me that they contracted the habit of smoking opium through the alcohol habit.

Q — If you stop opium, will not these men, who are probably the most self-indulgent and least respectable men among their nation, take to alcohol if they can get alcohol and cannot get opium ?

A — I cannot say exactly how far they would take to alcohol, because these are two opposite influences. Opium causes a man to be weakly and drowsy, and alcohol makes him excited. Which a man could not get opium, I do not know whether he would take alcohol or not.

Q — A Burman generally likes being excited, does he not ?

A. — Yes, more or less he does.

By Mr Mowbray — Q — You said, I believe, that some of the coolies you employ smoked opium ?

A — Not the Natives of India, but Burmese coolies. In Upper Burma we have mostly Burmese coolies.

Q — You were not speaking of the class of coolies employed in Rangoon in loading and unloading ships ?

A. — No.

Q — Have you any experience of them ?

A. — Yes.

Q — Are there any opium-smokers amongst them ?

A. — No.

Q — Is there a large number of opium-eaters ?

A — Yes, nearly half the number of coolies I employ. I know more about the Burmese and Chinese, with whom I come in contact, than I do about the Natives of India.

Q — I rather thought that you were speaking of these classes of Natives employed in loading and unloading ships in Rangoon, but now I understand you to say that you have no personal experience of them ?

A — I have had experience of them, but I have not come so closely in contact among them as I have with Burmese and Chinese. I have employed them as coolies, and I have found, generally speaking, that about fifty per cent of them were opium-eaters. I found them to be generally



weakly and sickly, compared with the same class of men who are not opium-eaters

Q.—Did you ever make enquiries in order to get non-opium-eaters because they were better workmen?

A.—It was impossible to get all non-opium eaters. When one hundred coolies were engaged forty or fifty would be found to be opium-eaters, and they would be sickly.

Q.—I suppose you have found sickly men among opium-eaters and non-opium-eaters?

A.—The majority have been non-opium-eaters.

Q.—You speak of the opium-smoking habit being generally acquired amongst the people between the ages of fifteen and twenty, are you speaking then of Chinese?

A.—Yes, Chinese boys born in this country.

By Mr. Pease.—The amount of salt duty is one rupee a maund here, and in India it is Rs 2-8-0 a maund.

Q.—How far is the evidence you have given, the view of the Burmese people generally?

A.—I think they all agree with me. I have taken some pains to enquire into this matter, and I have found that this is the prevailing opinion of the people.

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q.—Have you consulted the Chinese as to their view?

A.—Yes, I have.

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—Tell us what you think the view of the Chinese is?

A.—I have spoken to Chinese people before, and without exception they agreed with me.

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q.—Why have they not come forward here?

A.—I think some are coming here.

By Sir William Roberts.—Q.—You are a merchant, and I suppose you have transactions with Chinese merchants?

A.—Yes, I have.

Q.—Are those with whom you have transactions mostly opium-smokers?

A.—Half of them are opium-smokers.

Q.—Would this description you give apply to that half,—that they are “physically weak, mentally unable to think for themselves, and morally degraded?”

A.—I generally find that most of my Chinese friends who smoke leave the management of their business entirely in the hands of their managers and subordinates. Generally, they are sickly and complain of being ill, although they sometimes get on well. I have told them it was on account of their smoking opium. They have admitted that it was, but they say they cannot give it up.

Q.—Do you suggest that half the Chinese merchants here who smoke opium are unable to attend to their business?

A.—I say this in general. One of my Chinese friends who smokes opium admits himself that it is bad. He says, “I cannot give it up, because I contracted the habit when I was young.” They all say it is very bad, not one defends himself.

By the Chairman —Q —It is also against their religion, too, most of them are Buddhists, I suppose, and according to the ideas of Buddha and Confucius, opium is a very bad thing, is it not?

A —Yes, it is.

By Mr. Pease.—Q —Are most of the Chinese you know Buddhists?

A —They are Buddhists by name, but not so much by practice.

**Evidence of The Sawbwa of Thibaw, examined  
through an interpreter.**

By the Chairman —My State is in the Northern Shan States. It is the largest of the four large States, and is called Thibaw.

Q —Is there much opium grown in that State?

A —Yes.

Q —Is the opium exported or used in the country?

A —It is imported from other countries and some is made in the country also.

Q.—Is not some exported to China from your country?

A —No.

Q.—Is it all used in the country?

A.—No, it is sent to other Shan States.

Q —Does opium go from the other Shan States to China?

A —No.

Q —Are there Chinamen in your State as well as Shans?

A —Yes. Very few live in the State. They come down once a year in large parties to trade.

Q —How is the opium used ?

A —It is smoked and eaten, but more people smoke it than eat it.

Q —What in your opinion is the effect of opium-smoking,—is it bad or good ?

A.—If they eat it, it is bad, and if they smoke it, it is bad, both equally bad.

Q —How long has the custom of eating and smoking opium existed among the Shans ?

A —For a very long time, about two or three hundred years

Q —What do the common people think do they say why they do eat it ?

A —Thy say it is very nice to smoke and it makes them feel very happy thoughts

Q —Do they think it is very good to keep them in health ?

A —No, it is very bad Those who take it have short lives

Q —Do the common people think it is good for their health ?

A —It is the common opinion that it is not good

Q —Do they do it for pleasure, or is there any other reason ?

A —They take it to rejoice their hearts but their lives are short

Q —Do they drink any liquor or spirit ?

A —Yes, they do Locally-made liquor, made from rice

Q —Is that as bad as opium ?

A —It is not bad if you take it as medicine, but it is a very bad thing to drink for pleasure

Q —Is opium ever used for medicine, and not for pleasure ?

A —Very little

Q —What sort of disease is opium used for as medicine ?

A —It is taken for insomnia, diarrhoea, and internal pains

Q —Has it been the custom among your family to smoke or to eat opium ?

A.—I tried when I was young, just a little bit, but I gave it up.

Q —Are you in favor of total prohibition of opium in your State ?

A —Yes

Q —How would you do it ?

A —I would prevent the growing of it

Q.—Would not the people complain very much ?

A.—If they got enough opium to smoke for their lives, well and good - but I do not want any more eaten in future generations. The people who smoke opium, when they have not got it, never die. Thieves sometimes are put in prison and they are not allowed to smoke, and they get rid of the habit quite soon.

Q.—But do not the people make a profit out of the cultivation of the poppy ?

A.—Yes, they do get a profit, and the State gets a revenue from opium.

Q.—If the men who plant opium no longer plant it, would they complain ?

A.—I do not think they ought to make complaints, because they can grow other things and trade in other ways.

Q.—How long have you held the opinion that opium is a very bad thing ?

A.—Ever since I was quite young.

Q.—Why do not you try to stop it in your own State ?

A.—Because the other States will not stop their trade, and if I tried to stop it, all the people would hate me.

Q.—Would your own people dislike you if you tried to stop it ?

A.—I do not think the people in my own country would dislike me if I told them that it was not right for them, and that it was a bad thing for them.

Q.—Why have you not done it then ?

A.—I cannot very well stop it, because the people sell it secretly sometimes.

Q.—But you have never tried to stop the cultivation ?

A.—No I have not tried to stop it.

Q.—Do you think if you tried to stop it, the people would obey you ?

A.—They would do it and they would not be angry.

Q.—If they would do it and not be angry, why, have you not done it ?

A.—I have looked upon it in much the same way as eating betel, and I do not think much of it. It slipped my memory,

By Sir William Roberts.—Q.—How many amongst the men in your State smoke opium ?

A.—About five per cent. There are not very many who use opium.

Q —Do any of the old people use opium ?

A.—They never live till they get old , they die. They have very short lives if they smoke opium No old people eat it.

By Mr Pease —Q —Do you think the rules which are to stop the Burmese from buying opium ought also to apply to the Shans throughout your country ?

A —Yes

Q —Do you think that the other Shan Chiefs would agree to give up opium cultivation in their country, if you gave it up and the English Government wished it ?

A —They would be willing to stop it

Q —How many people are there in your State ?

A.—About 100,000

By Mr Mowbray.—Q —How many years have you been at the head of your State ?

A —Thirty years

Q.—You were head of your State when Thebaw was king in Mandalay in the old days, I believe ?

A —I was at one time at the head of the State before the English went to Mandalay

Q —At that time opium was forbidden in Mandalay , was it not ?

A —Yes, I heard that orders were given not to sell any opium , but the rule was not properly enforced, as far as I know.

Q —You did not at that time forbid it in your State ?

A —I did not say anything about it , I did not try to prevent it , I let matters be as they were

By Mr Pease —Q —Did the Burmese King ever try to prevent the consumption of opium in the Shan States ?

A.—No, he did not

**Evidence of Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Johnstone,  
M A., M D., I M S.,**

By the Chairman —Q —I believe you are Senior Civil Surgeon in charge of the General Hospital, Rangoon ?

A.—Yes.

Q —How long have you served ?

A.—I have been over twenty-five years in the service, most of my time having been spent in Burma, with the exception of two years in the

Medical College Hospital in Calcutta. I resided in Mandalay about six years, one year at Akyab and the rest in Rangoon. The races I have come in contact with are the Burmese, Chinese, and Natives of India

Q.—What personal knowledge have you of the use and abuse of opium amongst the Natives of India and amongst the Burmans ?

A.—Of the use of opium among the Natives of India I have not much personal knowledge. Although Resident Medical Officer in a large hospital, I saw little of its effects, either of its use or abuse and although I have conducted more than 100 *postmortems* I never saw any pathological lesion that could be ascribed to the use of opium. Among the Burmese I have found the use of opium most extensive in Arakan, although the Burmese use it elsewhere. Among the prisoners in the Akyab Jail a good many were opium-eaters. Physically, they were healthy enough looking and good enough constitutions—and the sudden deprivation of opium in the great proportion of them did not seem to have any bad effects beyond distress, especially in the young. Among the older and those who had continued the habit for a longer time and consumed greater quantities the process had to be more gradual. In the *post mortems* of those who had died from other diseases, but were known to be opium users, there was no lesion that could be ascribed to the effect of opium.

Q.—What have you to say with regard to opium-eating among the Chinese ?

A.—It was at Mandalay that I came in contact chiefly with the Chinese opium-eaters. I was suddenly called one night to one of their gambling houses where in a brawl a Chinaman was wounded, his abdomen being laid open to the extent of seven inches with protrusion of the intestines. This man was an opium-eater and the one who did it a shumshoo (rice-spirit) drinker. The man recovered without a bad symptom, his wound healing up by first intention. These gambling houses are filled chiefly with opium-smokers and shumshoo-drinkers. Having been successful in this case I was often called in again on account of wounds received in these brawls, and it was almost invariably the rule that the disturbance arose from the shumshoo-drinker and not the opium-smokers. In these gambling houses, though the class of Chinese were not the best, I could not say that I saw any ill-effects from the use of opium. They were physically in good health, it never interfered with the healing of their wounds or in the treatment of other diseases.

that I saw. In these places where there was so much to excite them they were not quarrelsome like the shumshoo-drinkers; neither did they seem to be morally debased. I enquired of many of them what led them to begin to use opium. Among many of them it seemed to be an acquired habit like smoking tobacco and only thought of in that way, amongst others again to relieve pain or cure illness; and all considered it a preventive of fevers, dysentery, diarrhoea, and cholera. Certainly what I saw among these Chinese did not at all correspond with the accounts I had heard of the awful ravages the use of opium caused to the health and morals of opium-consumers. I have seen a very few old emaciated men suffering from chronic diarrhoea and dysentery, said to be the result of its abuse, but these were doubtful cases. All these races consider its use a prophylactic in malarious fevers and bowel-complaints.

Q.—Have you ever employed it yourself?

A.—I have often employed it myself in treating malarious fevers with good results, often staying off an ague fit if given an hour before its usual period of seizure, and at the least modifying its severity and adding greatly to the patient's comfort. Quinine and opium combined will often be successful when quinine alone fails. The value of opium in bowel-complaints is known to all these races. There is another class of cases which occurs in malarial districts, and which induces the use of opium, and that is malarial neuralgia. In malarial districts these racking pains in all parts of the body render the life of the individual miserable, sleepless at night, and unable to work during the day. Opium in this state has been found by the inhabitants of these districts to be a great boon, and I have no doubt is often the original cause of the habit, and these people will tell you if they had not opium they could not live there. The moderate use of opium has no baneful effect on the health and constitution, as far as my experience goes, and the effects of its abuse has come so little before me that I could give no particular lesion that it causes in the human economy.

Q.—Have you formed any opinion of its effects upon morals?

A.—Of its baneful effects on morals I have seen none, although it is said to lead to crime and insanity. During my charge (four years) of the Lunatic Asylum in Rangoon a certain number of insanes were admitted with opium-eating as the alleged cause, and this as a cause I considered doubtful, and even if true they are not a large proportion. Opium is not such a great cause as *bharg* or Indian hemp. During the many years I have been in large hospitals in India it would be strange

if the effects of the use of opium were so deleterious to the people consuming it, that no more cases, whose physical health should have failed, would have become inmates in the hospitals. In the Rangoon General Hospital there are no records of any one being admitted suffering from the effects of either the use or abuse of opium. There is no want of cases suffering from the use and abuse of alcohol, and I cannot say these are on the decrease.

By Sir William Roberts — There are about 300 beds in the Rangoon General Hospital, these are generally filled, 280 or 285 is the general average, I think, daily.

A — I have been in sole charge for four years, I was ten years Second Civil Surgeon in the hospital. Altogether I have been there since 1878—fourteen years. I have been nearly eighteen months at home out of that.

Q — You are not as a medical man cognisant of the opium habit as a cause of disease?

A — No. No cases of opium abuse have come into the hospital, as far as I have seen in the records of the hospital.

Q — You spoke of a belief of many of the people amongst whom you have worked, that opium is a prophylactic against the various conditions of ill-health in malarious districts?

A — Yes, they considered it as such, both the Natives of India and Burmese.

Q. — Did you gather that from conversation with them?

A — Yes.

Q — You are very positive about that?

A — Yes.

Q — Amongst the Burmans?

A — Yes, amongst the Burmans and the Natives of India.

Q — Do they smoke or use opium in malarious districts as a domestic remedy?

A. — As far as I know, they do.

Q. — Have you the means of ascertaining that fact?

A — No, no means other than what they told me, their admission of it, I never heard them state it.

Q. — You have their direct testimony to that effect?

A — Yes, certainly.



By Mr Pease —Q.—Are Natives here usually treated by doctors who treat them upon the Western system, or are they usually under the care of their own medical men in Rangoon ?

A —In Rangoon the Natives of India are generally treated by Europeans in the hospital, the Chinese do not come very often to the hospital, but both Burmese and Natives of India come to the hospital for treatment. Outside the hospital a great many of them are treated by myself, but there are more treated by private practitioners, I mean, not Government servants.

Q —Are there many Native practitioners ?

A —Yes, but a good many of them practise the European method.

Q —Do you think these opium consumers who come to the hospital while they have no special disease may not have the state of their general health considerably lowered by the practice of eating or smoking opium ?

A —I have seen no occasion for saying that the health of those who come into the hospital has been lowered by the use of opium.

Q —Then it is a practice to which you see no objection ?

A —I have never seen any ill-effects in those who take it.

Q —Would you recommend any young man in good health to commence the practice of eating or smoking opium ?

A.—No.

Q —Why not ?

A —I would not recommend it any more than I would recommend a person to use anything in excess.

Q.—Moderately ?

A.—Moderately I do not see any objection to it at all, no more than a moderate use of alcohol.

Q —Have you found that the habit of taking opium is exceedingly easy to give up ?

A —I do not know that a man would find it more difficult to give it up than in the case of an alcohol drinker.

Q.—You say, “the sudden deprivation of opium in the great proportion of them did not seem to have any bad effects beyond distress” It did distress them ?

A.—Yes, it distressed them by the sudden deprivation of a thing they had been using.

Q — You do not mention anything with regard to the older ones ?

A — According to the length of time and quantity of opium that made the process of cutting it off gradual

Q — Why did you do that ?

A — With the idea that probably it might interfere with their health in jail

Q — Was it to reduce their distress, or for fear that it might be fatal ?

A — To reduce their distress I never saw a fatal case from its deprivation

By Mr Mowbray — Q — With reference to your jail experience, I suppose the common practice is cut off the supply of opium altogether ?

A — Yes, when I was there it was the rule to cut it off immediately. In exceptional cases, if we found it was too much, we would knock it off gradually, and not suddenly

By Mr Pease — Q — Have you met with any cases of Burmese objecting to take opium as a medicine for fear of acquiring the habit ?

A — No, I never found them object to it

By Mr Mowbray — Q — Is Arrakan a particularly malarious district ?

A — Yes, it is a very malarious district

Q — Do you attribute the more extensive use of opium among the Burmese of Arrakan to the fact that it is a malarious district ?

A — That is what I attribute it to

By the Chairman — Q — When you were at Mandalay I believe opium was prohibited

A — Yes

Q — Have you any reason to believe that it was carried on secretly by the Burmese ?

A — Yes, it was

Q — How did you ascertain that ?

A — It was only by hearsay I heard they used to smuggle it I heard that bundles of opium were brought in secretly to Mandalay by steamers coming up from Rangoon. It was said that it was brought across from India by Assam overland

By Mr Mowbray — Q — Is any supposed to have come from China ?

A. — I have never heard of it coming from that direction

By the Chairman —Q.—Do you think if opium is prohibited in Burma that it will be smuggled in ?

A.—They would attempt to smuggle it in no doubt

**Evidence of Mr. Leong Shain Tuck.**

By the Chairman —I am a Chinese *cutch* merchant of Rangoon. A *cutch* merchant is one who buys goods up-country and sells them here. I deal in dyeing goods.

The witness then read the following statement.—I have lived in Lower Burma all my life, and have observed the effects of opium amongst Chinese and Burmese. Amongst the Chinese in Lower Burma about twenty per cent of the men smoke opium, and very few women. I have never met a woman who smoked, but I know that there are some. The Chinese do not eat opium, except when they are unable to obtain it for smoking. Some begin at about fifteen or sixteen years of age, but most at about twenty. They almost always begin amongst their friends, from seeing others smoke. The habit can be given up without much difficulty when a person has not long been a smoker. I know of several who have had to give it up in prison. There is no clear difference between moderate and excessive opium-smoking. Those who take opium only occasionally do not suffer much, those who take it regularly soon suffer greatly. If they cannot get opium at the usual time, they shiver and sweat and are quite unfit for work. They like more and more to smoke, and they cannot work like those who do not smoke. Smokers who are poor and cannot get enough money to buy opium take to thieving and other bad practices. Those who are better off are not so much affected. A friend of mine who has tried to break off the habit several times has taken to it again, because friends have come and asked him to smoke with them. He says it is no benefit to him, only spending money, but he cannot give it up. He says it is a bad habit. Among Chinamen who do not smoke themselves the habit is always considered a disgraceful one. Its effects are also thought to be deadly poisonous. It will be a great mistake to attempt to prohibit the sale of opium to Burmans and not to Chinese, the Chinese will smuggle it and sell to the Burmans. The Chinese suffer as much as the Burmans from smoking opium, and it will be a kindness to the Chinese to prevent them from procuring the drug. The respectable merchants are all against the habit of smoking, though some of the smokers might object to being deprived of the drug.

Q.—Were you born in China?

A.—Yes

Q.—To what religion do you belong ?

A — I am a Buddhist

Q — Has any of your family ever smoked opium ?

A — No, none of my family, but lots of my friends and others

Q — You say it affect a man's health very much ?

A — Yes.

Q — Does it generally affect his power of doing business ?

A — Smoking will always affect him He must waste his time

Q — Is he less clear in his head ?

A — It is only the smokers who tell about dreaming, they are always talking that they can get good sense from it, but when they are tight like a drunkard who has been drinking, they dream I consider it a bad habit

Q — Do many poor Chinamen who become beggars become quite ruined by opium ?

A — It must be so they spend money every day They buy one tola's worth perhaps They earn about two rupees, and they are obliged to give for opium one rupee They have not got sufficient for their own living, and they are compelled to do all kinds of mischief.

Q — Do they become beggars ? How do they live ?

A — Several of them have become beggars and have asked for help There is their own society and they go and stay there I am speaking of those who are unable to work

Q — The society supports them ?

A — Yes

Q — Does the society give them opium ?

A — No, it would not give them opium Some people help them.

Q — Out of one hundred smokers how many do you think get ruined like that ?

A — Gradually spending money must be ruining them The man who smokes must be ruined gradually He spends every day about half the income he gets and he must be ruined

Q — Some rich men smoke ?

A — It would affect their incomes very greatly

Q — You mean that any poor man would be ruined ?

A — The poor man would be greatly affected.

Q — I think you said that poor men eat opium ?

A —When they are going on board steamers they are obliged to swallow it, but if they are in their own house or go to a friend's house they always smoke. They enjoy smoking more than eating. A friend of mine went to prison and he had to give it up because he could not get it there. When he came out of the jail, he was very stout and healthy. But a few months afterwards his friends asked him to smoke, and he began to smoke again.

By Mr Pease.—Q.—Did he keep up his health when he began to smoke again?

A —I have seen him myself getting thin, and he was not so stout as when he came out of jail.

By Sir William Roberts —Q —I suppose smoking does not produce much effect among the Chinese who are in good circumstances?

A —The wealthy people smoke just to enjoy themselves, in order to pass the time. Lots of my friends have asked me to smoke too, It would not injure rich people as quickly as it does the poor people.

Q.—But you think that at length it does injure their health?

A —In the long run it must be injurious.

Q.—Do you know as a matter of fact that it does?

A —Yes, I have seen it with my own eyes. I can instance the case of Park Chan who gave evidence yesterday.

[The witness then produced a copy of his statement with a written foot note signed by about thirty Chinese residents of Rangoon to the effect that they agreed in the views expressed by him. He explained that having received from Mr Alexander a copy of Mr Selby's pamphlet on the opium question, with Chinese illustrations depicting the downward progress of the opium-smoking, he had gone round amongst his friends, showed them the pamphlet, and obtained their signature to the foot note. Amongst the signatures he said was that of Dr Ah Nem, who gave evidence yesterday and who alleged that he had been misrepresented by the interpreter. (It appeared subsequently that Dr. Ah Nem's signature was not in fact amongst those appended to the foot note, and that Mr Tuck was mistaken in thinking so). Objection was made by Mr Mowbray, M P to receiving evidence at second hand from persons not appearing before the Commission personally, and especially in the case of a person who had given evidence the previous day to the contrary effect. The Commission therefore decided not to receive this statement and to omit all mention of it from their report.]

## EVIDENCE TAKEN AT MANDALAY.

### Evidence of Surgeon-Major Dantra.

By the Chairman, Sir James Lyall—I am Civil Surgeon at Mandalay? The conclusions I have arrived at are the result of observations made during my long residence of nearly twenty years in India (chiefly Bombay Presidency) and over fifteen years in Burma; and in the latter place being in charge of big jails for the last thirteen years. The extent of the consumption of opium among the Natives of India is just about the same as it was twenty years ago, but among the Burmans it is no doubt increasing. Under moderation it does not produce any ill effect on the physical or mental health, if any thing, it improves the latter and affords greater staying power to the body. Excess, no doubt, impairs appetite, and the individual gets emaciated, but it never renders him so objectionable to society in general as excessive drink does. As in everything else, perhaps there is a tendency among a few of the Burmans to go to excess, but the Natives of India use it in moderation. By using it in moderation, their intellect becomes clear and they are better fitted to attend to their work, either physical or mental. In travelling and making long marches, involving great fatigue and privation, they have found opium one of the most useful articles to possess, more especially when they have to march through malarious districts having a bad water-supply and scarcity of provisions. It is one of the most effectual prophylactics against malaria and bowel-complaints, and when attacked with these complaints it is a very good preventive. These observations apply to both Burmese and Indians. Results of sudden complete cutting off of opium have never proved serious in my hands. In jails for years I have invariably stopped giving opium to all prisoners immediately they are admitted into the prison, and no doubt they have left off food for two or three days, have got diarrhoea, and complained of pains and aches all over the body, etc., but these symptoms soon pass off and they do not feel any the worse for leaving it off, but I believe immediately they go out of jail and begin to experience the trials and troubles of this world, they again take to using it, and if then cannot get opium, they take the alcohol, which in my opinion, works a hundred-fold greater mischief than any amount of opium.

**Q.**—Where did you receive your medical education?

**A.**—In Aberdeen and in London. I was also in Bombay for about six months. I was three years in Aberdeen and two years in London. Until I went to England, all my life was spent in the Bombay Presidency.

After passing in England I came to Calcutta for a very short time and then I came straight to Burma. I have been in Burma since 1877.

Q.—When you say “the extent of the consumption of opium among the Natives of India is just about the same as it was twenty years ago,” you are speaking about the Natives of India in Burma?

A.—Natives of India in Burma as well as in India. In Burma the majority of the Mahommedans and Hindus use opium habitually but the Mahommedans use more than the Hindus.

Q.—The Coringi coolies use it a great deal, do they not?

A.—Yes, but not to the same extent as the Mahommedans do, as far as my observation goes. Most of them are artisans, a few of them are traders.

Q.—Do they smoke or eat opium?

A.—The Mahommedans generally eat it, they smoke it too, but they generally eat it.

Q.—Have you formed any opinion as to the relative effects of the eating habit and of the smoking habit?

A.—It is a matter of degree, as far as my observation goes smoking prolongs the pleasure, eating is finished in a short time, the smoking process goes on and the smoker spends more time over it.

Q.—In your opinion, neither habit in moderation is prejudicial?

A.—No.

Q.—Is excess commoner amongst smokers or amongst eaters?

A.—I think excess depends more upon the pecuniary circumstances of the individual. If the men have money there is a tendency to go to excess.

Q.—You say that in moderation you think it affords greater staying power to the body?

A.—Yes. A man after walking ten or twelve miles feels tired and he takes a little opium, and he rests, say, for a half or a quarter of an hour, and then he will be able to go on another four or five miles further without feeling any discomfort, whereas if he had not taken any opium, he would quite collapse and he would not be able to go any further. I am speaking more especially now of those who have been in the habit of taking opium.

Q.—You say that there is a tendency among a few of the Burmans to go to excess, why do you think that shows itself especially among the Burmans?

A.—From my knowledge of the Burmese, they are a very impulsive sort of people. It is not only in eating and smoking opium alone, but there is a tendency to go to excess in everything they do.

Q.—Does the same tendency show itself in drinking?

A.—Yes, if anything, there is a greater tendency to go to excess in drinking than in taking opium.

Q.—How long have you been in Upper Burma?

A.—For the last three years. Another thing I have noticed is this, almost all the prisoners admitted into the jail, after committing most of the violent crimes, have been in the habit of drinking spirits. Prisoners who have been admitted for petty thefts have been opium-eaters.

Q.—Except in this tendency to excess on the part of excessive consumers, have you noticed any other bad moral effects of the opium habit upon the character of these people?

A.—No, I have not.

Q.—With regard to men of business and traders, do you think it interferes with their intellectual capacity to do their business?

A.—No.

Q.—You say when opium is suddenly stopped, in the case of prisoners, you have noticed that they have diarrhoea, and complain of pains and aches all over the body, is that the case also with moderate consumers, or is it the case only with excessive consumers?

A.—Perceptible diarrhoea is apparent in even moderate consumers, but they do not leave off their food. I have to keep them on very light work. My remarks refer to those who go to excess. Moderate eaters or moderate smokers do not leave off their food, nor do they complain so much of pains and aches all over the body. But they do get diarrhoea, that is general.

Q.—How long does the diarrhoea last?

A.—It lasts two or three days. It is stopped by giving astringents.

Q.—During that time you have to give them light work?

A.—Yes.

Q.—After that are they able to do the same work as the other people?

A.—Yes.

Q.—When they get out into the world from jail do they take to the habit again?



A —Yes. When they came back to jail I questioned them whether they went back to the opium habit after leaving jail, and they said "yes." I asked them why they took to it again. They said they felt happier and they did not feel the troubles and anxieties so much as before.

Q —Do they generally recognise that it is a bad habit?

A —Some do, and some do not. I have a prisoner now who says if he went out he could not devote his attention properly to his work unless he took opium. Others say they dislike it, but you cannot depend upon what they say. They know you do not like it, and they simply answer you so as to fall into your views.

Q —In the case of excessive opium consumers, have you ever had to allow them for a time to take a certain amount?

A —No. I have given them very small doses along with other astringents. About half a grain or a grain, simply to help the action of the other astringents for diarrhoea.

Q.—In the case of habitual excessive alcohol consumers do they feel much craving for drink, when they cannot get it in jail?

A —They do.

By Sir William Roberts —Q —Your experience has, I presume, been mostly among the Burmans?

A —Amongst the Burmans latterly, but in the commencement of my life I had experience amongst the Natives of India.

Q —Are there a considerable number of them who consume opium in Burma?

A —I should say about ten per cent.

Q —Adults?

A —Yes.

Q —Even now?

A —Yes. It was not so much before, but it is increasing at present.

Q —You have charge of jails. Is there any hospital here?

A —Yes, I am in charge of the Civil Hospital, too.

Q —Have you noticed whether these Burmans often find their way into jail owing to the opium habit?

A.—Some find their way into jail through petty thefts.

Q.—When they get poor they commit petty thefts to get opium?

A —Yes.

Q —Is that a more prominent feature amongst the poor who are opium smokers, than amongst the poor who are not opium smokers?

A.—No; the thefts are quite as often amongst the poorer classes who do not use opium

Q.—So that you do not think, even when they become poor, it aggravates matters for them in that respect?

A.—It is very difficult to say. The difference must be very unappreciable.

Q.—You say they get thin when they take too much. Has your observation extended over a sufficient length of time in regard to the same individual, to enable you to form an opinion as to whether that emaciation is progressive?

A.—It is progressive so long as they go on taking it.

Q.—Do you mean to say that a man who takes opium to excess gets thinner and thinner to the end of the chapter?

A.—If he stopped he would begin to put on flesh. It is not quite progressive.

Q.—I suppose the emaciation gets to a certain point and then stops?

A.—Yes, that is so.

Q.—That is to say, they become spare, thin, wily men?

A.—That is what I mean.

Q.—They do not deteriorate mentally, though they become thinner?

A.—They do not suffer mentally. As far as they are mentally concerned, they make better overseers than men who do not consume opium, but as far as their physical strength is concerned, lifting heavy loads and doing manual physical work, perhaps they would not be up to those who do not take it. Mentally, as far as supervising and comprehending instructions which are given, they are better than others who do not take opium.

Q.—They are sharper?

A.—Yes, they are sharper.

Q.—Do you think that perhaps it is the sharper fellows who do take opium, and that it may be accounted for in that way?

A.—It is a conclusion to draw from the number of cases. There is a greater percentage among the opium-eaters, who turn out to be very sharp.

Q.—Have you known old men who are opium-eaters or consumers amongst the Burmans?

A.—Yes, I know a man now, a Jew, who is over seventy-five years of age, he is carrying one of the largest businesses going.

Q —Does he smoke or eat ?

A —He eats I should say about three or four grains a day. He had to have his name registered, but he was rather ashamed of it. He was almost on the point of leaving Burma on account of the restriction, because he had to go and register his name in the Deputy Commissioner's Office. He said it was a great shame, and that he did not care to do it. He said that without taking it he could not carry on his business at all

Q —Have you had any experience amongst Chinese or people from the Shan States ?

A —I have had no experience of the people from the Shan States except those few Shans who have come into jail but I have had experience.

Q —The Chinese smoke, do not they ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Is it your experience that they do not suffer in body or mind ?

A.—They do not

Q.—How have they come before you as prisoners ?

A.—They have come before me in my private practice, and a few of them have come before me in jails

Q.—I presume that you have seen deterioration of health, due to the excessive use of opium ?

A —Yes, I have

Q —Apart from poverty, and apart from any associated disease, what symptoms would you bring home directly to the opium habit in excess ?

A.—The man's appetite fails, and the daily waste is not sufficiently replenished

Q —The emaciation becomes progressive ?

A —Yes, to a certain extent, and in the same way proportionately with the general body waste, the organs waste, the viscera I have not come across any specific *post-mortem* appearance, no pathological appearance, which I could attribute to opium, besides wasting.

Q —But do you think that the opium habit carried to excess can itself kill, as far as you know ?

A.—I do not think it would kill

Q —But indirectly I presume it puts a man in peril If a man eats or smokes opium to excess for a long time, I presume his life becomes precarious and more liable to other complaints ?

A.—If he does not take sufficient nourishment.

Q.—I want to isolate, as far as possible, the opium habit. Suppose a man has command of all the food he wishes to have, and supposing he is an excessive user of opium, does he put his life in peril ?

A.—I do not think so.

Q.—Not from inherent disease ?

A.—No, in fact it protects him to a certain extent from some of the diseases

Q.—You mentioned opium as being a prophylactic. We know that there is no prophylactic against fever. You mean by that phrase that it assists and renders the attacks less frequent, or what do you mean ?

A.—I am in charge of the Military Police, Sikhs and others, when they are transferred from one place to another. When they have to march through malarious districts I find that there is a smaller percentage who take disease among the opium-eaters than among non-opium eaters. I am speaking of fever and diarrhoea, and more especially when there is a change of water.

Q.—Some of the Sikhs do not use opium ?

A.—Some do and others do not.

Q.—Both are Sikhs ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—So that the comparison would be fair, because in one case opium was consumed, and in the other case opium was not ?

A.—Among those who eat opium the percentage of sickness is smaller than among those who do not use it.

Q.—As far as your experience of Sikh soldiers goes, what is the amount of opium they consume. Have you any idea ?

A.—Some of them consume from four annas' worth a day. About eight or ten grains. They take that in two doses.

Q.—Have you in your medical practice used opium as a drug in malarial conditions ?

A.—Yes, with quinine very often, and I have found it answer better than increasing the dose of quinine alone.

Q.—You have practised in India as well as in Burma, has it struck you that the malarial troubles are different here from those you encounter in India, or are they the same ?

A.—Nearly the same, I have not noticed any particular difference. In some districts it may be a matter of degree.

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—You have had experience in England. Do you observe any difference in the effect produced by opium upon Europeans, Hindus, Chinamen, and Burmans?

A.—I cannot say that I have seen any at all among Europeans. Barring this tendency amongst the Burmans to go to excess, I have not noticed any difference in the effects on different races.

Q.—Although you say taken in moderation it makes the intellect clearer and enables men to do their work better, I also gather from your evidence that you do not advise people to commence the habit?

A.—No, I would not advise them to do so.

Q.—I think you made a remark to the effect that these people know that you do not like it, or some such expression as that?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You say that the Burmans do not take to excess when they have not sufficient money. I suppose from that you mean that they spend all the money they can over it?

A.—Proportionately speaking, if they have sufficient money to look after their wants they would go in for it, I do not think that they would deprive themselves of everything for the sake of opium.

Q.—Is it not the cause of a great deal of poverty?

A.—No, not in my experience.

Q.—But there are cases in which there is poverty which leads to petty thefts?

A.—Poverty in general leads to petty thefts.

Q.—Did I understand you to say that for moderate consumers who are in jail you prescribe light work?

A.—Yes, in the commencement.

Q.—Do you find a man who has often taken opium in moderation is so much unfit for his work that he cannot do it?

A.—For two or three days.

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q.—Is that when you have knocked his opium off?

A.—Yes. I knock it off entirely. When a man comes into jail, no matter how much he has been in the habit of taking opium, I knock it off at once.

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—This case of the intellect being clearer is while the man remains under the influence of the dose?

A —I mean to say when I am talking to prisoners who are opium consumers, their intellect is clearer than others, even when they are not getting the drug I can make better overseers from opium-eaters than I can from those who are non-opium eaters not in every case, but there is a greater percentage

Q —When neither class are able to obtain opium ? •

A —Yes.

By Mr Mowbray —Q —Are you in charge of the jail here now ?

A —Yes, I am in administrative charge, as well as medical charge. I have been in charge of these jails for the last thirteen years

Q —Where have you been in charge of jails ?

A —In Henzada in the Irrawaddy Division, I have also been in Bassein, in the same Division, and in this jail in Mandalay

Q —You have been in Mandalay for the last three years ?

A —Yes.

Q —I take it that the evidence you have given us to-day is the result of your experience in the jails of Burma, both Lower and Upper ?

A —Yes

Q —I did not quite understand whether you said you thought the number of Burman smokers in Upper Burma was on the increase ?

A —Not in Upper Burma only, but in Burma generally, Lower and Upper

Q —Could you give us a percentage of what you think to be the number of opium-consuming Burmans in Upper Burma ?

A —I should say about ten per cent in Lower Burma, and a little less in Upper Burma, but I cannot give you any definite information.

**Evidence of Mr. I. E. Bridges, C. S., Commissioner for the Eastern Division of Upper Burma.**

In reply to the Chairman, the witness said —I have been seventeen years in Burma I was for three years doing ordinary magisterial work in the sub-division, after that I was for nearly six years on settlement work, and then I was for two years Revenue Secretary I came up to Mandalay as Deputy Commissioner for one and a half years, then I was Chief Secretary for six months, next I was Deputy Commissioner again for five months, and then I was appointed Commissioner for three years The number of Burmans who use opium in Upper Burma is exceedingly small From enquiries I have made I think it is about one in five thousand. In Lower Burma the number is much larger.

Q.—Was opium used at all by the Lower Burmans before the annexation ?

A.—Yes, when there were Chinamen the Burmans used opium.

Q.—Are there many Shans in your district ?

A.—Not Shans proper they are what are called Shan Danus. They are Shans who speak Burmese ; they are partly Burmanized They live in the territory between Burma and the Shan States proper

Q.—Was opium prohibited to these Shan Danus in the King's time ?

A.—It was nominally prohibited. But there was no real prohibition. They were allowed to go at it as much as they liked

Q.—The prohibition was actually with regard to the Burmans proper ?

A.—I think I may say it was.

Q.—But not very effectually ?

A.—Not very effectually, they occasionally used to punish a man when they caught him, but many of them smoked who were never punished.

Q.—Does the same apply to liquor ?

A.—Yes, only of course there were many more people who took liquor. A very large proportion of Upper Burmans took liquor when we came into the country. From what I heard I should think about seventy-five per cent of them took liquor not always, but at times, at their Nat festivals. It was the usual practice in the King's time to allow liquor to be manufactured, and liquor was drunk freely. This Nat worship prevails a great deal in Upper Burma. It is their old religion, and they keep it alongside of Buddhism. They have temples to the Nats, a few miles north of Mandalay and in the pagodas at Pagan. They offer liquor to the figures. In all irrigation works when the water is let out, offerings are made in spirit to the Nats. In fact, the Burmans have asked me at Mawktha to allow them to manufacture liquor. But it is forbidden now and I told them they could not do it. In the King's time the liquor was manufactured from jaggery or palm-tree sugar and from rice. The stills were more or less concealed except at these Nat festivals, when it was done publicly. In Mandalay, in 1886, I saw a number of people drinking at these Nat festivals. On one occasion at the Amarapoora festival Nat festivals. On one occasion at the Amarapoora festival I saw three women drunk. I have never seen such a thing in Lower Burma ; these women pushed up against me in the road. As a rule, Burmese women keep out of the way. I asked the people what was the matter with them, and I was told that they were drunk.

Q.—Where did the opium come from that was obtained in those days?

A.—From Yunnan, from the Chinese in Mandalay. There was a large colony of Chinese in China Street. They were allowed to use opium. According to what the King's Ministers told me when we came into Mandalay, there were about 150 Burmans who used opium. That was their estimate of the number in Mandalay.

Q.—Did they smoke or eat the opium?

A.—Most of them ate it. They say only the richer people smoke it, as it is more expensive.

Q.—What we call the Shan States were tributary to the Kings of Burma, were they not?

A.—Yes, when we came in the King was trying to administer many of these territories. He had his ministers (Wuns) at the Courts of the Sawbwas. They had a Burmese military commander at Moby. Burmese armies were constantly going through the Shan States, attacking the different people.

Q.—They did not interfere in internal administration much, I suppose?

A.—They levied *Thathamedu* or income-tax. It is a kind of modified income-tax. It is fixed at ten rupees a house. If there are a hundred houses that means Rs. 1,000. It is divided according to the income of the different people.

Q.—The Chinese were openly allowed to have opium?

A.—Yes, Chinese and foreigners were allowed to continue their old custom, and to drink their liquor.

Q.—What is your opinion as to the effect of opium on Chinamen, as far as you have seen?

A.—The majority of Chinamen use opium and are not affected physically or morally by the use of the drug. They all work hard, and I have never seen a Chinaman in jail for an offence against the Indian Penal Code.

Q.—How does it affect the Burmese?

A.—I have seen opium smokers, but I cannot tell them from other people. I am unable to say that opium affects Burmans physically. In the jails in Lower Burma, the Burman opium-eaters or smokers whom I have seen did not appear inferior physically to non-opium smokers. Burmans are, however, strongly affected morally by the use of opium.



They become lazy, give up all work, and take to gambling and petty thieving. They do not commit any serious offences or crime on account of taking opium.

Q.—You say they take to gambling ?

A.—Burmans are naturally gamblers, and the opium-eaters and opium-smokers go in more for gambling

Q.—I suppose the class that are criminals would naturally take to drinking and smoking ?

A.—Yes

Q.—The poor man who spends more than he could afford in smoking and drinking would naturally take to petty thieving ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Do you think there is any distinction in that respect between the man who spends more than he can afford in opium and the man who spends more than he can afford in liquor ?

A.—I do not think there is

Q.—What is your opinion as to the effect of opium consumption amongst the Shans ?

A.—I am unable to say that there is any effect upon them. In 1887 I was up in the Shan States for three months. The Shans there were very hardy they did long marches and carried heavy loads. From what I was told, many of them were either *ganya* smokers or opium smokers

Q.—Does *ganya* consumption prevail in the Shan States ?

A.—Yes, they say it can be found almost in every village. It is grown, but it does not grow wild, it is cultivated, they grow a few plants near the different houses.

Q.—Have you never asked the Shans why they took opium; have they give any reason for it ?

A.—No, I have not asked them

Q.—A note has been put in here with regard to the Excise establishments present and proposed. I see that it says, "In addition to the regular Police the village Police, and, in Lower Burma, the Thuggis, the Revenue Collectors have duties in connection with the detection and suppression of offences against the opium law." How long has it been the case that the village Police police and Thuggis have had such duties ?

A.—I think for the last two or three years. No cases have been brought to light by them. The Burmans are very much afraid of giving

information against each other? they are afraid of revenge and people attacking them.

Q.—Are these village headmen paid by Government?

A.—They are paid by the *Thathamoda*,—the land revenue. They are generally hereditary men. The Thuggis, which is the Burman name for headmen in Upper Burma, have many villages under them, but the Ywathugyi has only one or two villages as a rule under him.

Q.—In 1892 a special form was prescribed for the appointment of these officials to be Excise officers, and on the back of those forms was written a short statement in popular language of their duties in connection with both liquor and opium?

A.—Yes, we have given those out to every man in the Burmese language.

Q.—I see they are given much larger powers under this form of appointment?

A.—Arresting, and seizing and searching houses they have very small Magisterial powers. They can try petty thefts up to the value of Rs. 5 and small assault cases. They can fine up to Rs. 5.

Q.—Have you heard of any case in your division in which they have entered a house in search of opium?

A.—No; we have a special Excise establishment in my division. They do all this.

Q.—Are these Thuggis people who would be likely to abuse their powers?

A.—I think not. I think they are likely not to abuse them.

Q.—Do you think when the use of opium is prohibited except to non-Burmans, it is likely that smuggling will take place?

A.—I think a certain amount of smuggling will take place. We have smuggling now to a certain extent. The smuggling comes from the Shan States. We have seized opium in the Meiktila district and in the Kyaukse district, the opium in those cases came from the Southern Shan States.

Q.—Is the frontier of the Burmese districts and the Shan States a frontier where there are roads by which the hills can be crossed?

A.—No, there are a number of bye-paths. There are three large trading routes into the Eastern division, and there are a number of bye-

paths that go off the roads, and you can get down into the plains at different places. These bye-paths are only passable by men on foot.

Q.—So that smuggling in small quantities would be hard to stop?

A.—It would be very hard to stop.

Q.—I suppose one man might carry a great deal of opium?

A.—Yes, he could carry several *risas* of opium without any difficulty.

By Sir William Roberts.—Q.—You say the number of Upper Burmans who use opium is exceedingly small, being only about one in five thousand. Do you mean one in five thousand of the total population?

A.—Yes; that is from enquiries I have made.

Q.—That would only mean about one in twelve hundred or one in a thousand adults?

A.—Yes.

By Mr Pease.—Q.—In your report which was given in on the 21st of January, 1892, you say that out of 104 men in four villages the health and capacity of the majority had been affected by the use of the drug. Is that your experience generally?

A.—No, that is taken from the reports of the Deputy Commissioner.

Q.—Do you think it a fair statement to make that the majority who take opium have no capacity for work?

A.—From my own personal experience I cannot say that they are affected. This is the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner, whose report I was sending on, I made no enquiries myself.

Q.—You further say nearly all have been affected by the use of the drug, and several have taken to crime?

A.—That is petty crime.

Q.—Do you think that probably that was rather an exaggerated statement?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You also say “opium consumers are said to be of weak physique and to live on the earnings of their wives.” Do you think that is an exaggeration?

A.—No.

Q.—You say “I do not think that we can expect any co-operation from the people themselves in putting down the opium traffic:” during

the time of the King considerable assistance was obtained in the matter, was it not, from the heads of the Buddhist church ?

A — I never heard of it

Q It was so stated in evidence in London ?

A — Religiously all Burmans in theory are against both drink and opium, and the King repeatedly issued orders forbidding both drink and opium. That was only theory the practice was quite different

By Sir William Roberts — Q — That was more in the shape of pious opinion ?

A — Yes, King Mindon Min constantly issued orders against drink and opium

By Mr. Pease — Q — Mr Adams in giving evidence said, "The Buddhist Archbishop of the day (1876) showed me despatches in cipher which he was then sending to the Court at Mandalay, addressed personally to the King, detailing cases which had taken place, and various crimes committed and the punishments inflicted by the Civil authorities. They always acted as spies upon the doings of the people, and anything contrary to Buddhist law, apart from the national law, was at once reported, and the priests themselves accused people to the Civil authorities."

A — All the older Burmans are using their opinion against it undoubtedly. When children take to the use of opium they reprove them and tell them not to

Q — You say also "I am of opinion that the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans in Upper Burma has been effectual." Is that your view at the present time ?

A — I may qualify that a little by saying, except where there are a number of Chinese. Where the number of Chinese has increased, there they have introduced opium, that is, in larger towns

Q — Do you think there will be any disposition on the part of the Shan Chiefs to co-operate in any movement for stopping the growth of the poppy in their States ?

A — I think not they may say they will; but they will not, I think.

Q — Do you think the consumption of opium in the Shan States is larger in the neighbourhood of the caravan routes, than it is in the other parts of the country ?

A — All that I can say is that there is less consumption in the Southern Shan States than in the Northern Shan States, because opium is not grown in any quantity there they consume *ganja*

Q.—The caravan routes are through the Southern portion ?

A.—Both, the route to Yunnan is through the Northern Shan States.

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q.—You are aware that your view, that prohibition has been effectual in Upper Burma, is contrary to the opinions which have often been quoted from the Excise Report of 1890-91 to the effect that prohibition with regard to liquor and opium were nugatory ?

A.—With regard to liquor I do not think it has been effectual, but I think it has with regard to opium.

Q.—Is it not the case that the rules themselves have been better since the Excise Report of 1890-91 was written, making not sale, but also possession punishable ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Do you think that has tended in any way to make the rules better enforced and more effectual ?

A.—I cannot say I think so. I think it is simply keeping opium away from them that prevents them taking to it. We have very few shops, and they have very little opportunity of getting it. There are three shops in the Eastern Division.

Q.—Are those three shops supposed to be supplied exclusively with Government opium ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—I suppose there is no restriction to selling in licensed shops opium that is imported so long as duty is paid ?

A.—No, and confiscated opium is sent to them for sale.

Q.—So that in fact the preventive system which you now have to keep up in the Eastern District on the Shan frontier is intended not to prohibit the entry altogether, but to see that the opium which comes over is, as far as possible, made to pay duty ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—If opium were totally prohibited and the shops were closed, would you then have to keep a much larger preventive force ?

A.—Yes, we should have to keep a much larger preventive force. All the Chinamen would leave the country, and our Military Police could not stay here. The Chinese are the chief traders in the Eastern Division. They have nearly all the kutch trade in their hands. They have also some timber trade and all the cotton trade.

Q.—I may take it as your opinion, as responsible for the division, that you do not wish to see any further restriction than those contained in the regulations recently put forth ?

A.—No. I do not.

Q.—By the Chairman.—Is Yunnan or Shan opium readily distinguishable from Government opium ?

A.—Yes. I do not myself know what the difference is.

**Evidence of Mr. Law Yan, K. S. N., given through an interpreter.**

By the Chairman.—Q.—I am a merchant and Municipal Commissioner at Mandalay. I have lived in Mandalay for over thirty years. Not more than one in ten of the Yunnanese in Mandalay smoke opium, and few of the better class of merchants. The Fokinese and Cantonese smoke it to great extent, but not universally. In the time of King Mindon Min the restrictions on the sale of opium were less stringently enforced than at present. I think it a bad thing to smoke opium. It is against the traditional precepts of my people, and it is also bad for the smoker's health. Most Kachins smoke opium, and as they live in a cold climate they are not so much affected by the practice as people who live in a hot climate. I have been Municipal Commissioner since 1888, and am the only Yunnanese merchant who is Municipal Commissioner. I was born in Yunnan. I am forty-eight, and I have been here thirty-one years, having come in the time of King Mindon Min. I have never been back to Yunnan. All my people have died, and I have never gone back there.

Q.—Have you ever tried smoking opium ?

A.—No, I have never tried it. I do not like it. My grandfather told me not to smoke it. We have never smoked it in our family.

Q.—Does it commonly run in families to smoke or not to smoke, as the case may be ?

A.—I think there is about fifty per cent. who have not smoked from father to son.

Q.—Do you think there is any difference in cleverness between the merchants who smoke and those who do not smoke ?

A.—I think it is the same thing whether a man smokes or not.

Q.—In commercial honesty do you think there is any difference ?

A.—They are indolent in mind—the people who smoke opium. I do not think there is any difference in their honesty. Some are good and some are bad.

Q.—In King Mindon Min's time was there any restriction on the Chinese using opium ?

A.—All that the King used to issue orders about was not to sell opium to the Burmans, but the next day the Chinese would be selling to the Burmans. It was enforced one day, and in a few days it was forgotten. The Burmans smoke less now than they did in the Burmese times.

Q.—I suppose the Burmese only smoked in places like Mandalay ?

A.—They also smoked in the jungle, in the district outside Mandalay.

Q.—Do you know of any opium-smokers who have died from smoking opium ?

A.—I have heard of men dying because they could not buy any opium and they had been in the habit of taking it, they died of dysentery or diarrhoea when the opium was stopped.

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—There are three classes of Chinese,—Yunnanese, Fokinese, and Cantonese,—in Mandalay ?

A.—Three-tenths Yunnanese and seven-tenths Cantonese and Fokinese.

Q.—Would you be in favour of anything being done to prevent those smoking who have not yet begun to do so ?

A.—It would be better to prevent opium-smoking amongst those who have not yet begun.

Q.—Would you be in favour of a register being made for present smokers, and that all others should be prevented from buying opium ?

A.—If people stay here for good it will be advisable to have the names of smokers registered, if they are only temporary persons who go about here and there, it would not be advisable to register them. It is in the discretion of the Government whether it would be advisable to have their names registered or not.

Q.—Is that opinion the opinion of the Chinese generally. would the Chinese people agree with you in that ?

A.—The confirmed smokers will not like having their names registered unless those who do not smoke and do not eat opium like the registration of the smokers' names the smokers would not like it.

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q.—In the days of King Mindon Min, where did the opium come from that the people smoked ?

A.—From the Shan States, from the north, and from Bhamo. Yunnanese opium came from the Northern Shan States and from Bhamo.

By the Chairman.—Q.—When you lived in Yunnan as a young man, was the poppy much cultivated there ?

A.—The poppy was not grown much in the Yunnan country. There are wild tribes in a great part of Yunnan.

**Evidence of Mr. Sidney Jennings, Inspector of Police.**

By the Chairman.—I joined the Burma Police in May, 1888. I served in the Thongwa district for about a year. In September, 1889, I was transferred to Carmein, the most northern British post in Burma

Q.—What people live in that district ?

A.—The Kachins

Q.—Are those Kachins independent ?

A.—They have drawn a line

Q.—I suppose those inside that line are under our Administration, and we only have political relations with those outside that line ?

A.—Yes, there is no distinction between the Kachins inside the line and those outside the line in character or in habits. About eighty per cent. of them smoke opium.

Q.—Do you know if they eat opium at all, or do they only smoke ?

A.—They eat opium, but they are not looked upon very highly if they do so. It is at night when they have finished their work that they bring out their opium pipes. The man who eats opium does it on the quiet.

Q.—He is not thought a good fellow ?

A.—No.

Q.—What do you think they take to it for ?

A.—They have very hard work all day. They are up at daybreak and work until nightfall. They have no leisure of any kind, and they have very bad food. Originally they copied the Chinese, and since the habit has been established, they cannot do without it when they have no opium they at once go sick.

Q.—You mean the men who have acquired the habit ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—They go sick in what way ?

A.—They get fever and dysentery, many of them die if they do not get it. Being a Police officer I have had several men in the lock-up who, as they got no opium, at once went sick. One of them died in Mandalay because he could not get opium.

Q.—Do they suppose it is a preventive against disease ?



A.—They always say so. They say at once, "I shall get sick if you do not give it to me." I do not fancy they think much about it one way or the other.

Q.—Beyond this liability to fall sick if they do not get it, do you know of any other bad results of the opium upon them ?

A.—No, I do not

Q.—I suppose some use it to excess ?

A.—Very few. The Kachins are not very rich, and they cannot afford to buy it in large quantities.

Q.—Is the habit confined to the men ?

A.—No, the women smoke also Not as much as the men ; about twenty per cent smoke on the Carmain side, where I am , on the Myitkyina side a good many women smoke

Q.—Do they grow much opium in that country ?

A.—On the Myitkyina side they do, and down by Endau Lake. They do not grow enough for their own consumption

Q.—Where do they get it from ?

A.—It crosses the confluence of the Mlikha and the Mikha. It is brought by the Chinese caravans A good many Kachins cross the border and bring it over for themselves. I have myself met Kachins coming over, and have searched them, and found opium, in balls

The few cases of excess are chiefly among the rich men , they never do any work, and they keep to their houses There is no real bad effect, but the men are not very strong

Q.—Would it be possible to stop the opium coming over ?

A.—Not at present The force up there is quite incapable of dealing with it There is over a hundred miles of Chinese boundary, and opium is grown just over the border. There are no roads, it is dense jungle. The Kachin paths are very numerous It is quite impossible to deal with it now.

Q.—How do you think the Kachins would like it if any measures were taken to stop it ?

A.—They would not like it at all.

Q.—Do not they admit in talking that it is a bad thing ?

A.—No, they do not

Q.—What is their religion ?

A.—They worship Nats

By Mr. Mowbray —Q.—Are your Police Military or Civil Police?

A.—There is only one Civil Policeman in Carmein, the rest are Military Polite, they are called Ghurkas, but they are really Assamese.

Q.—Are they opium consumers?

A.—I have not noticed it amongst them. There is nowhere where they could get it. There is only one shop at Mogaung.

Q.—Could they not buy it from the Kachins who grow it?

A.—Yes, they could, but the Kachins will not bring it into Kamein. My district is called the Mogaung sub-division. There are three sub-divisions in the Bhamo district—Mogaung, Mytkyina and Shwegu.

Q.—Have you one of those three?

A.—I had when I first went up, then I was sent to Kamein as a sort of Civil Officer.

By the Chairman —Q.—Is Kamein in Mogaung?

A.—It is in the sub-division it is north of Mogaung. My district goes up to the Jade mines.

By Mr. Mowbray —Q.—What class of people work in the Jade mines?

A.—They come from Mandalay. There are Chinamen, Kachins, and Kadus.

Q.—Do you know anything about the consumption of opium among the people working in the Jade mines?

A.—No, merely from rumour. Last year 10,000  *viss* were supposed to have been brought to the mines. There was a shop of the Jade mines two years ago, there is not now.

By the Chairman.—Q.—The Kadus are a small tribe living up in that part.

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—How far is your district from here?

Q.—It takes three days by steamer from here to Bhamo, and from Bhamo it takes five days by boat.

Q.—You said the death-rate would be enormous if the use of opium were prohibited. We have had a great deal of evidence to show that persons in jail and other places, though they suffer for a while, have not been permanently affected by it. Can you tell us what has brought you to that conclusion?

A.—The men that I have had in the lock-up have invariably gone sick, and two of them have died from not having opium.

Q.—Under medical attention?

A.—No, there is only an Assistant Apothecary up there.

Q.—You come to your conclusion rather from your general experience than from statistics?

A.—It is not extensive, because not many Kachins are locked up. It is the prevailing belief amongst themselves that they will die.

By Sir William Roberts —Q.—I believe there is only one shop in your district?

A.—At present there is one at Mogaung.

Q.—The opium that comes from China comes in the crude state?

A.—Yes.

Q.—It is not the smoking extract?

A.—No.

Q.—Would that be made in the shop, they boil it there?

A.—Yes.

By the Chairman —Q.—The Kachin country is a very malarious country, and the district of the Jade mines also.

Q.—Are the people allowed to get opium there?

A.—They are not allowed but we cannot stop it. If we could stop it, they would not be allowed to get it.

By Sir William Roberts —Q.—Amongst the Kachins I suppose the adult males smoke opium the most?

A.—Yes, about eighty per cent.

By Mr Mowbray —Q.—Are the Police responsible for carrying out these Excise laws?

A.—Yes.

Q.—When you say you cannot stop these people in the Jade mines, what efforts do you make?

A.—The force up there is insufficient. Whenever we meet a caravan or anything of the sort we search it, and when we find opium it is confiscated. There are many small roads, and the jungles are so dense that nobody knows anything about them except the Kachins, and it is impossible to get at them.

Q.—If any of your men find the people at the Jade mines using opium, do they investigate where the opium came from?

A.—There is no Civil police up there, we have not got as far as that yet.

By the Chairman.—Q.—Are your police Sikhs or what ?

A.—They are called Gurkhas, but there are really very few Gurkhas amongst them, the majority are Assamese

Q.—Do they consume opium ?

A.—No, I have never noticed it I have never seen them smoking, if they eat it they eat it on the quiet

Q.—I believe that two Yunnanese have come in from Blamo to give evidence ?

A.—Yes

Q.—How did they come forward to give evidence ?

A.—They came from Blamo As I came down, the Deputy Commissioner told me to bring them with me, beyond that I know nothing about them

**Evidence of Haji Shahshuddin, (examined through an interpreter)**

By the Chairman.—I am a Panthe merchant I have lived in Burma for twenty years and in Mandalay since the occupation Panthes are forbidden to smoke opium and as a rule do not smoke Panthes who do smoke are men of rank As regards the effect of opium on the health of the consumer, well-fed persons may smoke opium without ill effects, whereas ill-nourished persons are harmed by it About half the Yunnanese in Burma or in Yunnan smoke opium Men of substance and position among the Yunnanese smoke opium, but there is some slight loss of reputation attached to the practice The social stigma, such as it is, is slight Very few Chinese eat opium, the majority of consumers smoke it In the King's time opium was openly sold, without prohibition, by Chinese to Chinese It was also sold secretly to Burmans. I have been to the Kachin country There half the Kachins smoke opium and are strong and healthy I do not think they smoke to excess I have heard that opium-smoking keeps off fever, but I do not know whether this is really the case

Q.—Where was your home originally ?

A.—South of Tali-fu There are many Chinese and Mahomedans in that part of the country I left Yunnan after the rebellion First I went to live in Rangoon and then from Rangoon I came to live in Mandalay. I was in Upper Burma, in the King's time I had my residence in Rangoon, but I came here to trade I sometimes stayed here eight months and I went back and got married I was permanently here during the whole of King Thibaw's reign

Q.—You say that the Panthés are forbidden to smoke opium is that a religious rule ?

A.—The Panthé religion forbids the smoking of opium.

Q.—Panthés are Mahommedans, are they not ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Amongst the Mahommedans of India and Persia opium is not supposed to be forbidden, how is it that it is forbidden amongst the Panthés ?

A.—They think it is forbidden in the Koran. It is a religious injunction with them

Q.—When you were in Yunnan was there any poppy cultivation ?

A.—Yes, I saw a great deal grown in my own town.

Q.—Was not the cultivation of the poppy supposed to be forbidden by the order of the Emperor of China in those days ?

A.—I heard once that the Emperor of China prohibited the cultivation of the poppy. I heard that in my childhood, but ever since I have known the country it has been cultivated freely

Q.—You say that some Panthé men of rank do smoke, I suppose those are people who have no work to do ?

A.—I heard that when there were Panthé Princes, they used to smoke opium, but I do not know it of my own knowledge

**Evidence of Mr Yang Fu and Mr San Tu examined through an interpreter.**

In reply to the Chairman, Mr Yang Fu said he was a Yunnanese of Bhamo, and had been in Burma for over ten years. He lived before that in Moulmein and in Yunnan. He was not a Buddhist, he worshipped Chinese gods, and was a Confucian. He had smoked opium thirty-two years, and smoked about half a tical of opium a day,—eight annas' weight. He took to it because he was suffering from sickness on account of fever

Q.—Do you think it stops fever ?

A.—Yes

Q.—Is it the general opinion that opium is good for stopping fever ?

A.—Yes

Q.—If opium were stopped what would be the result ?

A.—The men who could not stop the practice would go back to the Chinese country, and others would suffer the orders of the Government

Q.—Of the Yunnanese who trade between China, how many smoke and how many do not smoke ?

A.—More than half

Q.—How is it that you come forward to give evidence ?

A.—The Deputy Commissioner called us

Q.—Was a meeting called, or did the Deputy Commissioner call you individually ?

A.—The Deputy Commissioner assembled the Chinese and told them the Government wanted them to send some Chinese gentlemen to represent them here. The Chinese chose six who went up to the Deputy Commissioner, and out of those six two were chosen, we two were chosen and we have been sent down.

By Mr Mowbray.—Q.—How many Yunnanese are there in Bhamo—permanent residents ?

A.—About five or six hundred

Q.—Are there many who come and go ?

A.—Yes more than a thousand people come down in the cold weather.

Q.—If the Government said that no Yunnanese should have opium unless their names were upon a list, do you think it would be possible to carry that out in Bhamo ?

A.—If I could not stand the order, I would go back to my country, I would think about it.

Q.—Do you think if these temporary people who go to and fro trading were not allowed to have opium that it would stop their coming to trade ?

A.—Only the people who do not smoke would come all the opium smokers would stay at home

Q.—What do the people generally trade in ?

A.—From Yunnan they bring cloths, silk, cotton, food, fruits, walnuts, apples, pears, and they also bring salt pork. They take back amber, jade, and lac.

By Mr. Pease.—Q.—Would you advise a young man in good health to take opium ?

A.—No, I would not advise any young man to smoke opium

Q.—Have you ever given up taking it yourself, and if so, for how long ?

A.—I have stopped opium five or six times, and on one occasion I stopped it for one year. Sometimes I stop it for two or three months, and other times for five or six months.

Mr San Tu in reply to the Chairman, said that he had smoked opium for fifteen years. He smoked ten or twelve annas' weight of opium daily. He had been settled in Bhamo for three years.

Q.—Is there much poppy cultivated about your home in Yunnan?

A.—Poppy is grown on the hills. I have not seen the poppy cultivation, but I have heard that it is grown. It is only grown on the hills. I come from a village.

Q.—In other respects do you agree with the evidence given by Mr Yang Fu?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Mr Yang Fu said he would not advise a young man who had not taken opium to take opium, but supposing the young man had to go to the Jade mines or to go to a feverish place, would you then advise him to take opium pills, or to take opium in any shape or not?

A.—It would not concern me if a young man went to the Jade mines. I would not say anything. They could smoke if they liked. I would not like if my son smoked.

#### **Evidence of Rev. M. B. Kirkpatrick, M.D.**

By the Chairman.—I belong to the American Baptist Mission, and am a Medical Missionary.

Q.—How long have you been in Burma, and in what districts have you been?

A.—I was in Toungoo for two years. I have been living up in the Shan States for three years, and much of my time has been spent travelling in the Shan country. It is five years and six months since I came to Burma. For ten years before I came here I was practising in Philadelphia in Medical Mission work.

Q.—Will you give us an account of your experience in Toungoo?

A.—Daily when living in Toungoo, in Lower Burma, I was interested in investigating the effects of opium-smoking on those who freely indulged in the drug. I visited some opium farms, as they are called, early in the evening, but I saw little of the drug consumed on the place. Many were buying in small quantities, to be used at home. One day the Inspector of Police told me that about midnight he was going to visit some dens to find a notorious thief who had just come to town. He asked me if I should like to see some of their work, and I told him

I should be very glad to do so. We spent two or three hours in visiting several of these miserable dens. He found not only the man he wanted, but two other bad characters. He arrested the three men that night.

Q.—What are these dens as you call them?

A.—They are licensed opium farms. A signboard is in front saying Opium Farm, number so and so.

Q.—Is Toungoo a big town?

A.—There are about fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants.

Q.—How many licensed shops do you suppose then are there?

A.—I think there were three on China Street at that time. Several that we visited that night and on subsequent occasions were not licensed, they were illicit places. The Police knew them very well. The Police told me at that time that if they wanted bad characters they always looked first for them in the opium dens. In one place I saw about a hundred men and a few women taking the drug. Some were sleeping in a dull stupor, others were quietly smoking, and some were groaning with pain because they could not get the drug. There were several people about asking for pice. Several were outside and inside, and when they saw a white man they begged for pice that they might have a smoke. Those who had been several years taking the drug were in nearly every case thin in flesh, emaciated and nervous and haggard-looking. Those who had only recently acquired the habit, of course, were in a better condition. During the two years I was living in Toungoo I often made these late nocturnal visits and saw many physical as well as moral wrecks in these places. Many Burmans were pointed out to me as at one time holding positions of honour and responsibility, but becoming opium-smokers they had lost everything and were then miserable beggars, asking for a few pice that they might indulge in another smoke. Several men were pointed out to me as having been once clerks in the Courts or attached to the Deputy Commissioner's Office, and several men who had held important positions at some time or another were pointed out to me.

Q.—I suppose your knowledge of the number of licensed places at that time was very vague, was it not?

A.—It was simply from observation. I have seen the placards on the places.

Q.—There are now twenty retail licensed shops in all Lower Burma, and there were in the time you mention, 1888-89, only sixteen



in all Lower Burma ; so there could hardly have been two in Tounggoo ; at the present moment there is only one ?

A.—I am sure from the placards I saw that there were two immediately opposite the Burman Chapel Two of those placards were up "Opium farms" I visited several places with the Police on the night I have mentioned, but how many of them were licensed I could not say

Q.—You say that in one place you saw about a hundred men in the place Was that a licensed shop ?

A.—That was a licensed shop It was immediately opposite the Burman Chapel, where we had services nearly every day in the week. We did not go into the other place that night where the placard was I think it was in the adjoining building next door

Q.—How many of those hundred people do you think were Burmese and how many Chinese ?

A.—There were very few Chinese I could not say how many, they were mostly Burmese

Q.—How many Indians were there ?

A.—There were some Natives of India I do not remember seeing any Chinamen except those connected with the place There were fifteen or twenty of them playing dominoes or some thing of the sort, but I do not remember seeing a single Chinaman actually smoking

Q.—You say that some people were groaning How many people were groaning ? Do you recollect whether it was one man, or do you distinctly recollect seeing several groaning ?

A.—Several

Q.—How do you know they were groaning for want of opium ? Might they not be suffering from some complaint ?

A.—I asked the Inspector of Police, and he told me they were groaning because of having pains, they said they hadn't opium enough and they hadn't any pice. They had terrible pains and they could not get any opium

Q.—You mean the gnawing pain which the habitual opium consumer has ?

A.—Yes, that is what I inferred I did not know the Burmese language very well, in fact, I do not know it now very well This is what the Inspector of Police told me, he asked the question for me The Inspector's name was Young I think he is up in the Karen station now.

Q.—Are Karens common in the Toungoo District ?

A.—There are a good many Karens.

Q.—Do they smoke much ?

A.—No, I have never seen any of them who were addicted to the habit.

Q.—They are much addicted to drinking, are they not ? Are they put under discipline when they become converts, to prevent them drinking ?

A.—Certainly They are immediately dismissed from the fellowship of the Church if they are known to get drunk. I was never connected with the Karen district, but I have travelled with some missionaries and know it to be a fact that if a man is known to be drunk once, he is excluded from the Church It is absolutely forbidden.

Q.—You have travelled in the Shan States ?

A.—Yes, for four years I have been in almost all the Shan States, east and west of the Salween I have not been across the Salween I have been through the Southern Shan States and in nearly all of the Northern Shan States

Q.—The people of the Shan States are great consumers of opium, are they not ?

A.—My experience is that they are not, especially in the middle of the Southern Shan States, except on the caravan routes and the main routes like this road running from Yunnan and Thibaw and the road from Meiktila to Fort Stedman and Mone and the Southern Shan States

Q.—I believe there are some parts of the Southern Shan States where opium is largely cultivated ?

A.—Further north and east it is in the Chinese quarters.

Q.—Have you been in these quarters ?

A.—I have never travelled in that part of the country. I have never seen any large poppy fields I have seen small patches of the plant which were more for ornament. I have never seen it cultivated for commercial purposes or use never in any of the places I have travelled

Q.—You say small patches what size ?

A.—There would just be a few plants for the garden where the people would have their mustard leaves and a few flowers around their houses

Q.—You know that it is largely cultivated in some districts ?

A.—Yes, in certain districts, but, as far as I know, it is more north than east. There is not much raised in the Thibaw district and in the south at Theinni. It is not much cultivated, as far as I know. I have passed through at different times, and I have never seen it cultivated. I know they have opium for sale there, but it is not cultivated commercially.

Q.—Your remark that it is mostly used near the caravan routes refers to that part of the country where there is no opium grown?

A.—It refers to those who are going and coming on this main line of travel. In the jungle villages a little is used. The further you come this way, the more it is used. Much more is used now than was used four years ago when I first came over the road.

Q.—How can you tell that?

A.—I judge that from the number of coolies who smoke. When I first came, out of thirty or forty coolies, only two or three would be opium-smokers. I carefully avoided the opium-smokers. The last time I came from Moymyo I told my Shan man to avoid any opium-smokers. Out of forty or fifty men he selected twenty, and the first night I found sixteen of them smoking opium.

Q.—We know that opium has long been grown in the Shan States and in Yunnan, and that even in King Mindon Min's time its use was not prohibited, as far as Chinese or Shans were concerned. Have you any reason to give why the custom should be growing?

A.—I only know what the people say. They say they learn it in Mandalay. They bring goods down here to sell and they get into the habit.

Q.—Do you think that is probable?

A.—I think so, certainly it is the case in Thibaw. When I went here four years ago there were very few opium-smokers in the place. The Thibaw Sawbwa told me when I was there, that amongst his own people in Thibaw there were very few who take opium, although I found it common amongst the coolies. He regrets very much that it has come into the place; it has given great trouble.

Q.—Do many of these coolies you mention come into Mandalay from the Shan States?

A.—Yes, a good many of them. They come on the road, carrying their loads with them. They are petty traders. Some carry loads for others. They get the leaves for making the theroots and various things up there, and bring them down to sell. They take back other goods in

exchange and sell them on the road. You see hundreds of them in the course of a day's journey coming and going, especially during the rains.

Now, in the cold weather, when carts can go, there are comparatively few of them they are harvesting in the paddy fields and doing other work, but during the rains great quantities of them are going and coming.

Q.—Is it more likely that the custom should spread into the Shan States from one or two licensed vendors in Upper Burma rather than from the people of the Shan States and of Yunnan, who have been smoking for a long time and in large numbers?

A.—In Thibaw and those adjacent places where, I know, the habit is springing up it comes from the Chinamen who send their agents down here. I think it is at least eighteen months or two years since they had a licensed shop in Maymyo.

Q.—Which opium is mostly consumed in Shan States—Shan or Yunnan opium?

A.—Crude opium comes down from China. The Chinese traders bring it down and sell it. These men come with their pack ponies and mules and bring nuts and fruits and opium down. They sell the crude opium. In Thibaw I have seen them preparing the opium which is smoked. The Chinamen have agents down here who take it up there.

The witness was cross-examined at some length on this subject, it was pointed out to him that opium from Mandalay having paid a heavy duty to Government and the farmer's profit must be much dearer than Native Shan opium. But he adhered to his statement, saying that he knew one man who takes frequent trips to get the opium, to Mandalay and that at Thibaw he had seen Chinamen bringing the opium down, and cooking it there. The Sawbwa of Thibaw had lately given a license but the licenses failed to make it a success.

Q.—In your hospital work have you seen anything of opium consumers?

A.—Yes, a great many cases are coming there now. Last year I had more than I have had recently, because the Myosa of Ngokele came down with a large party of about 400 followers. He came down here on the border between Burma and the Shan country, just outside the Burmese district. His followers were largely Burmese, he calls himself Shan. His followers are nearly all opium-smokers and I had a many of them coming for treatment. When he was there I had four times as many smokers coming to the hospital as I have now.

Q.—What did they come to the hospital for?

A.—They came for various diseases and troubles. A good many came for medicine to cure them of the opium habit. They were slaves to the habit and they wanted to break themselves of it, and so they came for medicine. They heard that the white man had medicine which could make them sick of opium and loathe the habit.

Q.—How did you treat them?

A.—With those who came and took regular treatment, I stopped the opium gradually, gave them tonics and good food and kept them away from opium. Several of them kept from it for several months, and some have kept from it for eighteen months, not having touched it all, at least that is what they say, and I have every reason to think that their statement is true. Others would come there and take medicine and tonics for a few days, and when they got a craving for opium, they would smoke just a little and then they would give way and smoke just as bad as ever. Unless they are taken from their surroundings, it is almost impossible for them to give up the habit.

Q.—Do you think opium-smoking has any effect, physically or morally, when taken in moderation?

A.—That would depend largely upon what you mean by moderation. Some men can smoke a comparatively large quantity, whilst a small quantity will almost destroy others.

Q.—Do you think it ends in destroying life?

A.—I have no doubt that it is the principal cause of death in many cases.

Q.—By making them more susceptible to other diseases, or how?

A.—I think it is directly due to the use of opium in many cases. I have had numerous cases come to the hospital. They complain of dysentery. Some of them have had it for six months. I ask them whether they are opium-smokers. Sometimes they deny it, but usually they will say, "yes." I ask them how much they smoke, and they say they smoke ten annas' worth, or as much as they can get, that is generally their answer. I find dysentery very common among excessive opium-smokers, and I have known many of them to die from it. I do not know any other cause for it. They eat very little food.

Q.—I suppose dysentery is a very common disease in the country, is it not?

A.—Yes, at certain seasons. Some years there is a good deal of it, and some years there is very little.

Q —Do you think that this is a special form?

A —I think so. It occurs at any time of the year and without any exciting cause, as far as I am able to determine.

Q —Is the country very malarious?

A —Yes, all this part of the Shan country is malarious.

Q —I suppose many of the people are soaked full of malaria?

A —Yes. Take, for instance, Thibaw city. Two-thirds of the people in that city have malarious fever during the rains, it is very common. The rule is to have fever, every one expects to have more or less fever during the rains.

Q —Do people take opium to relieve them of the fever?

A —Amongst the Shans I have never known it to be done, but I have known it in Toungoo. I have asked Burmans why they used opium, and they gave that as an excuse. They said they had fever, and they took it to relieve the pains. They then get into the habit of it and cannot stop it. Opium is an anodyne, they say they have the fever just the same, but it relieves the pain.

Q —You do not think there is any idea in the country that it is a protection against fever?

A —It is only within the last few months that I have heard of it. I never heard it advanced by a Native.

Q —I heard of it thirty years ago from the Natives of India.

A —I have only had experience during the five years I have been here.

Q —You never heard of it before?

A —I first heard of it from those people in Toungoo who came to the hospital. I also heard it from the people I saw in the opium places there and the coolies and others who, I knew, were opium-smokers. It is an excuse frequently made by those who use opium. I have never heard from a Native that it is used as a prophylactic. It is simply to relieve the pains when they have the fever.

Q —They are not in the habit of taking prophylactics of any kind, I suppose?

A —Many of them have come to me saying, "I may be sick and I want something that will keep it from me." They want something to keep them from sickness.

Q.—What are your views about the prohibition of opium?

A.—I think it would be very desirable to prevent its being consumed except for medicinal purposes.

Q.—You think prohibition should apply to all classes ?

A.—I think so certainly. It would prevent others from acquiring the habit. Perhaps an exception might be made with the habitual opium-smokers. Of course it would be a great hardship to those who are thoroughly accustomed to it to break it off suddenly, still, I believe in most cases it would be a benefit. I have seen cases in jails and hospitals, there is no question that they suffer and that the craving is very great, but I have never known any bad results come from breaking it off suddenly when they had proper care and treatment.

Q.—Is it not difficult to draw the line between medical use and the use for mere pleasure and comfort ?

A.—I think it would be safe to leave that to the physicians.

Q.—Your exception would be when a man gets a medical prescription ?

A.—I think that would be very safe.

Q.—Is that what you mean—is that how you would draw the line ?

A.—Yes, I think so. A man should have a prescription or it could be done as it is in America, and, as I understand, it is in England, only those who are apothecaries should sell the drug ?

Q.—I do not know what the rules are in America, but in England there is nothing to prevent a druggist or an apothecary from selling to anybody who asks for the drug ?

A.—I thought there was.

Q.—Do you know what the rule is in America ?

A.—Druggists are not supposed to dispense it except in the case of a physician's prescription. Take for instance, the tincture Opium. They give small quantities, or paregoric. The law prohibits it, yet they do dispense it.

Q.—I have heard that opium-eating is very common in some parts of the Southern States of America ?

A.—I have never lived in the Southern States, but I know in our large cities the use of morphia is increasing and also the smoking of opium.

Q.—Is that among Native-born Americans ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—There are no druggists, or apothecaries in this country, except perhaps in towns like Mandalay, are there?

A.—As far as I know, there are no shops of that kind. Almost always the medicines are dispensed through the hospital, through the Civil Surgeon.

Q.—Hospitals and dispensaries are only in a few places?

A.—They are in the larger towns and larger stations.

Q.—They would hardly be able to supply the villages, would they? If a person could only get opium for medical purposes by going to a town, it would not be a satisfactory arrangement—he would sometimes have a very long distance to travel?

A.—There is almost always some medical man, either a representative of Government, or someone else practising as a doctor in almost all large towns. There are many Native physicians in the smaller towns—Burman doctors. I do not know whether they would be safe parties to handle a thing of that kind. They do not use it very largely in their medicines, so far as I know. They do not use medicine as we do. They make up their concoctions for all purposes. They have teas, pills, powders, and broths. They take tiger's bones, hair, roots and herbs, and boil them and stew them. You can get a pice worth which, they say, will cure you of almost any disease. I have never known them to handle drugs, except roots and things they get from the jungle, and these charms.

By Mr. Mowbray—Q.—Are the Shan States you have been speaking of districts bordering on the Kachin territory?

A.—Thibaw does. There are Kachins in the districts bordering on Thibaw. In north Theinni half the population are Kachins.

Q.—I rather gathered from you that you thought that the consumption in these Shan States, of which you have been speaking, is a thing of modern growth?

A.—Most Chinamen are opium consumers, and you will find them all through the district. The opium habit is known all over the Shan country. It is generally in the country districts and villages—what we call the jungle villages.

Q.—Dr Cushing told us the other day at Rangoon that there was formerly a large consumption of opium in the Shan districts bordering on the Kachin territory. I suppose he was acquainted with the country before you were?

A.—Certainly—he has been here twenty or thirty years.

Q.—He said he could not speak of the condition of things recently: he spoke as to former times?



A.—Even in North Thennu the Kachins raise opium on the hills. It is also raised in Tounghbang and Palaung. They raise opium up in the hills, but round Thibaw none is raised.

By the Chairman.—Q.—The Thibaw Sawbwa in giving his evidence before us expressed a readiness to stop the cultivation of opium?

A.—He would be very glad (at least he has always told me so) to prohibit it in his district as far as possible.

Q.—Do you say you have seen no cultivation of opium in his country?

A.—I have never seen it raised about Thibaw. On the hills where the Palaungs and the Kachins are, they raise opium. I do not know whether any is raised in his country; but I know there is not enough raised in Thibaw to make it an object in any way. I have been almost all over the Thibaw State, and I have never seen it growing, but among the Kachins in North Thennu I know that it is raised. I have known men go from Thibaw to buy it. Most of it comes from away up towards the Kunion Railway. The people always go up there to get their opium and bring it down. They do not get it in the immediate vicinity of Thibaw.

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q.—Have you ever heard why the Sawbwa of Thibaw did not stop opium in his dominions when he expressed himself anxious to stop it?

A.—He said, "There is a licensed shop at Maymyo just over the border; I cannot stop it." He always told me from the first time I talked to him about it, that he would be very glad to stop it if he could get co-operation, but it is impossible for one man to stop it alone; if they would unite with him he would be very glad.

Q.—You have told us that the use of the habit is very strong amongst those people, in fact, that even if they do give it up, they go back to it again.

A.—Yes; I have known them go back in nearly every case.

Q.—Do you really think that the stopping of the one shop in Maymyo would counterbalance the strong habit which these people have acquired of using opium?

A.—I do not suppose it would, so long as they can to come Mandalay to get as much as they want.

Q.—Do you think if the shop at Mandalay were closed as well as the shop at Maymyo, that they would break the strong habit which you have described?

A.—If that were done, Thibaw Sawbwa would, as far as possible, prohibit it in his district and they could not get it. I think it would be a great help. If a man has a craving for the drug, I do not suppose the closing of one or two shops, or any number of shops, would break his habit, but it would make it more difficult for him to get it, and it would prevent many others acquiring the habit.

Q —Do not you think that opium grown in the other Shan States would be perfectly certain to go into the Thibaw State if it were forbidden, and if they could not get any opium out of British Burma?

A —Not in large quantities, I do not think it would. Now it is sold in every bazar. You can buy it the same as rice or cutch or betelnut.

Q —You say you have seen it coming up from Mandalay?

A —You can see it almost every day. The traders come down from here with prepared opium to sell.

Q —You see it in the Shan States, you do not mean to say you see it on the way up?

A —I have seen it brought to the bazars in the Shan States, Chinamen come down and take it to the different villages a long way,—wherever there is a bazar. The custom in the Shan States is to have a bazar every fifth day in the large towns. The people come from all the surrounding country to the bazar. The next day it will be in another village and in another five days it will come round to the first village again. The traders come from down country here. They bring things they can sell, they go to the bazars, and follow the bazars round in that way. The people bring smoking opium to sell in the bazars.

Q —This is what the traders themselves have told you?

A —Yes. The Chinamen come down with their goods. I have asked them where they got it from, and they said they got it from Mandalay.

By the \*Chairman —Q —It is against the rules in Mandalay to sell quantities of opium?

A —I do not know, I did not suppose it was against the rules, I supposed they could buy as much as they wanted.

By Sir Wilham Roberts —Q —Would it be the smoking extract that they took back?

A.—Yes, not crude opium, but opium prepared in some way for smoking.

Q.—Is it suggested that they had not sufficient skill in the Shan States to prepare opium after the same manner, is this a superior article prepared by superior skill?

A.—I suppose that is the reason I have known them take opium and boil it in water, and they make some kind of preparation that they smoke I do not know how long it takes to cook it I saw Chinamen doing this in Thibaw That was the time when the Sawbwa made the trouble about it and forbade its being sold in the bazar, and tried to exclude it. In a little while, however, I saw opium coming up from down here. The Sawbwa said it was no use trying to forbid it

By Mr. Mowbray —Q.—If it be the case, as I believe it is, that the most which can be legally sold in Mandalay is limited in quantity, and if more than that quantity is taken into the Shan States, the failure is in enforcing the law which now exists ?

A.—I cannot say about that, as I have never investigated the matter.

Q —When we talk about the possibility of enforcing the general law of prohibition, is it not very material to consider whether it is possible to enforce the modified law of prohibition which is at present in force ?

A —My idea is that the modified prohibition which you have now simply leaves these people a chance of getting round it

Q —It leaves a chance to break the law ?

A.—If it were absolutely prohibited, then it would be a contraband article and it could be dealt with Now they claim to get it in a proper way, and I supposed they did

By Sir William Roberts —Q —You said something about the action of opium in cases of dysentery I think you said in the case of excessive opium-smoking you thought it could directly produce death ?

A.—I would diagnose the case as one of dysentery They have dysenteric stools and low fever. It is a chronic condition that goes on for months As a rule, these Shans and others who come to the hospital in that way are frightened They call it the opium dysentery When they get that they think nothing can save them Their feet begin to swell and in a short time they die. Sometimes they live one, two, or three months

Q.—Has it been your own conclusion that dysentery was really produced by opium-smoking ?

A —I have not been able to find that it came from any indiscretion of diet, or anything of that sort I think it is purely caused by the drug, because so many opium smokers are peculiarly subject to it.

Q —You have not called attention to the matter in any medical publication ?

A —I have never published it :

Q.—We have been enquiring along these lines and failed absolutely to get any evidence that opium-smoking or opium-eating in themselves produce any organic trouble. Since we have been in India, that is the evidence we have had uniformly. The Surgeons in connection with the hospitals absolutely deny any knowledge of the opium habit causing organic disease but they say it produces failure of appetite and loss of flesh?

A.—I have had numerous cases within the last two years—no less than twenty-five cases of what I call opium dysentery. I cannot trace the disease to anything else.

Q.—You said that dysentery is very common in those regions among all sorts of people. Had you any marks by which you could distinguish those cases from ordinary dysentery?

A.—The opium dysentery is acute.

Q.—I mean dysentery among the people who took opium?

A.—I have had many cases where a person had diarrhoea or dysentery and had taken opium ostensibly for the disease. They said they had heard that opium was good for it, and they had taken it in that way. Afterwards they had become addicted to the habit. The disease would only be of temporary duration. Those cases, however, which I spoke of as opium dysentery, are organic cases that last for months.

Q.—Ordinary dysentery is a thing which lasts for many months?

A.—That is true, but in the Shan States my experience with the people is that it is an acute disease. I have very seldom known it amongst those people run into a chronic stage.

Q.—You could not point out any special diagnostic mark by which you could distinguish a case of opium dysentery from dysentery in an opium-smoker?

A.—No. The disease is almost identical, except that the disease in the opium-smoker sometimes would be acute, there is more pain with it and more fever, and very likely there would be nausea, whereas with ordinary cases there is no nausea, it is simply slight bloody stools occurring frequently night and day, and the patients finally lose control of the bowels, and when they get into that condition they consider themselves hopeless.

Q.—Have you made any *post mortem* examination in such cases?

A.—Several.

Q.—Could you distinguish the local lesions from those in ordinary chronic dysentery?

A —No, I cannot say there would be anything different from what you would get in chronic cases of ordinary dysentery.

Q.—Our difficulty, as doctors, is to distinguish between *post hoc* and *propter hoc* are you satisfied in your own mind that opium was a coincident or an etiological factor?

A.—I am inclined to believe that it is not a coincident I am inclined to think that it was the cause of the disease. It causes more or less constipation, which, I think, is the prime cause of the disease.

Q.—We have had this sort of evidence given us repeatedly, that the opium habit carried far tends to make those who carry it to excess more liable to dysentery?

A.—Yes, and opium-diarrhoea is very common among these cases

Q.—You do not think that would account for the cases which you have seen—that people being reduced to poverty and opium-smoking to a low state of health would take dysentery more frequently than other people?

A.—That might be, but as a rule those cases yield to treatment in the hospital, but so far as I have seen in cases of opium-dysentery, it is almost useless to try any treatment

Q.—I suppose those are far-advanced cases?

A.—Yes, as a rule

Q.—Did I understand you to say that you do not admit opium smokers to Church fellowship?

A.—We do not admit them One man was dismissed from our Church The only case of discipline we had last year was that of a man who became an opium smoker since I baptised him in Thibaw "

Q.—Do you adopt the same rule with regard to drinkers of alcohol?

A.—In our Church covenant those are two points made

Q.—Your duty would be the same with regard to alcohol as with a opium?

A.—It would, with reference to these Natives in connection with Church fellowship.

Q.—Of course you do not regard tobacco in the same light?

A.—No

Q.—Is *bharg* looked upon in the same light?

A.—It is not used in the Shan States generally I have never come across it in my practice I have never known a Shan to use it at all.

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON THE

## OPIMUM TRAFFIC.

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### Special Report of the Evidence taken in India.

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Part XVII. 16th & 19th December, 1893.

SITTING AT MANDALAY AND RANGOON.

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Q —Do the new rules which are to come in force in January, in Lower and Upper Burma constitute in your opinion as large a measure of reform as it is expedient to attempt to enforce, or would you go further, and if so, in what particulars and to what extent?

A —I am of opinion that the existence of shops for the sale of opium is likely to render restrictive measures much less effectual than they otherwise would be, because the licensed vendors naturally expect high profits, which licit sales are not likely to afford them, and will certainly, as now, use their licenses, and their licensed premises, and their servants, as means and screens for sale of the smuggled drug. I therefore consider that if the restrictive measures now about to be set on foot are to be really effectual, Government should undertake, through its officers, such sales of opium as are necessary to registered habitual consumers of the drug. That is the opinion I have formed. I am of opinion that the extension of the coming restrictive measures to non-Burmans is expedient because the non-Burman population is already large and on the increase, and if they are permitted the free use of opium (subject to the maximum quantity allowed by law to be possessed at any one time) they will find it to their profit to hoard and sell to Burmans. The object of the restrictive measures is to stop the consumption of opium by Burmans, and therefore all channels of supply which can lawfully and in reason be closed should be closed.

Q —The pith of that is that you would close all shops, sell through Government officers only to register habitual consumers, non-Burmans as well as Burmans?

A —If as a matter of public policy, it is intended that opium shall be stopped as far as Burmans are concerned, and that the habit shall not be allowed to continue, I am of opinion that there is nothing for it but to adopt these two propositions, but if it is not intended so, the thing may slide, that is all. I do not see that by adopting those three proposals we will cure the existing consumer. I believe he will get his opium still to a large extent, but what I do think is that the younger generation of Burmans who are now in their teens, from eighteen to twenty, are not nearly so likely to take to it, seeing the restrictions are so severe, as they would do were the rules as they are at present, with licensed shops and free consumption.

Q —In selling through Government officers, what officers would you use?

A.—I should be inclined to have the drugs dispensed at dispensaries, and to prove to the people who are at the present moment inclined



to doubt our *bona-fides* that we really are in good faith. When they see licensed shops staring them in the face for which a high price has been paid, it is a little difficult for a respectable Burman to think that the Government intends to discourage the use of opium. They do doubt the *bona-fides* of the Government naturally, as Mr. Carter has said in his evidence.

Q.—You would use the dispensary ?

A.—I think so. The sale by township officers was suggested by other officers, it was not my suggestion.

Q.—These dispensary officers would get no profit or pay to remunerate them ?

A.—No.

Q.—Is there not some risk of demoralizing them ?

A.—I do not see that it would any more than the sale of other drugs which are equally expensive.

Q.—There is not the same demand for other drugs ?

A.—There is a very large demand among Indians for *ganja*.

Q.—But they are not allowed to sell *ganja* ?

A.—I do not know whether they are allowed to sell it at dispensaries but I suppose the result will be just the same if they were allowed to sell *ganja*.

Q.—Would they be assistant apothecaries ?

A.—Yes, men of the rank of apothecaries. I should pay them from Rs 60 to Rs 100 a month.

Q.—Would you give them extra pay ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is there anything to prevent their adding smuggled opium to their store, or selling to unregistered persons ?

A.—I do not think it is likely.

Q.—Experience has shown us how the Chinese are endeavouring to spread the taste for the drug. Would there be any check on the price they could demand ?

A.—The price would be fixed.

Q.—How would you fix it ?

A.—The only way would be to have a very strong inspecting agency, I do not see any way out of it. We would have to resort to a certain kind of *espionage* to start with anyhow. I do not deny that the difficulties would be very great indeed, I quite admit it.

Q — Would not the direct sale by Government officers to excessive consumers have a bad appearance? You are anxious to save appearances I suppose? .

A — I think if it were sold as a drug in a dispensary, and if it were limited to registered men, the appearances would be in favour of the Government. The people would say that it was sold in the way that other things of the same kind are sold,—as a drug.

Q — You have said that the sale would be limited to officers in charge of dispensaries, are the dispensaries numerous enough in Burma to be a sufficient machinery for supplying to the country what I believe is a common domestic medicine in Burma and elsewhere? .

A — I think so . . .

Q — There are only dispensaries in large towns, are there? .

A — As far as I know, the dispensary would be a more convenient distributing agency than the present licensed vendors would be. For instance there are two dispensaries in the Akyab district, whereas there would be one licensed vendor of opium. There is one dispensary in Kyauk Pyu and one in Sandoway .

Q — There are no opium shops there .

A — No, the result is that opium is smuggled in from Chittagong and from Kyauk Pyu into Sandoway, or across from Prome. In Rangoon there is one dispensary, in Pegu there are two dispensaries, and there is one shop. In Tharrawaddy there are six dispensaries, and there is no shop, in Prome there are three dispensaries and one shop, in Thongwa there are three dispensaries and one shop, in Bassein two dispensaries and one shop, in Henzada two dispensaries and one shop, in Thayetmyo two dispensaries and one shop, in Amherst there are four dispensaries, and I think three shops in Moulmein. It is an opium farm, and the man has three shops. In Tavoy, one dispensary and no shop, in Mefgui one dispensary and three shops, in Shwegyin three dispensaries and no shop, in Toungoo one dispensary and one shop. That is the distribution.

Q — In saying that we should be in a better position to check smuggling by doing away with all non-official licensed vendors, do you not overlook the fact that licensed vendors, having a monopoly, were the only class in the country personally interested in checking smuggling? The old licensed vendors might be tempted to connive at smuggling, so as to add to their stores at cheaper rates than Government could supply to them, but they must have known that their gain in this respect was small, and that for every seer they got in this way, many seers must have

reached private hands and have gone into consumption to the detriment of their monopolies? You say we are in a better position to check smuggling by doing away with all non-official licensed vendors do not you overlook the fact that licensed vendors having a monopoly are the only class in the country who are personally interested in checking smuggling? •

A —As a matter of fact they are the greatest smugglers

Q —In what sense are they smugglers?

A —They get British opium

Q —From Government?

A —No, but they get it from Bengal. It is sent by post and by steamer. It is sent to agents who supply them. We have had cases of it

Q —What difference is there between the rate at which Government supplies them with this opium, and the rate at which they can purchase it elsewhere?

A —That I cannot say. It is uncommonly difficult ever to get a conviction. You never can get hold of the men, it is exceedingly difficult to find them

Q —The difference per seer is only a few rupees?

A —At Akyab we permit the opium to be sold from the Treasury to licensed vendors at Rs 28 a seer, in Bengal it is cheaper, it is Rs 23 or Rs 24.

Q —The profit is only about Rs 4 a seer, and they have to pay the smugglers and run the risk is it possible that they would find it pay them to smuggle in that sense, largely?

A.—As a matter of fact they do, I suppose it must pay them

Q —How do you know they do? You know, in breach of the rules, they do not sell only at their shops, but send out opium to out stations, that is not smuggling, but illicit sale?

A —Yes, but when their daily sales are totalled up by whichever officer inspects, they are never found minus any quantity which they ought to have in consideration of their sales.

Q.—But you cannot check that, because they can write out fictitious sales?

A.—The opium is always weighed

Q —They can write out fictitious sales at the counter as much as they like?

A — True enough they can; but they ought, properly speaking, to have less opium. If they had not got opium from outside to send out through the agents, and if they had to indent on their licit store, they would have a great deal less opium than they ought to have when inspected.

Q — How ?

A — Because what they send out would be a deduction from their licit store.

Q — It is only a surmise that the consumption for instance in Sandoway and Kyauk Pyu is from the shop of Akyab, and not from smuggling direct from Chittagong ?

A — No men have been caught bringing opium across from Prome to Toungoo.

Q. — I was talking of Akyab.

A — It comes to the same thing. The opium would come to the best market. The smugglers know where the market is to be found.

Q. — Is it not a fact that it is important to have a class interested in a monopoly in opium in order to prevent smuggling ?

A — Of course if you could prevent them getting higher profits than they ought to get, I admit that would be the best motive to endeavour to instil into them, but as a matter of fact, the larger the field of sale, whether licit or illicit, the better for the Chinamen. He will not scruple at anything.

Q — How can he prevent other people from smuggling. If he smuggles himself, is it not certain that a number of other people would smuggle ?

A. — Where there is a licensed vendor, he will smuggle himself, and will do what he can himself to prevent other people from smuggling. He will inform against them.

Q — Is it not a dangerous thing for a man engaged in that trade to inform against people carrying on the same trade ?

A — He has got his own myrmidons whom he can trust. It is not conjecture. It is a fact which has been proved in several cases, they have informed while at the same time they are smugglers—that is, they are illicit salesmen.

Q — Illicit selling is a very minor thing compared with smuggling by all sorts of people from outside. It has been the experience for a long time in India that the monopolist farmers were almost the only

aid to checking smuggling I should have thought the same would apply in Burma?

A —It is not the opinion of officers who have had much experience

Q —It has been asserted that we have succeeded under the old system in almost entirely excluding Yunnan and Shan opium from Lower Burma was it not mainly by the help of the licensed vendors?

A —No Yunnan opium is not nearly so popular a drug as British opium. It is much harsher in its taste so I am told. It is more bitter and not so powerful.

Q —If under the new system you have no monopolists personally interested, and rely only on the official services of your police, your excise preventive men, and informers, is it not likely that for every man prosecuted by their assistance ten men will bribe them to abstain from true or false accusations?

A —That is a very difficult matter indeed to speak upon. We have never given the higher classes of Burmans a chance to help us in the matter of preventing opium consumption. We can only get the better class of the Burmese elders to co-operate with us, in my opinion, by abolishing the licensed shops. In my opinion we will not get much assistance, because we are not believed in.

Q —Mr Wilson, Deputy Commissioner of Shwegyin, writes "The Burman elders are apprehensive of Police extortion if the proposed prohibition is put in force. There is no doubt the mischief thereby occasioned would go far to counteract and even prevent any good likely to be done by the prohibition. Any checks on the Police action, however, would go far to render the prohibition nugatory."

A —If we have not the co-operation of these village elders, the proportion will probably be something like what you have named.

Q —Mr Fraser, Deputy Commissioner of Pegu, said something of the same kind. He says "there should be no distinction between Burmans and Chinese, Shans, and cognate races. If such a distinction is made, the Burmans will purchase opium more illicitly than ever, and the people of the country will be more than ever harassed by the Police and other Excise officers."

A —Exactly so that is to say, if you prohibited the Burmans and not the others, you will have harassment by the Police.

Q —So far as you have observed, are the bad effects of the indulgence in the opium habit, the same in the case of Chinese or Indians in Burma, as in the case of Burmans or different?

A —In Burma I cannot say that I have ever seen either a Chinaman or Indian the worst for opium in fact I have never seen an Indian opium consumer in Burma at all, to my knowledge

Q —You are aware that a good many do consume opium ?

A —I am aware that certain classes do I have seen a number of Chinamen who have risen from smoking opium and from eating opium too but I have never seen a Chinaman whose appearance was in any way damaged by the drug I have seen Chinamen rise from then smoking and go away exactly the same as before smoking, without any apparent difference whatever

Q —I should like to ask you one or two questions on Sir Alexander Mackenzie's note of the 30th April, 1892 I do not know whether you will be able to answer them or not, but as it is an important document and will be very much quoted at home, and as we have not got him here, perhaps you may be able to answer for him Am I right in understanding from paragraph 14 of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's note, that he meant to treat Chinese only exceptionally, they were to be forced to take out a ten-rupee annual license to consume opium, but could do so without a medical certificate Habitual consumers of all other races, Burmans and non-Burmans including the 200,000 adult Indians, Shans, Kachins, and others were not even to be allowed a ten-rupee license to consume except on medical certificate that habitual consumption was necessary for their health That is what he proposed is it not ?

A —Yes, that is what he proposed

Q —And opium was also to be sold at Rs 5 per tola only which except to very rich people, is a prohibitive price ?

A —Yes, that was his proposal He says " the selling price of opium at the dispensary I would make Rs 5 a tola, quintuple the present average price, and the amount to be given at one time I would keep as at present at three tolas "

Q.—The evidence in former reports, and that now taken by us, shows that the habit of opium-eating has long prevailed among Indians, and has always been prevalent among certain important classes of them, such as the Coringis and the Sikhs in the Military police and the army regiments, it is also very prevalent and of old standing among Shans, Kachins, and some other similar Northern tribes do you not think that such a system as Sir Alexander Mackenzie proposed would be very arbitrary and would have caused justifiable discontent amongst various classes of non-Burmans ?

A.—It would have produced irritation undoubtedly I admit that, but I do not quite see when you want a drastic remedy that you can avoid that

Q.—In paragraph 4 of his note, Sir Alexander Mackenzie writes As regards the Shans and Kachins, I find that those officers acquainted with them hold that opium is nearly as deleterious to them as to Burmans" In his Secretary's letter of February, 1891, to the Government of India, he used these words —"Chinese, Shans, and others consumed opium without ill effects, or even with beneficial results" Do you know (I suppose you were in frequent communication with Sir Alexander Mackenzie at the time) who the officers acquainted with the Shans and Kachins are, upon whose report Sir Alexander Mackenzie changed his views? Can you refer us to their reports?

A.—No, I am unable to refer you to them

Q.—Do you happen to know who the officers were that he refers to as being acquainted with them, who said that opium was nearly as deleterious to them as to the Burmans?

A.—I am not able to give a definite answer, but I should imagine it was Mr Hildebrand, with whom I know he was in communication

Q.—Who are the officers best acquainted with the Northern Shans and Kachins?

A.—The acquaintance with the Kachins is of very recent date, and it is uncommonly difficult to find any one who knows anything about them I should say Mr Shaw, Deputy Commissioner of Shwebo, Mr George, the present Deputy Commissioner of Bhamo, and Major Adamson, the Commissioner of the Central Division, and most of all, I think, Colonel Cook, who in the old times was resident of Bhamo, would know most about the Kachins Colonel Cook travelled through the country before its annexation

Q.—I suppose Mr Jennings, who gave evidence before us the other day, knows a great deal about them too?

A.—He has only been there a short time, and he cannot know much about them. He has only been there about fifteen months or so. I should think Colonel Cook would probably know more about them than any one else He has also seen them since the annexation. He has been Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner of the Northern Division

Q.—As to the Shans, who knows them best?

A.—I think, on the whole, the man most competent to give an opinion about them is Mr. Hildebrand. He has been all over the Southern and Northern Shan States.

Q.—What about Mr. Scott.

A.—Yes, I should place Mr. Scott next to Mr. Hildebrand. But Mr. Hildebrand has been there from the earliest times. He is now with them. He has been in charge of the entire Shan country.

Q.—In your note upon which Sir Alexander Mackenzie's minute was based, you proposed that Burmese doctors and hakims should be supplied?

A.—Yes, *Sé-saya*.

Q.—In paragraph six, Sir Alexander Mackenzie uses these words "Insist on the police doing their duty," and I notice that Mr. Houghton, one of the Deputy Commissioners, uses the phrase "strong and unremitting pressure on the police," or as he calls it elsewhere, "resolute insistence on their showing a fair outturn of work in detection of illicit use and possession of opium." Do you think that in dealing with artificial crime like this, of use and possession of opium, such a policy is safe with oriental police?

A.—No, I admit I should have very considerable apprehensions if it was pushed to the extent indicated by these words, that is to say, "strong and unremitting pressure." With oriental police I should hesitate to put such pressure upon them.

Q.—Before putting more questions, I wish to explain that I myself, and I believe all the other members of the commission present, have a great deal of sympathy with you in your wish to bring our law in the matter of opium, into conformity with the opinion of respectable Burmese people, and we have no intention of going behind, as it were, what has been decided by the Government of India, and by the Government of Burma, in regard to the prohibition of the use and possession of opium by the Burmese. We all hope that that policy may prove a success, at the same time I wish to cross-examine you upon your note, because it is an exceedingly strongly worded document, and one which, when it comes into the possession of a certain part of the English public, will be much used and much relied upon. I must say that after carefully reading it, it seems to me to extent, particularly for an official paper, to be exaggerated and sensational in tone. I therefore think that it is right to cross-examine you to a certain extent upon it. We will take the tabular form of consumption, and its effects for the Arakan Division,



which refers entirely to Burmese how did you eliminate other races in preparing this table? You say in the note that "only one Deputy Commissioner gave separate statistics"

A—That refers to the effects not to the number of opium consumers. That is the meaning of that clause

Q—Do you not think that the heading "Physically or morally wicked," is sensational?

A—It is the heading prescribed by the Chief Commissioner

Q—Does not Colonel Parrott say in his report that it was not understood?

A—I am perfectly sure that he understood it

Q—But how about the Lugys and Myooks?

A—I have not the slightest doubt that it was perfectly well understood

Q—Is it not rather a hard thing to draw the line as to what is physical wrecking or moral wrecking?

A—When the people were asked the reason, they did not scruple to tell all their secrets, but no man likes to have his child's name published in connection with a thing that he considers to be a sin of the deepest dye. He will however tell you in private. Major Parrott has perhaps the largest experience of Burmans of any officer

Q—He says that it was not understood?

A—I am perfectly certain that it was quite understood. I think he referred to the officers who examined, and not to the Burmans themselves. I do not think he refers to the Burmans to whom the question was put, but to the officers to whom the matter was remitted. He says 'In fact many of the officers have not understood the question'

Q—If English officers did not understand it, you could hardly expect the Myooks and Lugys to understand it. Major Parrott says "it is very difficult to distinguish between 'physically wrecked' and 'morally wrecked'?"

A—Yes

By Mr Pease—Q.—A man might be both, but he could not be put into both categories'

A.—Yes, that is so

Sir William Roberts—It struck me that the term 'physically wrecked' was altogether wanting in precision. A question that is not precise cannot be precisely answered

By the Chairman — Q — “The terms given by the Myooks and Lugyis imply that it was misunderstood in some cases.” If you look through the figures you will see that nearly everyone was returned as ‘physically wrecked?’

A — From conversations I have had with many Burmans and from the documents I have read at the beginning of this sitting, I think the Burman regards a man who has begun to touch opium, as *ipso facto* bad. I believe the effect of that opinion itself reacts upon the man and makes him what opium might not make him — it makes him go from bad to worse. The moment a Burman lad is known to start taking opium, he is always excommunicated from his family. If he does try to reform, he does not always run a very good chance of getting back into his family.

Q — That would hardly physically wreck him?

A — The Lugsyis and Myooks and the man who were consulted would use the word *beinsa*. That is a convertible term with thief. When a Burman lad comes back to his home after he has been known to have contracted the habit, he is looked upon as a man who comes back really to thieve. That is a proverb among the people, — that a son who has left his family and contracted the habit, comes back to thieve.

Q — As to moral wrecking, is it not obvious that in a country like Burma, particularly where the sentiment of all religious law abiding people has always been against opium, law-breaking, and vicious and self-indulgent people, in other words the mass from which the criminal class was mainly recruited every where, have always taken to opium, either licitly or illicitly, and presumably to excess?

A — You say the law-breaking and self-indulgent people, but you would deal with them separately, you mean on the one hand the criminal law-breaking class.

Q — In a country like Burma, is it not they who would naturally take to opium consumption?

A — The evidence rather shows the other way. What you call the effect is the cause. It is after a man has taken to opium that he takes to crime. That is the evidence that has come before me. My evidence is chiefly hearsay. I had not the means of noticing except in one or two cases in Upper Burma when trying criminal appeals when I had occasion to notice certain foreigners who were opium smokers.

Q — You assume in these statistics and tables that every man who has taken to crime is found to be an opium-consumer, and has been

suspected or convicted of crime it is implied that he has come to it though opium. Is not that a most extravagant assumption ?

A.—That is the burden of it.

Q.—Do not you think that it is a most extravagant assumption ? May it not be the other way as Major Grey and other officers have said ?

A.—The other way would be distinctly against the weight of Burmese evidence I can give hardly any personal experience myself, but the weight of Burmese evidence is exactly the other way, namely, that the crime is the effect of the consumption of opium, and not the cause. There is the evidence given before Major Parrot of twenty-six young men in Arakan whose careers are shown to have become criminal owing to opium

Q.—It might be from opium or anything else, if they are self-indulgent people ?

A.—Yes, but it is a little difficult to go behind the evidence of the fathers.

Q.—We know in India that drinking is a constant cause of crime, and so it is in Europe ?

A.—Yes, of violent crime, but not I think of petty crime

Q.—It leads to petty theft in England ?

A.—The opium-smoking Burman never takes to violent crime, but he takes to petty crime, petty thefts from his own father's or mother's or mother-in-law's house ; reaping crops from other people's paddy fields, and doing things among his own people which would hardly come within the cognisance of a criminal court at all That is what the Burmans refer to when they schedule them as "morally wrecked." The cases do not come out in criminal courts. They are petty thefts, robbing from stacks and taking jewellery and food That is the kind of offences that the Burmans understand when they call it "morally wrecked."

Q.—Again, as to physical wrecking, is it not a well-known fact that in all countries where the opium habit prevails, a great many take to it to relieve chronic pains, such as malaria and syphilis and affection of the lungs, and disorders of the stomach, etc ?

A.—I have been told so

Q.—Could you rely upon your Myooks and Lugyis to discriminate between cases where the physical wrecking was due to opium, and where it was due to these other disorders ?

A.—The census which was taken was a census of well-known habitual users of opium, and I should doubt whether the Lugyis and Myooks

would confuse men who would casually take it as medicine. It may be that the effect of some of these figures might perhaps appear greater than it ought to owing to the inclusion of cases of that kind,—that is to say of cases of people who are habitual invalids and who therefore habitually take opium for its soothing effects.

Q.—One of your officers who is an anti-opium man says that the statistics represented the Lugyi's feelings as well as the facts? How are you to decide except through men of that kind?

A.—You get the opinion of a Lugyi upon a man's character and he informs you what he feels about him, and there is an end of it.

Q.—You give in this table in separate columns 'physically or morally wrecked,' and then you total them? . . .

A.—Yes

Q.—Does not this exaggerate the total number of injured, one way or the other, many people are apparently returned by reporting officers as physically injured, and also in the other column the same persons as convicted or suspected of crime you have totalled them, and that would seem therefore to exaggerate it?

The witness was examined at great length on this point. He thought that he had made every calculation himself from the district figures, but it was pointed out that if the Deputy Commissioners did not give the names, so as to render duplication impossible, Mr Smeaton would be unable to tell whether it had occurred or not. No Deputy Commissioner except the Toungoo Commissioner gave the names, so that there was some probability of the figures being exaggerated. On the other hand, Mr Smeaton pointed out that if most or all had been twice entered by any Commissioner the total would have been larger than the number of consumers.

Mr Pease pointed out that if anybody had made a mistake, it would bring the percentage down from sixty-six to fifty because we take the physically wrecked as 3,969, and add to that 196 of which there is no statement, which would make 4,165 we know that there is no mistake about Toungoo, and one other district. That would bring the number to 4,165 out of 8,868, which would be nearly fifty per cent.

By the Chairman —Q.—With regard to the large proportion of physically wrecked for Akyab, did you attach no importance to the fact that Major Grey, Deputy Commissioner Mr Grant-Brown, Sub-Divisional Officer, and Mr Wadman, Excise Officer in that district, all said that

they themselves had seen, no cases of persons physically wrecked in Akyah ?

A—These are Major Grey's words "The Excise Inspector, Mr C. Wadman, informs me that he has not seen any cases of persons physically wrecked by the use of opium, and personally I have seen none either. Cases of great emaciation are common among opium-eaters." That seems rather to modify it. If a man is greatly emaciated, I think he is on the way to something like physical wreck.

By Sir William Roberts—Q—A man may be spare ?

A—I do not think emaciation is the same thing as being spare ?

By the Chairman—Q—Major Grey says that Mr. Giant-Brown had made enquiries and that he stated, "there is a sprinkling of opium-eaters and smokers in nearly every village. The habit is disliked and feared by the Lugyis, but in no case were they able to say that it had done any actual harm. The use of opium, according to these villagers, had not resulted in crime or even in idleness."

A.—In those cases the figures were not included in the "physically wrecked," so that they had included the percentage.

Q—In preparing a statement with such an extraordinarily strong heading as "physically or morally wrecked," would not you be inclined to hesitate when you found that an officer of experience like Major Grey, backed by two officers below him, said that they had not seen anything of cases of what could be called physical wrecking ?

A—He submits no statistics. Major Grey submitted statistics under the columns which were prescribed. If he considered that the instances given in those columns were not instances of physical injury, then he ought to have excluded them. When he presented these figures to me as coming under the head prescribed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie as physically wrecked, those were figures for which he was to vouch and which he did vouch.

Q.—He did not vouch for it ?

A—When a man gets a figured statement to prepare, and he signs that statement, I think he does vouch for it.

Q—They were called for in a hurry. he had to prepare them through these Lugyis and Myoöks ?

A—If he discredited the Lugyis' opinion, he ought to have said so. He says in his opinion he had never seen any whether he went to verify the cases which he included in his statement, I cannot say ; but if he was so convinced of the fact that people were not injur-

ed, I should have thought the best plan would have been to verify the instances themselves. If he did not do so, and includes them in his statement, I think he must be held to vouch for it.

Q —Major Grey states that the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mr Grant-Brown, had made enquiries in a village in the Akyab township, but that he submitted no statistics. Afterwards statistics were called for by the Commissioner and were submitted by Mr Irwin, and nearly the whole number of opium-smokers and opium eaters are reported as physically and morally wrecked. Is that not a strange contradiction?

A —But in no case were they able to say it had done any actual harm. If you look at Mr Irwin's subsequent letter, reporting on this very sub-division, you will see that he did send statistics, and he quotes that part of the Sub-Divisional Officer's report on the subject, which states, "I examined fifteen opium-smokers (or eaters) at Ywathitke, which is said to be the worst village in Akyab township (outside the town) in this respect. In most of them the effect of opium was apparent in their discoloured skin and shrunken appearance, but only one could be said to look at all bad. All of them, however, with but one exception admitted that they had lost strength through the use of opium. Two men I found had actually given it up within the year, and these were not the only efforts which I discovered at reformation. Nearly all the men had at least reached middle age, and several, whom I asked, had grown-up sons who had not taken to opium." The Deputy Commissioner adds —"In conclusion I beg to state that it is the opinion of all the officers, whom I have directed to report on this matter after personal investigation, that the ill-effects of opium on the Arakanese are apparent on all those whom they have examined, but that with perhaps a few exceptions the use of the drug has not either physically or morally affected the non-Burmans." These remarks appear to modify the statement made by Mr Grant-Brown.

Q —With regard to the Kyaukpyu district I suppose you rely for figures of "physically wrecked" on a rough two-thirds' estimate based on Mr Leeds' opinion that the majority of opium-smokers are physically wrecked, or on the road to it?

A —In paragraph three he states, "I have interviewed the opium-smoking community at Cheduba and Kyaukamau, and as many as I have been able to get hold of in Kyaukpyu. It is very difficult for any but an expert to distinguish between persons who may be said to be physically wrecked and those to whom such a term would scarcely apply. The reports of Civil Surgeons will clear up this point,

but I think that in the case of every opium-consumer Government has lost a good citizen, and that any loss in the opium revenue would be made up by the taking up of additional land for cultivation and the substitution of honest tillers of the soil for the degraded beings that form so large an element in the villages of many districts I endorse the Civil Surgeon's opinion and think the majority of the persons who have taken to the drug may be considered to be physically wrecked or on the fair road to become so The number, some 913, who are calculated to have taken to crime speaks for itself " It must have been an estimate The total consumers are 3,832 I imagine I took a little over one-half That is the majority The 913 are reported to have taken to crime That is not my estimate at all That is a statistic of crime

Q.—Convicted or suspected?

A.—Yes The 2,000 estimate is only those who are physically wrecked

Q.—Mr Leed I think says that he based his opinion, that the majority of opium-smokers were physically wrecked not on facts apparent to himself, but on the opinion of Mr Bhattacharj, a Bengali gentleman who is Civil Surgeon there, does not he?

A.—He says "I have interviewed the opium-smoking community at Cheduba and Kyaukaiman, and as many as I have been able to get hold of in Kyaukpyu" He does not confine his opinion to the opinion expressed by the medical officer

Q.—He does refer afterwards to the medical officer's reports He says, "the reports of Civil Surgeons will clear up this point, but I think that in the case of every opium-consumer, Government has lost a good citizen, and that any loss in the opium revenue would be made up . . . . . I endorse the Civil Surgeon's opinion and think the majority of the persons who have taken to the drug may be considered to be physically wrecked or on the fair road to become so"

A.—You will notice that he seems not to have confined his enquiries to the Civil Surgeon at all, but to have gone to the chief smoking community, which is at Cheduba

Q.—As to the Sandoway district figures I see that 169 out of 294 are returned as having taken to crime It is the case, is it not, that 103 of these are only commonly suspected and not convicted?

A.—Yes, that is so "number commonly supposed to be petty thieves"

Q.—Do you think the Burmese officials, like the Lugsis' and Myooks' estimate in such matters would be reliable? Do not you think it is likely to be exaggerated?

A.—No, I do not

Q.—Coming to paragraph five, you say 'It must be noted that only notorious consumers of opium of Burmese race have been enumerated by the District Officers.' That is apparently based upon Mr Leeds remark to that effect, is it not?

A.—No the census was taken of the men by Thugyis chiefly The whole census was made by the Thugyis

Q.—Mr Leeds is the only officer who said anything to that effect? Major Grey says nothing to that effect The other Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Houghton, says something which is contrary. "Only a few secret consumers could have been omitted?"

A.—I think that the words are justified The number of users of opium was taken as any statistics of the kind would be taken by the local officer of the village

Q.—Looking to the well-known sentiment of the Burmese elders is not the enumeration likely to be full?

A.—I think that every father who had an opium-smoking son would conceal it if he could

Q.—It is not a matter of concealment they returned the numbers?

A.—The Thugyis made an actual counting of heads, they actually counted the men

Q.—They counted the men but they would not give the names to make them in any way public?

A.—No, but it was liable to be made public I cannot say that I think it is likely that the list would bear scrutiny in that way. A Burman would be the last man to admit if he could avoid it, that he had anyone in his house who consumed opium habitually That is still the opinion of the District Officers In 1893 the recorded number is very much less than the number really is I think that the number of consumers in certain districts in reality is very much larger than is shown here.

Q.—That is a surmise?

A.—Yes.

By Mr Pease —Q.—Founded on conversation with District Officers?

A.—Yes, and with the Burmese In a report received ten days ago, the Deputy Commissioner of Kyankpyu, Mr Wilson was of opinion



that in certain parts of the District a very large percentage, I think fifty per cent of the male adult population who consumed opium in a certain part of his district

To the Chairman.—I took pains to verify the matter about which you are asking, namely, as to whether those villages or tracts in which the census was taken was typical of the rest of the district

Q.—Your description in paragraph six of the physical deterioration caused by the opium habit on Burmans observed by medical officers in charge of the Arakan jails is really taken, is it not almost literally, from Dr. Bhattachary's report ?

A—Yes, and if I recollect aright, I consulted Dr. Dalzell

Q.—Is it not a very extreme one, ought it to be taken to represent all the medical officers in charge of the Arakan jails ?

A.—The words are “ The physical deterioration in Burmans observed in charge of these jails must be described as follows ” There is no other description given as far as I know but this one

Q.—You took it because it was the only one ?

A—Yes I do not think there is any other description given by any other medical man, and this man had apparently made a study of the physical condition of opium users

Q.—I do not think in the whole of these reports on which you have based your note, that there is any other medical opinion given at length

A.—The medical officers sent in statistics in a similar form and as showing the results of opinions on the physical condition, they sent in reports which are not printed here of the population of jails who were opium-eaters and opium-smokers, and in these statements they made remarks about the condition of the people

Q.—Do any give a further report ?

A.—I think nearly all give symptoms, of which some are in this description—that is to say, some say one symptom was more predominant, and another said another

Q.—You say in paragraph eight “ The localities and populations examined were selected more or less at random and are typical of the rest of the districts to which they refer ” Is it not almost certain that the Native officers would be sure to select villages where they know opium-smoking more or less prevailed ?

A.—I will read you the answers made to references by myself on that point. I asked the question in the case of these areas selected for exam-

ination,—was there any selection on account of the habit of opium being found there, or was it at random? Akyab says “the villages were selected which were most notorious as centres of opium consumption.” Kyaukpypu says “no selection was made, there are seventy-two circles in the district. Every Thugyi was ordered to send in a list of consumers in his district. Fifteen failed to send.” Sandoway, nineteen villages, selected as being large villages only.

Q.—The Sandoway Deputy Commissioner also says in his report that in his large villages, there is more opium smoking than in other villages, and therefore that his statistics are likely to be in excess of the true average for the district?

A.—His answer to me is that nineteen villages were selected solely as being large.

By Mr Mowbray.—Q.—In his report he uses the same expression, “It is well known that consumers of the drug are more frequent in the large villages, such as those enumerated, than in the smaller and less civilized ones.”

A.—Yes. And he goes on to say, “so that the proportion of opium smokers throughout the district is, making all due allowances, less than that stated above.”

By the Chairman.—Q.—You say “the localities and population examined were selected more or less at random and are probably typical.” That statement is not justified by what you yourself say because in Akyab the Deputy Commissioner says he did select. Mr Houghton, the Deputy Commissioner of Sandoway, says, “the figure would be in excess and there is only one district in which there is no selection?”

A.—It may be so. As far as the Deputy Commissioner of Sandoway is concerned, he seems to say that these numbers are not typical of the whole district.

Q.—You rely a great deal upon Major Parrott’s estimate in raising the proportion from three to four per cent?

A.—Yes, I do.

Q.—You say in justification of that that he has taken pains in the enquiry. I see no evidence of that in his report. Upon what do you base the assumption?

A.—He was the first to raise the question with regard to the opium dens. I had considerable communication with him on the subject, and he told me that he was making these enquiries,

Q—You remark that no Buddhist will own to the habit unless cornered, but that seems no ground for raising the Myooks' estimate, does it? I presume they return from the Lugyis' verbal information as they did in the case of men suspected of crime?

A—Yes, no doubt. The father of a son who has taken to opium will not admit it, unless some one tells him that he has been seen. I am speaking from personal acquaintance with the Burmese.

Q—Are you certain that the names were written down by the Lugyis in their reports? I should think it improbable?

A.—You see what was done in Toungoo. The names were given there. When the Thugyi wanted to make his census of opium consumers, he summoned the Lugyis and he said 'look here, here is a *bein-sa* and there is a *bren-sa*', they are named and recorded.

Q—That argument of a father naming his son would not apply there?

A.—The Lugyis would only name those people that they knew everyone knew were opium-smokers. If they knew that they were not suspected, or notorious for it, they would not name them,—they would avoid naming them.

Q—Fathers might in the case of their own sons?

A—No, they might name their own sons, but they would not name other person's sons.

Q.—You have raised the percentage in this way to four per cent of the total population, which is calculated to be equal to twenty two per cent of the adult male population?

A—Yes.

Q—Supposing this to be true, ought you to assume that they are all heads of families are single men unknown, particularly among the criminal classes?

A—No, but a very large majority are married I think.

Q—Would not a father and son in one family indulge together or avoid together?

A—Yes; and they might live in the same house.

Q—Is not this (para eight) rather a sensational paragraph?

A.—I do not deny that it puts the case strongly as the figures before me justify. You see yourself what the opinion was of the officer in charge of the division. He held that the percentage was five per cent of the adult population. That is what he says. He has travelled more

in Arakan than any other Commissioner has ever done before or since, and he knows more of the people than any man in Burma. I think I was bound not to ignore his opinion after the long series of tours he has made over the place. He says five per cent. He has been an officer who has been accustomed to statistics, and I adopted the percentage of four. I do not say that it is correct, but I do not think it is over the mark.

Q.—Now we come to the Pegu division. The percentage of consumers of the total population I see you put for Pegu as four, and the ascertained percentage of the division as 12.

A.—Yes.

Q.—Can you explain how you obtained the figure of 884 consumers for Pegu? Deputy Commissioner Fraser's report gives 154 consumers for the six villages selected, and an estimate of from 200 to 400 consumers for Pegu town, the total at the outside being 664.

A.—If I remember rightly the figures were supplemented by enquiries made by myself from the Deputy Commissioner. I am almost sure I asked for further statistics demi-officially, which do not appear apparently in these printed papers. I may here state that I consider the percentage for Pegu district is wrong. The Deputy Commissioner reported on my reference he was the same Deputy Commissioner who took the census, and he said, "the villages were selected as the notorious centres of opium consumption." That was not reported at the time. Therefore I hold that the percentage with regard to the list of Pegu is wrong.

By Mr. Mowbray—Q.—I understand that the general statement with regard to the villages being notorious centres applies not to the Pegu district with its 884 consumers but to the whole Pegu division?

A.—Only to the Pegu district. The Pegu division has four districts, excluding Rangoon. In the Pegu district the villages in which the opium consuming census was taken were selected as notoriously consuming centres, and therefore it cannot be held that the percentage yielded by these seven villages applies to these seven districts. In Hanthawaddy the number of consumers was ascertained by "actually counting heads" in each village, in Tharawaddy four villages were selected and taken quite at random and are typical of the entire district. In Prome villages were selected at random and are typical of the entire district.

By the Chairman.—Q—You have made rather a broad race from the percentage, 12, which includes those Pegu figures, to two per cent have you not?

A—I have, and I think, considering the case of Pegu, it is quite possible that it may be excessive

Q.—You yourself say that it is admitted that people either take to crime because they take to opium, or that they take to opium because they are bad characters, so that the jail population naturally has a much higher percentage than the free population by taking two per cent you take practically what is the jail figure for the whole division?

A—I am not quite prepared to admit what you say The kind of crime, as I have said, is petty crime you will never see an opium-smoker take to anything but petty crime It is a quantity that you could hardly reckon It will be very difficult to say what the kind of offenders were who formed the total population of the jail at the time If you took all the petty offenders, and then the opium smokers, I admit it would be wrong to assume any such percentage as that I do not think that there is necessarily any great discrepancy

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q—Are the figures of the Superintendent of the Jail at Rangoon published in the appendix I see you do not agree with them?

A—No, they are not published The fact is the reports of the Inspector General of Jails came in very late indeed, when the other reports were ready and printed

Q—I believe he is a European?

A—Yes, he is always a European

Q.—By the Chairman.—Q—I notice that the statistics furnished by the police for Rangoon town give a much smaller percentage of consumers and of those who have taken to crime, than that adopted by the Deputy Commissioner, and given by the Excise Establishment, ought not the police to know best as to crime?

A.—Yes

Q.—With regard to the Irrawaddy division, I understand that your estimate of the percentage of consumers in this division was a guess based on statements made by the Deputy Commissioner of Henzada and the two District Superintendents of Police?

A—Yes that is to say two per cent.

Q.—You rely considerably on the concluding paragraph of Major Butler's statement, which is to the effect that the jail statistics show

that between 1882 and 1890 there had been a very large increase in the opium habit. Is it not a fact that in 1882 there were no specific orders requiring the maintenance of statistics of opium-smokers in jails?

A.—That I cannot say, I should think most medical officers in charge of the jail would, generally speaking, make such a schedule whether there are orders or not.

Q.—Is it not the case that after 1882, specific orders were given that they should be careful in preparing these statistics?

A.—I really cannot say.

Q.—If specific orders to be careful in recording statistics were issued after 1882, the percentage between 1882 and 1890 would be misleading, would it not? I am informed that orders were issued from 1883?

A.—I should think that most medical men in charge of a jail would schedule their opium-consumers whether there were orders or not.

Q.—You say in paragraph 15 “In Henzada, 1,348 persons, or thirty-eight per cent of the ascertained consumers of opium, were convicted criminals. Applying this percentage we arrive at a total of 11,200 victims of opium in the Iriawaddy division, who have either taken to crime or are on the road to it.” Why do you assume that there are no statistics other than from Henzada?

A.—It is an entire district. The district was taken as a whole. It is no better and not much worse than any other part of the division. It is in the centre of the division.

Q.—Is it not the case that statistics from ninety-six Thayetmyo village show that the proportion of consumers who have taken to crime is less than thirteen per cent, that is a pretty large area too?

A.—I do not think it is a large area. I suppose in Thayetmyo there are three or four hundred villages,—but I am not prepared to say.

Q.—Those nine-six villages ought to be fairly typical. Ought you to disregard the thirteen per cent for the whole division as compared with thirty-eight per cent in Henzada?

A.—The whole area was taken, “good, bad and indifferent” were put in one, and the percentage taken.

Q.—Is there anything to show the nature of the offences for which the 1,348 consumers in Henzada have been in jail, may not some of the offences have been against the opium act and rules?

A.—Judging by the convictions they must be very few. I do not know whether these are excluded or not, but they must be very few.

Q.—Did not the Commissioner of the Irrawaddy division say in his report "the Deputy Commissioner of Thongwa writes that his figures show that fifty-two per cent of the opium-consumers in his district have been ruined by its use. My own opinion is that these statistics reflect the opinions of the Luggis who supplied them as well as the actual facts." Did not he say "the statistics collected through headmen and Luggis of the number of Burmans who have taken to the use of opium and the number of such who have been physically wrecked thereby, or have taken to crime scarcely bear close examination. For instance, the figures for the twelve large villages selected in Yardoos and Donubyu show that opium-eating and opium-smoking has had a deleterious effect on all who use the drug. On the other hand, in Thayetmyo, excluding Minhla, only three persons appear to have suffered physically or mentally from among 363 opium eaters and smokers, of whom fifty had had taken to crime. The figures for Minhla show that out of a total of forty-one opium-consumers, one has taken to crime, while twenty-five have been physically ruined thereby."

A.—What he means is that in one case the figures may be very understated, and in other cases that they may be very much overstated. On the subject of the typical or non-typical character of the villages selected for the census of the Irrawaddy division, the following are the reports. In Thongwa all the places in which a census was taken of opium-consumers were selected at random excepted three towns, in Bassein the places selected were selected as being large villages. In Henzada there was no selection, a census was taken in every village, in Thayetmyo the villages taken were at random, and typical of the entire district. Such is the report of the Deputy Commissioner.

Q.—With regard to the Tennesserim division I see that the Tavoy and Mergui district officers all notice the use of opium without apparent bad effect by fishermen and foresters, and the belief of these classes in its necessity as protection against chills and fever. This is confirmed by a remark to the same effect by the Deputy Commissioner of Shwegyin in Upper Burma as regards fishermen. I fancy from the reports that in these cases the habit is one of eating and usually in moderation like the Indian habit in many places. I should like to ask you whether you do not think that some special relaxation ought to be made in these cases to meet the wants of these people and in toleration of their belief, which may probably be correct that it is necessary for them in the exercise of their profession?

A.—I do think so.

Q.—Have you thought at all how it could be provided ?

A.—The particular cases to which you refer are the Salons who are a fishing class in the south of Meigu, and the foresters, men who are in the forests during rainy season chiefly, these men are liable to fever from constant exposure to rain

Q.—According to the reports, it is not confined to the Salons ?

A.—I think it is chiefly Salons “A good many Burmans, other than fishermen, are addicted to the bad habit, and I regret to say that some Karens and most of the Salons of the Archipelago have been inoculated with a liking for the drug by the Chinese who trade amongst them” That is the way he speaks of it Major Jenkins says “I would propose that these men should be granted free passes once in six months by a magistrate or village headman, and that opium farmers be directed to keep a daily register of persons to whom they sell opium, and the quantity sold to them, and that they sell only to persons holding passes, and that passes be not granted to any new opium-smoker under thirty years of age”

Q.—You have no particular suggestion to make, but you think that some arrangement should be made ?

A.—Yes, and I think it could be made well enough With regard to the effects of opium as being a prophylactic against malaria, I believe there is great doubt as to whether it is or not The opinion is divided. I know some of the foresters do think that opium is a prophylactic I think in those cases it would be well to make an exception for them, and I think it could be done well enough

By Mr Mowbray.—Q.—I do not know whether you could refer me to the special reports of Deputy Commissioners to prove that the consumption is just as popular in the interior as in the towns ?

A.—The proof is in the fact that in the census the villages were taken at random in the interior In the present registration of opium-consumers in Harthawaddy and Henzada, from which we have got actually the names of the villages and the numbers of the opium-consumers, we find that the number of consumers is proportionately as large in rural villages as in the towns or in the large villages

Q.—I notice in the cases you referred to that the percentage in Henzada which is all villages is 13, and the percentage in Thayetmyo, which is one town and the rest villages, is 25, or nearly twice as much I am referring to paragraph nineteen of your note You say “The tenor of their reports go to show that the drug is just as popular in the interior as in the towns ?”



A.—Mr Houghton said the larger villages consumed more than the smaller ones.

Q.—I do not know whether you could refer me to the reports upon which that paragraph was based ?

A —It is taken from the tenor of the reports as I have said Except I think in two or three districts the places taken as samples are typical of the whole One man says that it appears in one place to be just as popular as in another . in the division of Irrawaddy, in Thongwa, all except three towns were selected at random , in Henzada there was no selection the census was taken in every village in Thayetmyo every village was taken at random , in Amherst the villages were selected at random , in Shwegyin the villages were selected at random, and typical of the whole district , in Toungoo some places were selected because they were large villages, and the rest were selected at random It is from these reports showing that the places were selected at random, and the tenor of the reports generally that I infer that the taste for opium is just as pronounced in the interior as it is in the main centres of population

By the Chairman.—Q —We now come to paragraph twenty\* You have arrived at the conclusion that 85,600 adult males are confirmed opium-smokers or opium-eaters ?

A —In all probability

Q.—I see you have altered your opinion a good deal since you wrote your note of the 5th January, 1892 There you put the number of opium consumers in Burma at 200,000 I do not suppose you meant that there were 115 non-Burman consumers, did you ?

A —That note was written on the 5th January, 1892 That was four months before the statistics came “The total number of opium dens reported in these twelve districts is 1,236, or an average of 103 in each district In Henzada there are 192, in Tharawaddy there are 350, in Promie there are 105, and in Amherst 273, giving a total of 920 for these four districts, or an average of 230 for each district.” The one case is a guess, and is reported as such the other case is an inference from statistics.

Q.—Not a statistical result, but an inference ?

A.—Yes, until the contrary is proved

Q —As another statistical result, how many Burmans are now registering themselves ?

A —Between 7,000 and 8,000—actually 7,513,—out of 85,600 estimated.

Q —What do you think that shows,—that your estimate was excessive, or that the people refused to register themselves ?

A —The opinion of the Deputy Commissioner is that they refused to register. There has been a very strong expression of opinion indeed. People who were known to be consumers of opium will not register. That has been stated in the reports.

Q —Looking to the loose foundation of these inferences from statistics, do not you think the wording of clauses 4, 5 and 6, of paragraph 20 is very sensational for an official report ?

A —No, certainly not. I do not think those clauses are sensational.

Q.—Do you know if the jail population of Burma has been abnormally large, since order has been restored, compared with other parts of India ?

A —I think it is. There are some Indians among the Burmese prisoners in the Andamans.

Q —Most of those are political offenders, are they not ?

A —Yes, most of the Indian Burmese prisoners are I believe, but there is a large proportion of criminals who are convicted of heinous offences in the Andaman Islands, but I do not know what the proportion is at all.

Q —In the eleventh clause of paragraph twenty you suggest that the small percentage of increase of population shown by the census of the Arakan division, as compared with the other divisions particularly with the Pegu and Tennasserim divisions, may be due to opium having hindered the growth of the population. Is it not the fact that there has been a very large immigration into Pegu and Irrawaddy between the two Censuses ?

A —No doubt there has been immigration.

Q —I believe it has been a very large immigration, has it not ?

A —I do not know that the immigration is very large. The coming and going is extensive. The residue remains undoubtedly, but there is a very large number of people who come and go.

Q —In paragraph 21 you use very striking language. You say "A more grave indictment than that contained in the thirteen clauses of the preceding paragraph could hardly be drawn against any civilized Government." These clauses appear to me to point to only one conclusion which is that by permitting the free use of opium in Lower Burma the British Government has already gone some way towards ruining the Burmese people physically and morally, and may be directly aiding in the eventual extinction of the race." I would ask you whether what I am

about to say is not a brief account of what the British Government has done in Lower Burma in the matter of opium. It found when it annexed the country that the consumption of opium and liquor was a crime according to the Buddhist religion, and made penal by the edicts of King Mindo Min.

A—Mindo Min was not in existence when Lower Burma was annexed.

Q—Do you think it was not a crime perhaps before his time?

A—I am not able to say that. Judging by the opinions of the elder Burmans I should say it was.

Q—It also found both liquor and opium more or less used openly by foreigners and secretly by some Burmans?

A—That I doubt. I do not think that is accurate with regard to Lower Burma. I think it was brought in by the foreigners by the annexation of Lower Burma. The first annexation was Arakan. The evidence I have is hearsay. Arakan was near the Chittagong province. The evidence I have read to you is the opinion of the oldest resident in that district. It is *quantum valeat*.

Q—He says he is aware from personal experience that there was no opium until the English officers came from Chittagong. Therefore I should question the accuracy of that part of his statement. It was contradictory to our notions of criminal legislation and policy to make indulgence in liquor punishable as a crime or to prohibit all import and manufacture, so we thought that a restricted and heavily taxed supply must be allowed for the demand which existed, is not that the case?

A.—I question that also, judging by the evidence given by Colonel Strover. He thought it worth while to insert it as you saw, that opium at the commencement of our assumption of authority at Arakan was hawked about publicly in the streets. That does not look as if the Government intended at that time to strictly regulate the consumption of opium.

Q—That has never been done in any other part of India?

A—I can read the evidence on the point.

Q—He does not vouch for it, and it is merely a hearsay remark by a Native gentleman, and it is not worth noting?

A—Perhaps I may be allowed to read it. He says "Arakan was annexed in 1826 or thereabouts, and I was informed by an old resident there that immediately following the annexation Government opium was hawked about the streets."

Q.—As far as any records you have seen are concerned, was it not the policy at first to have a few shops only in places where there were consumers at big sea-ports?

A.—The shops were allowed to be put down at large centres. The issues were unlimited

Q.—I have seen Sir Arthur Phayre's and other people's notes, and I have read through the enquiries of 1878-79, and certainly I think you will admit that the policy of those early officers was to allow a few shops only in big sea-port towns where there were Indian, Chinese, and other opium-consuming populations?

A.—I admit that

Q.—We have no reliable evidence that there ever was any other system since the British came in?

A.—I can only quote what I have with regard to that matter I know nothing more than that

Q.—Are not the words, "permitting the free use of opium," rather a misleading expression in describing the system of a very few shops where heavily taxed opium is allowed to be sold?

A.—The only qualification I think which ought to be made would be "free use of opium subject to the maximum amount which can be possessed under the law" That is the only way in which to qualify the expression—that is to say, subject to the maximum limit of possession of three tolas

Q.—And subject to a very heavy tax?

A.—Yes, that is the price of opium It does not restrict its freedom of use Any man who can buy it can have it

Q.—By your own account is it not the Chinese vendors who have really pushed the trade illicitly?

A.—Yes, certainly they have

Q.—And it has been found exceedingly difficult to check that?

A.—Yes

Q.—The number of shops in Burma has generally been much less than that in India, has it not?

A.—I cannot remember how many shops there are. I think there are three shops in Cawnpore and four in Lucknow

Q.—Here there would be only one in a division or in a district, in India there would be four or five in a district?

A.—It varies very much. In Moulmein, in the Amherst District there are five shops, whereas in districts like Kyaukpyu and Sandoway, there are no shops at all.

Q.—It is the case, is it not, that short of making the use or possession of opium a crime as we are now proposing to do, there was nothing for it but to allow a very few shops and to put a heavy tax upon the opium there was no other means of dealing with the question, was there?

A.—Or to sell it at such a rate that it would be a very difficult commodity to purchase

Q.—It is sold at rupees fifty a seer, and naturally it is a cheap product?

A.—It is sold by Government to licensed vendors at rupees thirty two a seer

Q.—It is sold to the public at its weight in silver?

A.—Yes.

Q.—There is no other alternative, is there, between the system of a few shops selling it very dear, and the policy which has now been adopted of making the use and possession of it a crime there is no half-way measure?

A.—Except making it a great deal dearer than it has been That would be the middle course

Q.—That would involve an immense risk of making the system break down through excessive smuggling, would it not?

A.—Unless the price were raised elsewhere too

Q.—You could hardly prevent opium from coming in from the bordering countries which produce opium like the Shan States and Yunnan could you, if there were very strong inducements for it?

A.—It is not from the Shan States and Yunnan that we have much apprehension of smuggling The Lower Burman people do not care for that opium

Q.—I suppose if you prevented them from taking any other, they would take to that?

A.—They might

Q.—That being the case, that the number of shops in Burma has always been very few, that the price for opium has been high, and that there was no alternative between a system of prohibition and making the use a criminal offence, and the system that was adopted, do not you think that your paragraph twenty-one is objectionably strong?

A.—I am not disposed to modify it

Q.—Do you consider that it is true to say that the Burmese people are being to some extent already physically or morally ruined?

A.—The evidence I have given shows exactly what I think in the matter

Q.—The statistics of the growth of the population of the Burmese people afforded by the Census give no evidence of that?

A.—I pointed out one district it was a suggestion merely

Q.—Paragraph twenty-one is general?

A.—What affected one district would probably affect another. I have heard, with what truth I do not know, that in India it is not an uncommon thing to hear it said (I have not heard it said in Burma except by medical men) that the effect of opium after a long period of consumption is impotence

Q.—The statistics of the growth of the population afforded by the Census give no indication of that, do they?

A.—Except in Kyaukpyu, where there is a very marked disproportion of increase of population

Q.—But it is a fair increase of population for ten years?

A.—True, if it were altogether a natural growth of population, but probably it is not. In all probability there has been a considerable immigration in Kyaukpyu, there has been in Akyab

Q.—Coming to paragraph twenty-two you say "There is one very important difference between opium consumption in India proper and in Burma which is apt to be lost sight of because to many it is not known. In India proper the use of the drug is almost entirely confined to the large towns. The agricultural classes may be said to be total abstainers. Desire for the drug has not penetrated into the interior." What part of India are you speaking of?

A.—The North-West Provinces

Q.—Are you aware that in the Central Provinces and Rajputana and the North-West Provinces the agricultural classes are to a very large extent consumers of opium?

A.—I know in the North-West Provinces they are not

Q.—In other provinces?

A.—I do not know. Speaking of India proper I meant Hindustan.

Q.—That is the North-West Provinces?

A.—Yes,

Q.—Hindustan includes part of the Punjab if it does not include the rest ?

A.—Yes, the south-eastern part of the Punjab

Q.—In paragraph twenty-four you say “ the almost universal opinion and my own experience show that so long as the outward and visible signs of Government sanction to indulgence in the drug, namely, licensed opium shops exists, Burmans will assuredly retain an inclination already acquired, or acquire an inclination for the drug, and will just as certainly find the means of indulging it ” Do you think that the amount of Government approval involved in the system of licensed shops would have such an effect upon the Burmans as that ?

A.—The Deputy Commissioners of Prome and Toungoo say so

Q.—I ask your opinion Will the mere fact of Government having or not having licensed shops affect the consumption or non-consumption of opium ?

A.—I think it will affect the matter in this way when the people see shops paying a high revenue to the Government, they will see that it is impossible Government can entirely disapprove of the thing that is sold in those shops They did say so in Prome and Toungoo

Q.—The Emperor of China's edict has not prevented the spread of the habit in China nor did King Mindo Min's edicts prevent it existing to a certain extent under his nose in Mandalay or Ava or wherever he was ?

A.—He did not license shops

Q.—Do you think that the approval or disapproval of the British Government will have much effect either way ?

A.—If it is clearly shown that the Government entirely disapproves of it, I think we shall have behind us the support of the better class of the people

Q.—You say “ the presence in their midst of staring opium shops, with conspicuous signboards and often attractive in appearance (particularly at night), has been too much for the Burmans ” In many districts there are no shops at all, and in one division there is only one shop. Is that a fair description ?

A.—I think so, I have seen it

Q.—In what way are they staring or attractive ?

A.—They are like gin shops in London at night. They are brightly lit up, and Chinamen and Burmans sit outside I saw it in one town particularly where there was every appearance of a desire to invite others to come in The place was more brightly lit up than a liquor shop.

Q.—There are hundreds of Burmese restaurants where people sit in every town ?

A —Not hundreds of them, there are a great number.

Q —They are as attractive I suppose as one of these shops ?

A.—I saw one particular place at Myaungniya, and I also noticed it at Thayetmyo

Q —Was that a smoking saloon ?

A —It was a shop for sale

Q —In what way was it attractive ?

A —It was lit up . There were lights in the street immediately in front of it . The shop itself was lit with several lamps . People were talking at the door of the shop pretty vociferously . The place was one that must have been noticed by passers-by, and one would ask “ what is it, and what is done there ? ” I noticed it at Thayetmyo and Toungoo . I have seen them all at night

Q.—In paragraph twenty-seven you mention the township officer I should like to know what the township office is ?

A —It resembles in India the tehsildar's office . He is a civil as well as a revenue officer

Q —It is a smaller circle than a tehsildar's in area I suppose ?

A —In population it is smaller, but not in area

Q —In paragraph twenty-eight you say “ of course it would be necessary to continue registration of non-Burmans who applied to be permitted to use opium ” I suppose that is intended to apply to new immigrants only ?

A.—That was the intention

Q —In clause one, paragraph twenty-nine, I see you propose to appoint a special preventive officer for each township ?

A —For each township and sub-division

Q —You say “ he will, if watched and encouraged, soon find means of keeping himself informed of any opium traffic ” Is there not considerable danger that he would become a sort of tyrant ?

A —We have not had any instance of that yet .

Q.—You have not got officers to each township yet . have you ?

A —No, we have officers in several districts though

Q.—What sort of pay would your preventive officers in each township get ?



A —I should give him much the same as a junior township officer, Rs 100 or Rs 150 a month. I should be inclined to think that a sub-divisional officer would be sufficient, not necessarily a township officer? A sub-division generally includes two or more townships.

Q —In clause three, paragraph twenty-nine you say “insist on the punishment of imprisonment being inflicted, with or without fine according to circumstances, on all offenders against the prohibition” Is not that rather a ferocious spirit of temperance, do you still recommend that?

A —The law is there and the point is to get the law obeyed That is my opinion If a law is made for the benefit of the people, those who offend against it ought to be punished

Q —You say in clause four “to enlist, by special means the priests as *collaborateurs*” Do you think the priests will undertake that work, and if they do, will it not spoil them?

A —The priests as a matter of fact do lecture their people

Q.—Yes, lecture, but it is another thing for them to act as *collaborateurs* in preventing and detecting possession of opium?

A —In Upper Burma the priests more than once when the people have been harassed a great deal by a dacoit have been the means of inducing the villagers to find him out

Q —You further suggest that whole villages might be fined for not giving information?

A —I mean in any glaring case That would require to be worked with very great discretion If it were found that the law was being habitually broken by a number of people, using and trafficking in opium in a village, and that it was or ought to have been very well known, they ought to suffer for it

Q.—I suppose you will admit that if we have to back up this temperance crusade by such measures as this, it is a question upon which opinions may very well differ as to which is the greatest evil?

A —Quite so I do not deny that the evils of a tyrannical suppression of it might be very great indeed.

By Mr Mowbray — Q —With regard to Upper Burma I understand the present proposal under the new Rules is to assimilate the law in Lower Burma to what it has been for the last two years in Upper Burma?

A —The reform began on those lines

Q —Is not that the practical effect of the new Rules?

A —Hardly

Q —Kindly explain what the difference is ?

A.—In Upper Burma the possession of opium by Burmans is absolutely prohibited ; in Lower Burma it is prohibited except to those who have registered themselves now, or may within the next six months register themselves That is the important difference

Q —There is no power for Burman consumers in Upper Burma to register themselves under the new Rules ?

A —No

Q —No doubt you have seen the last memorial of the Anti-Opium Society ?

A —No, I have seen nothing of the sort

Q —In their last memorial, (I am quoting from a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State) —“the memorialists urge that a permission granted to non-Burman inhabitants to buy and possess opium freely is sure to be used as a means of illicit sale to the Burmans themselves, and they represent that their apprehensions are confirmed by the experience gained in Upper Burma, where the attempt to enforce a measure of prohibition to Burmese only, accompanied by free sale to Chinese and other non-Burmese residents has already been made and has completely failed I believe that the last clause of that sentence, is founded upon a paragraph in your Excise Report for 1890-91 ?

A —I stated ‘there is considerable difference of opinion among officers as to whether a taste for opium and liquor is spreading among the Burmans or not The licenses for the sale of opium and liquor are intended for the convenience of the non-Burman population of Upper Burma and the sale of either liquor (except tari) or opium to Burmans is prohibited by law But there can be no doubt that the prohibition is, in practice, inoperative ”

Q —Was that statement which you made in your Excise Report of 1890-91 the result of your own personal knowledge, or was it founded on the reports made to you by district officers ?

A —So far as I can remember, it was founded on reports made by the district officers

Q —Are you of the same opinion at the present time—that the prohibition of sale to, and possession by, Burmans is practically inoperative ?

A —It is a very difficult question to answer, but if I may be allowed to give my impression, it is this . I do not think that the habit from all I can hear is getting many recruits, but I doubt whether there is much re-

duction in the numbers of those who actually did, and do now, consume I do not think there is much increase in the number of new consumers

Q —Do you attribute the fact that there is no increase in new consumers to the existence of these Rules ?

A —I do

Q —Then the Rules are operative ?

A —So far they are operative

Q —That, I believe, is the opinion of each of the Commissioners, founded on their experience of the four divisions of Upper Burma ?

A —I doubt that

Q —You are aware that the Chief Commissioner, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in August, 1891, directed an enquiry into the working of the Opium Rules then existing. One of the questions he asked was, "How far the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans in Upper Burma has been, or (now that the rules are amended) promises to be, effectual?" I do not know whether Mr Burgess, the Commissioner for the Northern Division, directly answers that question, but I think he practically answers it by stating, 'It is certain that the number of pure Burmans in this part of the province who use opium is altogether insignificant, and there can be no real difficulty in restricting the consumption of opium among this class of the population,' and with regard to the other point which you mention, as to reducing the consumption he further says in another paragraph, 'the difficulties which have been placed in the way of obtaining opium and the enhancement of its price have unquestionably reduced consumption.' I do not know whether you would wish to make any remark upon that statement by Mr Burgess ?

A —He informed me himself that the immediate occasion upon which this was observed was owing to the presence of a ring among the bidders for the opium license in Mandalay. It was thought that the highest bid for the license was very inadequate, and Mr Bridges, the Commissioner, himself advised that the sale should be suspended. During the suspension, which I think lasted for three months, of course no opium could be licitly sold in Mandalay, and during that time any man found in possession of opium would have been probably arrested, for he could only have obtained the opium from a long distance, and the presumption would have been that he had got it illicitly—there being no shop in Mandalay. Mr Burgess informed me that the fear of prosecution was such that a considerable number of opium-smokers and opium-

eat'ers gave up the habit simply because they could not brook the possibility of interference

Q.—That is not quite what he records here. He says, 'it was ascertained that among the Chinese residents of Mandalay a considerable number who were accustomed to take opium in moderate quantities gave up the habit in consequence of the stringency with which the law was enforced, and if such was the case among the Chinese, it may be imagined that the Burman opium-consumer would be still more affected ?

A.—They were Yunnanese Chinamen

Q.—Have you any reason to doubt that the conclusion which I have read from Mr Burgess is substantially supported by the reports of the Deputy Commissioners in the Northern Division ?

A.—I think what you say is correct. The opinions of the Deputy Commissioners are pretty much in accordance with that

Q.—With regard to the Central Division, Major Adamson the Commissioner, states, "The result shows after careful enquiries, it has been found out that the use of opium is most uncommon among Burmese in this division. I was aware that the use of the drug was not common in the plains of the Central Division, but I had no idea that it was so singularly absent. The statistics have been carefully collected, and though I do not believe them to be absolutely correct, yet they do show that opium is not used to any extent by the Burmese population in this division, that it is the duty of Government to do everything in its power to prevent its use spreading, and also if it does spread, it will be owing to the action of our Government in respect to its sale." May I take it that in the opinion of Major Adamson, as representing the Central Division, the Rules, have been effective in preventing the spread of the consumption of opium amongst Burmans in Upper Burma ?

A.—I think so

Q.—I would ask you the same question with regard to that, whether you believe that that opinion of Major Adamson is supported by the District Officers of the Central Division ?

A.—Yes, I think so. I think that the opinion expressed by the Commissioner is in accordance with the opinions of the other Deputy Commissioners

Q.—We will now turn to the report of Mr Coplestone, Commissioner of the Southern Division. He gives a definite opinion in answer to the Chief Commissioner's question ?

A —Yes, he does. He says at paragraph four, "The Deputy Commissioner, Myingyan, says, consumers in Kyaukadaung and Pagan Sub-divisions now find it almost impossible to procure opium, and he appears to think the existing rules likely to be successful. The Deputy Commissioner, Pakokku, offers no opinion. The Deputy Commissioner of Minbu considers that the rules as in force heretofore have merely raised the price of opium, and that a Burman can obtain opium through Chinamen and other foreigners as easily as before the annexation. The recent alteration in the Rules will, the Deputy Commissioner considers, only throw the Burmans more completely into the hands of the alien go-betweens. He would restrict the supply of opium issued to licensed vendors to the quantity really required to supply legitimate wants which can be calculated."

Q —I believe that last suggestion of the Deputy Commissioner has been carried out in the new Rules?

A —Yes. "The Deputy Commissioner, Magwe, thinks the Rules have not yet been successful but that, if properly worked, they will put a stop to opium-eating, smoking, and smuggling. In my opinion the Rules as worked hitherto have had a considerable measure of success in Upper Burma. There would be vastly more opium-consumers if Burmans had been able to purchase opium openly. There has, it may be, been an increase of opium-eating since the annexation, though this is not certain, but it has not been by any means proportionate to the increase of trade, facilities of communication, etc. The Rules, as they now stand, will have a further effect, but I have no doubt that the supplies to licensed vendors should be strictly limited if shops are still kept open at all in the places where they now are."

Q.—"The Rules as they now stand" mean the Rules which make possession illegal as well as sale?

A —Yes, that is so. The limitation of issues has now been decided.

Q —Then with regard to the Eastern Division there is the opinion of Mr Bridges, the Commissioner?

A —Yes. He says, "I am of opinion that the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans in Upper Burma has been effectual. It is difficult to give accurate figures on the subject, but the figures supplied by the Deputy Commissioners show that the number of Burmese opium-consumers is exceedingly small, and if there has been any increase in opium-consumers since our occupation, it is very small. It must be remembered that Burmans were not aware of any defect in our Opium

Rules, and that many Burmans were convicted by Magistrates for transporting opium. The people then generally believed that the possession of opium by Burmans was contrary to our Rules. I have no doubt that the restrictions imposed upon the consumption of opium by Upper Burmans can be effectually enforced, and they will prevent the spread of opium consumption to any great extent."

Q.—Have you any reason to doubt that that opinion of Mr. Bridges' is substantially confirmed by the reports of his District officers?

A.—No, I have no reason to doubt it at all.

Q.—Looking at the expression of opinion by the District officers in Upper Burma in answer to that question of the Chief Commissioner, and at the fact that since you wrote that Excise Report of 1890-91, the law with regard to the possession of opium has been made more stringent and looking to the further fact that under the new Rules the amount of opium to be issued to the shops will be limited, have you any reason to doubt that the Rules so modified can be effectually enforced to prevent the consumption of opium by Burmese in Upper Burma?

A.—I have said here, "there is thus good ground for hoping that the measures adopted in Upper Burma have so far succeeded, and that at least the curse of opium is not rapidly spreading."

Q.—Then you are not disposed to go beyond that?

A.—I should be inclined to say that the law has been so enforced in Upper Burma that indulgence in the habit of opium has increased to a very small extent indeed.

Q.—That the law has been, in fact, successfully enforced?

A.—I should be inclined to say that.

Q.—I suppose you would admit that any law which was passed on the subject could not be expected to be enforced absolutely?

A.—Quite so. I fully admit that it never could be expected to be enforced absolutely.

Q.—Have you any reason to doubt or do you still doubt that the enforcement of practically the same Rules in Lower Burma would be practically efficient?

A.—Of course there is a difference in the law in Upper Burma. The two wings of Lower Burma have had seventy years' experience of opium. Pretty well half that time it has been almost free, and latterly there has not been much restriction. It has been the same in the

Pegu Division the last thirty or forty years. There is that difference between the conditions of the two provinces as regards restrictions on opium. Colonel Stroker uses the words, "educated to the use of opium;" whereas we began in Upper Burma by banishing it.

Q.—Do you think it is an accurate statement to say that 'people have been afforded every facility for the purchase and consumption of opium,' when, as a matter of fact, the price has been very considerably raised beyond what it would have been if Government had never interfered at all?

A.—The price was raised as far as the auction was concerned at least, in the latter part of our period of administration of the province, not in the earlier part.

Q.—Not only in the price paid for the license, but in the price at which the Government supplied opium to the vendor surely?

A.—Thirty-two rupees a seer would be nearly six annas a tola, and a daily dole is supposed to be not more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a tola, so that the price to the opium vendor would be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  annas per  $\frac{1}{4}$  tola. If he sold that at two annas, he would make thirty-three per cent.

By the Chairman.—Q.—He practically sold it at nearly double that?

A.—He did, but he need not unless he liked to.

Q.—But the auction bid ran him up?

A.—No doubt it did, but rings often were formed which kept the bids far down.

By Mr Mowbray.—Q.—What would have happened if Government had not interfered at all? Do you think it fair to say that Government had afforded every facility. I think you state it is an exaggerated expression?

A.—I think it is so.

Q.—The price of the Government opium as supplied to the vendor is rupees thirty-two a seer?

A.—In the three divisions in Arakan it is rupees twenty-eight.

Q.—According to the statement which has been put in here opium can be bought from the producers in the Northern Shan States at from fifteen to twenty rupees *a viss*. I will read the statement put in. In his Report for 1891 on the administration of the Shan States, the Superintendent, Mr Daly, says "The quantity of opium produced in Theinm and in the Trans-Salween tracts which I visited last season is enormous, and, although by far the greater part is exported to China or consumed

locally there can be little doubt that large quantities find a way to Burma. As the opium can be bought from the producers for from rupees fifteen to rupees twenty the *miss*, and is of proverbially excellent quality, the temptation to smuggle is very great. The *miss*, compared with the seer is, roughly speaking, three and a half to two. I take the *miss* to be 3.65 lb and the seer is about 2 lbs. If the price of Government opium is rupees thirty-two per seer, that will be about rupees sixteen per lb *avandupois*. This Native opium as bought from the producer taking the highest price mentioned here, rupees twenty per *miss*, will be something about rupees five per lb. I ask you whether the facilities for obtaining Native opium at that comparatively low price (you must admit that the Government by the license that they charge the vendors compel the vendors to increase the price again to the consumer) do not put a considerable check upon the consumption of opium compared with what they would have done had they left it entirely alone?

A —Decidedly, most assuredly.

Q —Is it a fair statement to say that people have been educated in the use of opium in the Arakan Division to which he is referring, when one shop exists in the whole of that division?

A —I must say I think it cannot be accurately said that people have been afforded every facility for the purchase and consumption of opium, and have been educated in its use. That is an over-statement of the case. What he meant to convey was not so much the positive inducement given (that he could not have recorded), but very much more restriction might have been put upon it.

Q —In the last paragraph of your Excise Report I think you condemn the present licensing system, and you have told us you would yourself prefer to see all opium sold by Government?

A —Yes.

Q —In your Excise Report of last year, 1892-93, referring to the revenue at Mandalay you say 'One satisfactory feature of the year's report is that, in addition to the special Excise establishment maintained by Government, the licensee employed a regular staff throughout the year to co-operate with the preventive officers in the supervision and detection of illicit sales.' That you regard as satisfactory?

A —I do.

Q —I rather gather from you that you also think that although these licensees do their best to stop people from smuggling or dealing illicitly in opium, they are very ready to do so themselves?



A —That I believe

Q —Do you think if Government took the entire retail for supply into their own hands that these former licensees would be any the less anxious to avail themselves of their previous experience for illicit dealing?

A —It would be known soon that they had no right to have opium, and men would be chary of having any dealings with regard to opium with men who no longer had authority to sell or to have anything to do with opium. As a matter of fact, they have agents all over the township or subdivision or district in which they have their shops, and they have premises and store-houses and boxes and means of concealing opium which we do not always know. They have means of spreading and conveying it to outside villages, we know nothing about it. That they do it is proved by the fact that Government opium is found there where can it come from but from these places? The few convictions that have been obtained show that it is done. How the men do it it is difficult to say, but they succeed in getting their opium outside their radius of the immediate locality in which they are entitled to sell.

Q —Do you think you would have further or better information about them, if Government were carrying on the sale on its own account?

A —If any men dealt with these men, it would be soon known. If people were going about their premises as of old, it would soon become known.

Q —You say you know that a large amount is hawked about the country by agents of licensed vendors?

A —Yes, we have reason to believe it.

Q —You have reason to believe it, and you cannot stop it now?

A —It is very difficult, indeed, to stop it.

Q —The condition at present is this up to the present time there have been no limitations of issues at all either in Upper or Lower Burma. These men, who have opium shops, can have as much opium as they like in their shop, and outside it too, as long as it is not discovered. They have to make a balance sheet every day of their opium sales and stock. If the Government itself were selling, what is to prevent them from issuing from their shop opium which their agents are supposed to believe is licit opium, that is to say, opium which has been received from Government Treasuries. What is to prevent these men going out, and the people to whom it has been sold believing that it is opium from the Government Treasury?

A —When there is no longer an opium shop, it will be known that nobody can sell, that there can be no agencies, and that the only place it can be obtained is the dispensary. Every man who offers it for sale will be known to be committing an offence.

By the Chairman —Q.—Surely they know that there are no agencies, and that the man can be punished if he sells anywhere but in a shop?

A —A man comes as agent of the licensed vendor who has a shop in the town.

Q —They know it is illicit, do not they?

A —I question that.

By Mr Mowbray —Cannot you get hold of these men?

A —They are sometimes caught.

Q —When you get hold of one of these men, do you ever bring home the agency of the shop where he has got the opium from?

A —It is extremely difficult. It is the one puzzle in all these cases. The real offender is hardly ever convicted. It is always the unfortunate agent that is brought in and convicted. That is always the complaint of the Deputy Commissioners.

By the Chairman —You say, “the unfortunate agent”, he is equally criminal?

A.—He is equally criminal, but he does not get the profit.

By Mr Mowbray —Q —You will admit that you will be deprived of this actual assistance in some cases which I have referred to in your own report last year, on the part of existing licensees?

A —I admit, so far as it would be so.

Q —And they would be exposed to greater competition on the part of a licensee who had been deprived of his license, but had all the benefit of his past experience?

A.—I doubt his having much chance after that. I think if once the better classes of Burmans saw that we had abolished opium farms sold at a profit, they would believe in our *bona fides*, which I am of opinion they do not altogether believe in now.

Q —I think it was in your Excise Report of last year that I saw the statement that local opinion was consulted before an opium shop was set up?

A —I do not think that has been done with regard to the opium shops. It generally is done with regard to the liquor shops. The rules under the Opium Act certainly do not require it.

Q —As you have not set up any new opium shop of late years, you cannot tell me how you would consult local opinion on the subject?

A —Except on the analogy of liquor. There they are always consulted.

Q —What means do you adopt for ascertaining the wishes of the locality?

A —In Municipal towns the Municipal Committee is consulted, and in towns which are not Municipalities, the local officer consults the elders of the town, and then opinion is held to be representative.

Q —I see from paragraph fourteen of your Excise Report for last year that it was so. "Local opinion is consulted before any new shop is licensed for the sale of spirituous liquors or opium?"

A —Yes, but I may say that that has not yet been applied as far as I know as regards opium, only as regards spirits.

By Sir William Roberts. —Q —In the eighth result of your enquiries (paragraph twenty of your note) you give evidence of the great increase in the consumption of opium in Lower Burma.

Q —You say that Government sales have increased in late years by four times, and in the next sentence you add that between 1880 and 1890 the sales of Government opium and the number of opium-smokers had enormously exceeded the rate of growth of population and you add further evidence of the same sort so, that apparently there is no doubt that the consumption of opium in Lower Burma has increased very rapidly in the last few years?

A —Yes.

Q —Are you able to point out any statistical result showing that that is coincident with an increase, say, of the death rate, or an increase of crime, or a diminution of prosperity in Burma, as tested by any test, is there a shrinking population in Lower Burma?

A —No, I am not aware of it. Life is exceedingly easy in Lower Burma much easier than in India. A man does not require to undergo much physical labour to earn a sufficiency for his daily wants.

Q —Have you any statistical fact to support your conclusion in paragraph twenty-one that the British Government has already gone some way towards ruining the Burmese people physically and morally?

A —The Deputy Commissioner for Henzada says “ Its continued extension in use is rapidly increasing and likely to lead to a great demoralisation of the people ” He further states “ from statistics obtained from the jail, it appears that in 1882, only 37 opium-smokers were admitted, whereas in 1890 the number had risen to 173 ”

Q —That shows there is an increase of opium-smoking among the jail population, but it does not show that there is any running or demoralizing effect upon the general population of Lower Burma ’

A —The percentage of opium-smokers in jail had risen from 6.9 in 1882, to 29.3 in 1890 or nearly four times ”

Q —But that does not show that the effect has been to increase crime or to cause a shrinking population ’

A —The crime that is committed by opium-consumers is not so much crime of a kind that comes before the Courts as crime of a social kind in the villages. All the officers and representative men of the Burmese nation unite in saying that the chief kind of offence that is committed is petty thefts from houses and petty thefts of straw from threshing floors and thefts of a timid kind that do not require courage. Whether or not these offences are on the increase I cannot say.

Q —Amongst the priesthood of Burma the use of opium is considered as a sinful vice ’

A —Yes.

Q —In paragraph fourteen of your report you say, ‘ In the Maubin and Myanaung Jails the disease to which Burman consumers are observed to be most liable is dysentery, and most of them suffer from extreme debility. The majority of the deaths in these jails are of Burman smokers and eaters of opium ’ You have not given the references to that ?

A —These are the words contained in jail reports given by Surgeons. They are almost the words of the jail reports which were not printed.

By the Chairman —Q —In the passage you quote in the eighth clause of paragraph twenty Major Butler is referring to cases of his own district, is he not ?

A —He says “ The percentage of opium-smokers to the total population of the jail had risen from 6.9 in 1882 to 29.3 in 1890, or about four times, which is also the proportion of increase in sales of Government opium between these two years ”

A —Yes, that is in regard to the Henzada District alone.

Q —If we refer to his letter, we find that in the period he mentions that Government reduced the shops from two to one and largely raised the price of opium, so that notwithstanding that the revenue from opium went up and the amount of opium sold went up, it was in spite of the strong measures taken by Government to restrict the sales ?

A —Except that the licensed vendor was allowed to remain

Q —The number of shops was reduced to one and the price raised largely, so that if the revenue and the amount sold went up it was the people who consumed and not the Government that induced the consumption ?

A —The Government supplied opium as fast as the vendor wished it.

Q —As fast as the consumer wished it ?

A —No doubt he would not have asked for it if he could not have sold it

By Mr Pease —Q —Dr George Smith, in evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1871, adduced the reports of Sir Arthur Phayre and Mr Hind, showing that, "Prior to the introduction of British rule into Arakan the punishment for using opium was death. The people were hard-working, sober, and simple-minded. Unfortunately one of the earliest measures of our administration was the introduction of the Abkari rules by the Bengal Board of Revenue. Mr Hind, who had passed the greater part of his long life amongst the people of Arakan, described the progress of demoralization. Organized efforts were made by Bengal agents to introduce the use of the drug, and to create a taste for it among the rising generation." Are you aware that that statement was made, and I believe has never been contradicted, resting on the authority of Sir Arthur Phayre and Mr Hind ?

A —I do not think I have read that identical extract. I am aware of the report having been made.

Q —In 1880, Sir Charles Aitchison, then Mr C U Aitchison, in a memorandum on the consumption of opium in Burma, generally stated that it is "a vice which we have introduced among them," and he further says, "The papers now submitted for consideration present a painful picture of the demoralization, misery, and ruin produced among the Burmese by opium-smoking. Responsible officers in all divisions and districts of the province and Natives everywhere bear testimony to it." So that we have the statements of Sir Arthur Phayre, Mr Hind, and Mr Aitchison, all asserting that it was through us that the practice has been introduced or extended in Burma ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Do you remember that Sir Charles Bernard stated, "On inquiry it appeared that in the forty houses which compose Minbying village there were fifteen opium-smokers. Some of these, all young men, were produced, and they had clearly suffered in physique"? It is not correct to state that Sir Charles Bernard only speaks from hearsay evidence, or from reports of others?

A.—No.

Q.—With regard to the dispensaries, they are more numerous than the opium shops?

A.—Yes, they are more numerous than the opium shops.

Q.—And therefore for the purpose of medical use they would be more effective for bringing the drug within the reach of the people?

A.—That is my opinion.

Q.—You also feel that men who have paid large sums for licenses, and also make a profit out of the sale of the drug, have strong inducements at the present time to obtain more customers for their trade?

A.—That is my opinion.

Q.—While you are not oblivious to the fact that the owner of the license has a direct interest to prevent illicit trading, still on the whole, you feel the advantages of the present system would be more than counterbalanced by the closing of the shops and supplying opium through the dispensaries?

A.—That is my opinion.

Q.—After all the criticism that there has been on these details, some figures may somewhat overstate and some may understate the facts—you are still of opinion that your memorandum fairly represents the facts with regard to opium and the influences it produces on the Burman population?

A.—I think in the main it does.

Q.—Do you think that the Government will be supported in the restrictions it is about to make by the best portion of the Burman population?

A.—I believe so if they prove their good faith by showing that the sale of opium either by themselves or by any others shall not be made a sale for profit.

Q.—Do you think that still further restrictions would be in the interests of the people?

A.—That is my opinion.

**Evidence of Mr Kum Low Fong, (examined  
through an interpreter.)**

By the Chairman — Formerly I was clerk of an opium farm I am now a merchant I wish to present a petition ?

Q — Who composed the petition ?

A — Leong Shiam Tuck

Q.—How was the petition submitted to the people who signed it was it written and handed round for signature ?

A.—Yes

Q — There was no meeting, I suppose ?

A.—No

*Rangoon, the 14th December 1893*

\* TO HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSION ON OPIUM NOW VISITING BURMA

The humble Memorial of the undersigned Chinese inhabitants of Rangoon respectfully sheweth as follows —

That amongst the Chinese it is a fact that opium is considered as poison of very subtle power which plays a sad havoc among its consumers. The use of opium brings countless miseries upon men. One given to opium how ever rich he may be at first is sure to get very poor afterwards through using the drug. If a poor man happens to be fallen into the use of opium his ruination commences immediately, he becomes a complete wreck of humanity, emaciated in form and corrupted in morals in no time. When an opium-smoker has got no means to gratify his craving for the infernal drug, he generally takes to thieving. The use of opium envelopes the smoker in rapturous dreams of false sensual pleasures. An exceptionally robust man, using opium at first, may not lose his physical strength so much for a while, but his moral character at once changes for the worse, and depending upon his physical strength, he commits dacoity, in fact he becomes a bully and blusterer of the quarter of the town he locates and generally lives upon the earnings by extortion, intimidation, levying black mail etc. Opium consumers are apt to neglect their duties towards parents, and towards children. They disregard their usual work and business, their minds are continually set upon having a dose or a pull of opium every now and then. It is unnecessary for us, we think, to point out in further details the disastrous effects of the use of opium upon men at large. The ruination opium has brought upon all people is manifest enough. Almost every one of the Chinese people is cognisant of the fact that opium has injurious effect upon those who make use of it. It is not only the Chinese who are affected by the baneful influence of the indulgence in opium but other nations who use opium must suffer also. Should the benign Government prohibit the use of opium, the opium-consumers would be able to cut off their bad practice easily enough. They will regain health and become prosperous. Because opium is obtainable with facilities, and opium-consumers having that strong temptation in their way, cannot give up using opium although they may try their utmost to stop the bad habits they have contracted, by all kinds of means. We are very glad to know that the Royal Commission etc on a visit to Burma and are making enquiries about opium. We shall be very thankful if opium is suppressed entirely. When there is no opium to be had mankind will live in prosperity and peace, free from certain maladies peculiar to the use of opium. We beg to humbly lay the above facts before your honours

Q —Are all these gentlemen who signed it abstainers from opium-smoking ?

A —Some do not smoke, and others do smoke

Q —How many gentlemen have attended here with this deputation to present this memorial ?

A —Over sixty.

Q —To what professions do they belong, are they all traders or shopkeepers, or are some of them artizans ?

A —They are mostly traders.

Q —Are some artizans ?

A.—Yes

Q —Out of the 240 or so who have not attended, are some of those traders and artizans ?

A —Yes We have brought some opium-smokers. They are outside

Q —Are any of the gentlemen who have attended here opium-smokers ?

A —There are a few opium-smokers amongst the gentlemen in the deputation

Q —What is the wish of the petitioners ? Is it that opium should be absolutely stopped, and that nobody should be allowed to get it ?

A —We would agree to stop it entirely

Q —According to the census there are about 5 000 Chinese in Rangoon, and there are over 300 signatures to this petition, do you think that the majority of the 5,000 Chinamen would agree with the 300 who signed the petition ?

A —Just the same

Q —They had no opportunity to come ?

A —I think the majority of the 5,000 Chinese would agree with the petition.

Q.—I suppose you except the opium-smokers from that ?

A —Yes

Q.—Some of the opium smokers who came up and gave evidence before us were much opposed to register themselves ?

A —Yes, they are afraid to be registered

Q —Do you think the same people would wish total prohibition ?

A.—Some would agree to it, but others would not agree to it



By Sir William Roberts —Q —If a petition asking that the Chinese might not be compelled to register themselves were taken round, would as many names be put to that petition as appear on this petition ?

A —Yes I think as many signatures would be appended to a petition asking that the Chinese might not be compelled to register themselves as have been appended to this petition

By Mr Pease —Q —Would it be as easy to get signatures to a petition in favor of opium not being stopped at all ? \*

A —I do not think that so many signatures would be obtained

By Mr Mowbray —Q —Did you present any petition to the Viceroy when he was here the other day ?

A —No † .

By the Chairman We are glad to have received this memorial and it will be filed among the papers attached to our report.

**Evidence of Mr F. W. R. Fryer, C. S. I., Acting Chief Commissioner of Burma.**

By the Chairman —I have been in Burma over seven years I was Commissioner of the Central Division from August, 1886, to June, 1888, from June, 1888, to March, 1891, I was Financial Commissioner, and since 1892 I have been Officiating Chief Commissioner

Q —What is your opinion on the estimate of the number of Burmans in Lower Burma who are confirmed opium smokers which is given in Mr Smeaton's note of 1892 ?

A —I consider that the estimate of the number of Burmans in Lower Burma, who are confirmed opium-consumers which is given in the Financial Commissioner's note of the 27th April 1892 is exaggerated. According to that estimate the number is 85,600. The number of Burmans who registered themselves as consumers in April to July, 1893 was 7,513. Even allowing for the fact that many Burmans have probably abstained from registering themselves, I have no doubt that the figures in the Financial Commissioner's note are exaggerated.

\* This question was originally put by Sir Wm Roberts, but the interpreter failed to explain it to the witness so as to give an intelligible answer, and eventually Sir W. Roberts put the question as to registration given above

† A petition was presented to the Viceroy by Burmese residents of Rangoon expressing their satisfaction at the prohibition of the sale of opium, and asking that a similar prohibition might be enforced as regards alcohol. His Excellency stated that the memorial would be considered by the Government of India, at the same time expressing his own strong opinion that Government had already gone quite far enough in sanctioning such infringements of individual liberty.

Q — Do you consider that the new rules which have been approved by the Government of India are as strong measures for restricting the consumption of opium as is expedient to attempt to enforce, or would you go further ?

A — I consider the measures for restricting the consumption of opium, which have already been taken, go far enough, and that to enforce them will be a task of considerable difficulty. Burma has a frontier of enormous length, and opium is generally produced or consumed in the countries along its borders. Thus, in Yunnan, the Shan States and Siam, in fact almost all along the eastern border, opium is grown and consumed, in some parts in very considerable quantities. Smuggling by sea also is easy and very difficult to prevent. Opium is at present brought into Burma both by steamers and ships as well as through the post office. When the new regulations come into force, the temptation to smuggle will be greatly increased, and it will be difficult to keep it down. Even *ganju*, which has been prohibited in Burma for twenty years and which is hardly ever consumed by Burmans, is frequently smuggled into Burma by Natives of India. In order to check the increase of smuggling which is anticipated, I proposed to employ preventive establishments costing annually Rs. 19,788 more than the establishments at present entertained. The additional establishments will be employed at present the smuggling of opium by sea. I do not propose to employ any additional establishment to check land smuggling. A preventive staff is at present employed for that purpose on the eastern frontier of Upper Burma. I consider it useless to attempt to prevent smuggling along the wild mountainous border of Siam. These parts are thinly populated, and I hope that there will be little smuggling through them. I consider that to prohibit the consumption of opium by Chinese, Kachins, and Shans would cause most serious discontent, and that it would be impossible to enforce the prohibition. In feverish places such as the jade mines in Bhamo, the tin mines in Mergui, and the ruby mines, the Natives cannot do without opium.

Witness then put in a note which shows the facilities for smuggling opium into Burma, also notes showing (a) the existing and excise establishment in Upper Burma, and the existing proposed excise establishment in Lower Burma, (b) the number of cases dealt with in Upper Burma under the Opium Act since 1889-90, (c) the number of cases dealt with under the excise laws (liquor and opium) in Lower Burma from 1883-84 to 1892-93.

Q — Have you any other remark you wish to make ?

A.—I wish also to say that I have requested Mr. Warry, Adviser on Chinese Affairs to this Government, who is a particularly competent witness as regards the Chinese, as he is on very intimate terms with them and frequently stays in their houses, to send a statement of his views on the use of opium as affecting Chinese. Mr Warry is now in the Chinese Province of Yunnan, on his way to visit the Chinese Viceroy of that Province, so it has not been possible to summon him as a witness. I have also called for a written statement from Mr Scott, now Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at Bangkok, as regards the effect of the consumption of opium by Shans. Mr Scott has been employed in the Shan States since 1886, and has given much attention to the opium question.

Q.—How did you select the witnesses to appear before this Commission ?

A.—I chose all the witnesses who I thought were likely to be able to give evidence on the subject from their experience. I made out a list of the names myself. I put them down without knowing anything of their views, except in the case of one witness, Mr Bridges. I happened to be at Mandalay when I made out the list, and I asked him what his views were. Except from anything that had been published regarding the opium question in which they had expressed their views I knew nothing, and certainly not as regards the Natives.

Q.—Were the opium-consuming Chinamen specially selected through the Deputy Commissioner ?

A.—No, I asked Mr Warry. Some were ill, and we asked the Superintendent of Police to substitute others. Mr Bayne, the Revenue Secretary, took down the statements of the witnesses but that was after they had been selected, not before. With regard to the difficulty of preventing smuggling there is one thing I wish to mention. The length of sea coast, I find, is 1,500 miles. From Mawmyn to the north of Burma the distance is 1,200 miles, so that we should have a very large extent of frontier to guard.

By Mr. Mowbray.—Q.—You have put in a note as to the excise establishment does that include the Customs ?

A.—No. It includes both liquor and opium. The same establishment is employed for both.

By the Chairman.—Q.—Have any cases occurred within your recollection in which opium is smuggled on shore at places other than sea-ports ?

A — Yes, it is smuggled in by Native boats

Q — Is there any Custom House establishment along the coast to guard against that sort of smuggling ?

A — No, none

Q — There is no law prohibiting Native crafts from landing where they like ?

A — Not fishing boats, or small boats, of that kind. There are a number of Native budgeiows that go in. I do not think there is any law which prohibits a ship stopping where it likes

Q — The ships do it at their own risk ?

A — It is only during the fair weather. During the monsoons they could hardly run in anywhere on the coast except at a regular port. There is another thing I should like to mention. I think if we were to endeavour to enforce total prohibition we should have great difficulty in keeping the people from being harassed by the Police and Preventive officers, and I think that the people would resent the interference of the Government very much

By Mr Mowbray — Q — As Financial Commissioner you had the opium revenue under your immediate control ?

A — Yes

Q — I should like to know your opinion as to whether the Rules in force in Upper Burma when you were Financial Commissioner were practically operative in restricting the supply to Burmans and not to foreigners ?

A — I do not think the Rules were altogether operative. They very much restricted the use of opium by Burmans, but I do not think they altogether prevented it

Q — Do you think it would be possible for any rules absolutely to prevent it ?

A — No, I do not think it would

Q — With regard to the position of these Sawbwas in the Shan States, have they the power, if they chose, to prohibit the growth of opium in their own States at the present time without any permission from Her Majesty's Government ?

A — No. There is no order to the contrary. I think the people probably might appeal to the Local Government against any such order of a Sawbwa, in which case he would be asked to justify his order

Q.—So far as the revenue goes, I suppose the Burmese Government would be pleased if the growth of the opium in the Shan States were prohibited?

A.—Yes. We even considered the question of whether it would not be possible to subsidise the Chiefs in order to prevent the growth of opium in their States. It would be very much to the advantage of Burma if the growth of opium could be prevented.

Q.—It would render your work on the frontier more easy than it is at present?

A.—Yes.

By Mr Pease.—Q.—Was there any communication on the subject made to the Sawbwas?

A.—I think, but I will not be certain, that probably the superintendent mentioned the subject to them.

By Mr Mowbray.—Q.—The registration of Burmans is still going on.

A.—Yes, and it will go on up to the end of June next year.

Q.—So that the total of 7,513 is not by any means the final result which will be obtained by registration?

A.—No.

Q.—When will you issue the licenses with a limited supply of opium, when does that come into force?

A.—From the 1st of January 1894. The licenses will come into force also from the 1st of January.

Q.—On what basis do you propose to calculate your limited issues of opium for next year?

A.—We have calculated that each registered consumer should get a quarter tola a day only. We have calculated the number of non-Burmans, adding twenty-five per cent, for future registration and for non-Burmans whom you may not know of. Of course there is an allowance for doctors and tattooers.

Q.—After next June the registers will be absolutely closed to all Burmans?

A.—Yes, unless a man can show that he has been absent from Burma, and has had no opportunity of registering himself.

By Mr Pease.—Q.—In the despatch from the Government of India to Lord Kimberley on the 6th of December there is this sentence, "In

order to ascertain the consumption and thereby facilitate the detection and prevention of smuggling, we should have been willing to approve rules requiring the registration of non-Burman consumers of opium for information merely, and not as a condition of possession. We were, however, advised that such rules are not authorized by the Opium Act, would possess no legal validity, and could not be enforced if disregarded." Is that to be read as meaning that the Opium Act does not allow the registration for information merely, or is it to be read as meaning that the Opium Act does not allow the registration of non-Burman consumers as a condition of possession?

A —I read it that it is for information

Q —It would not be contrary to the Opium Act to require registration of non-Burman consumers as a condition of possession?

A —No. They require registration of Burmans as a condition of possession, therefore, I suppose they could require the registration of non-Burmans as a condition of possession.

By the Chairman —Q —In the statement showing the offences against the Opium Act I see the following figures. In 1891 number of persons brought before the Magistrate, 2,250, number of persons acquitted, 509, number of persons finally convicted, 1,681. In 1892, 2,122 persons actually brought before the Magistrate, 435 persons acquitted or discharged, and 1,625 persons finally convicted. These are for Lower Burma. Do not you think that means a very serious amount the figures of harassment upon the people?

A —I think so, certainly



## NOTE.

As the Report of the Royal Commission on the Opium Trade, with the complete report of the evidence, will probably be published in London very soon after the present instalment of this Report reaches England, it is not intended further to continue this publication. It was commenced in compliance with the earnest desire expressed for some report, fuller and fairer than the brief and generally one-sided telegrams that reached England as to the proceedings of the Commission telegrams which the fuller reports of the Calcutta newspapers were quite insufficient to rectify, as these gave hardly any account of the cross examination. The reports of the Calcutta sittings were for the most part specially prepared for the society, those of the sittings in Burma have been compiled from the official shorthand writers' notes, with only such omissions and abridgements as to leave the sense unaffected.

J G ALEXANDER

*Of Singapore, 19 March, 1894*

REPORT  
OF THE  
**Social Purity Meeting**  
IN THE  
TOWN HALL, CALCUTTA.

*November 27, 1893.*

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ON Monday, November 27, 1893, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, in behalf of Social Purity. It was the largest meeting held there for a long time and may be truthfully spoken of as a Monster Meeting. It was called together on the initiative of the Calcutta Missionary Conference but was attended by persons of all classes and ranks of the people. There were Anglicans, Romanists, Nonconformists, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Clergymen, Missionaries, Lawyers, Merchants, Professors, Doctors and others. Amongst the prominent representatives, the following were noticed in addition to the speakers, the majority of the missionaries, Rev J Ferrier, chaplain of the Church of Scotland, several Roman Catholic priests, several Native clergy of different denominations, Messrs H H Remfry and A G Harris, Solicitors; Messrs Irving, Osmond, Horne, Duffill, Espino, Laidlaw, Atkinson, Stewart, Babus Debendra Chandra Ghose, Jotendra Nath Chowdhry, Umes Chandra Datta, Krishna Kumar Maitra, Siris Chandra Chowdhry, Ram Charan Mitter, Asutosh Mookerjee, Dr Mohini Mohan Bose, &c, &c., &c



The Meeting commenced at 5-30<sup>6</sup> and on the motion of Sir Romesh C Mitter and Babu Sahgram Singh (a prominent member of the Hindustani community) Bishop Thoburn took the chair and opened the meeting with the following remarks :

Gentlemen, before addressing you a few words, I have much pleasure in announcing to you that the Right Reverend P Goethals, Archbishop of Calcutta, on his own behalf and on behalf of the Roman Catholic clergy of this city has written a letter expressing his deep sympathy with this movement and his hope that it may be successful in the important objects it has in view. The Rev C Jordan also writes in a similar strain on behalf of the Baptist Missionary body and regrets that his absence from Calcutta prevents his being present. Bishop Thoburn then proceeded to say —

I feel it to be no slight honor this evening to be asked to preside at the first meeting ever held in India at which representative men of all the religious bodies in the community have come together solely in the interests of public virtue. While we must all regret the painful necessity which brings us here, we may at least be thankful that as fellow-citizens and fellow-townsmen we can thus meet together on a common platform to protest against the encroachments of vice in our midst, and to plead for the interests of virtue and public decency, for the safety of the young, and for the good name of the great city in which our lot has been cast. For some time past there has been an increasing concern in the minds of those who are willing to give attention to the subject, in reference to the state of morals in our city, until at last it is felt by many that the present condition of things has become simply intolerable. Endurance has quite ceased to be a virtue, and the time has fully come to demand an immediate reform of the most practical kind.

Opinions differ as to the cause of the present movement. Some trace it at once to the increasing effrontery of vice, while others account for it on the ground that the moral tone of society, in all its branches, is slowly but steadily rising. Both these views are in a measure correct. I have known Calcutta for twenty years, and it is my conviction that there are many more good people in the city than there were twenty years ago. I believe there is a more enlightened public conscience than there was in former years. But on the other hand I feel bound to admit that vice is more strongly fortified than ever before, better organized, more contemptuously defiant of the rights of decent people, and more alarming in its encroachments upon our most ordinary rights. We all admit, of course, that nothing short of a very grave necessity ought to justify the

calling of a public mass meeting for the avowed object which has brought us together. Does such a necessity exist? Let us see.

In the first place, the condition of our streets has long been an insufferable public scandal. In the southern part of the city, with the exception of a few select quarters in which the more wealthy Europeans live, there is hardly a street or a lane through which decent people can take their children with them if they wish to go for an evening walk, much less to take them to a place of worship when they have to return after night-fall. It is said by some, I know, that in former years some of the scenes witnessed about Jora talao were more shameless than anything seen at the present time. This is very true so far as the shameless exhibitions in the streets are concerned, but when the street once known as Jora-talao was thoroughly renovated and its very name changed, the evil which had been confined to one locality, simply spread into other parts of the city until it has now become more general, while it is no less defiant of public opinion than formerly. It is against its presence we protest this evening. Its agents have changed their methods of procedure, but the evil itself has not in any measure abated. In some respects, indeed, it is worse than formerly. Decent men are still subject to insult on our most public streets if they chance to walk abroad, and whole neighborhoods have become so infested with bad characters that the price of real estate is seriously affected, and the difficulty of obtaining a suitable house in which to live has been greatly increased. The annoyances to which quiet neighbors are subject are unspeakable. In the northern part of the city the case is somewhat different, and yet sufficiently intolerable. It is a striking fact that the most shameless characters in the city are not Indian, but persons imported from Europe, and hence our Indian friends in the northern part of the city are subject to less annoyance in some respects than those who live in the European quarters, but they also have enough of which to complain. Many of the streets, lanes, and side-walks, from early evening till a late hour, are disfigured by exhibitions which are humiliating to our common humanity. To see a dozen poor creatures ranged in rows, and placed on exhibition on the side of one of our public streets, like so many animals offered for sale, is a spectacle which ought not to be tolerated in any city, and one from which young men and children should be delivered. We can state our position in a few words. Our streets should be maintained in a state of decency. Shameless exhibitions of every kind should be absolutely forbidden. We cannot annihilate vice, and we do not propose to attempt the impossible, but we do insist that vice shall be compelled to shrink back into its own congenial

darkness, and not disfigure our streets or make some of them, as at present, practically useless for decent people.

In the next place, we have met together to demand protection for hapless children who are exposed to the worst of all possible fates. It is too well known that a traffic in young girls, most of whom are of a tender age, has long been carried on in this city. The fate of these children is the worst which could possibly be devised. I have said more than once in public, and repeat it here again to-night, that if I had a daughter I would much rather see her thrown into a den of hyenas, than placed in the power of certain men and women in this city, who are constantly engaged in effecting the ruin of such hapless children as fall into their hands. I say "constantly engaged," and I use the term advisedly. When we find men who avow that they make their livelihood by following this traffic, when we find one house after another maintained in the interest of the traffic, with hardly any attempt at concealment, we can hardly be accused of using extravagant language when we say that this horrible work is going on constantly. Then, to this we have to add the humiliating fact that others of a more mature age are imported every season into India from Europe. It will be said, I know, that statements of this kind are exaggerated, but when a dozen poor creatures arrive in Calcutta by a single steamer, under the care of one man, and he well known to our authorities, we may well conclude that we are not making a mistake in putting forward this charge.

In the third place we have to consider the presence in our midst of a colony of foreigners of both sexes—a colony which has been established in the interests of public vice, and which to this day is maintained wholly at the expense of the good name and good morals of this city. It is said, I know, that the male portion of these colonists are made up of quiet men, that they never stir up riots, that they never create disorder of any kind, that they are not given to intemperance, and that they do not trouble the police, to all of which it is enough to reply that this course of conduct is simply a part of their procedure. They know that their ends cannot be accomplished by disorder and violence. It is to their interest to maintain a quiet exterior, but this does not affect the main issue. Our complaint against them is that they are simply moral lepers, that the whole settlement is made up of men and women who are wholly devoted to the propagation of vice in all its worst forms, and that it would be better for our city, better for its good name, better for the interests of the public, that a colony of lepers should be imported from some region where lepers abound, than that these creatures should be

permitted to establish themselves in our midst, take possession of houses that ought to be occupied by decent people, depress the value of real estate and dishonor the European name in the eyes of eastern people.

I hardly dare to add another word, and yet I cannot refrain from stating the case at its worst. I feel that it is almost a personal humiliation for me to be obliged to stand before this audience and say that there are depths of vice below what I have thus far indicated, which are openly tolerated in our midst. There are houses on some of our most public streets, maintained in the interests of certain forms of vice which must be nameless in a public address. No city can sink lower in the moral scale than to tolerate with indifference such forms of vice as those to which I allude. That such toleration has been and is now extended to this worst of all evils, is a fact concerning which there can be no doubt. I can say no less, I need say no more on this head.

Such are the grounds of complaint, and we have met together this evening to demand that there shall be a thorough-going reform in reference to all these evils. It will be said, perhaps, that a quiet appeal to the authorities should have been made before the whole unsavoury subject is dragged out before the public eye. To this I reply that some of us have been appealing to the authorities until we are growing weary, but with little result thus far. It may be that our laws are defective, as we are sometimes told they are. I do not pretend to be an authority on this point, but, as a matter of fact, it is nearly impossible for decent neighbors to get relief when a pest-house is set up in their midst. There is one house on Wellesley street which is in close proximity to four schools, to one large church with a very large Sunday-school, a house which cannot be passed in the evening by children and young folks, without their witnessing scenes which should not appear in public. I have myself been engaged with others in personal efforts to secure the removal of that one brothel during the past five months, but thus far without any success. I give this merely as an illustration of the fact that we have not been remiss in appealing to the authorities for help. The case of this one brothel has been before two Commissioners of Police, and before the acting Lieutenant-Governor, and, while I am glad to believe that some of these officials really wished to give relief, yet, as a matter of fact nothing has been done.

But I trust that we shall not fall into the mistake this evening of being too personal. We are here to demand measures—broad measures of reform and a proper administration of the law, and not to attack individuals. I trust too that we shall not waste our strength in denouncing the police,

That is a snare into which many people fall. I do not pretend to say that all policemen are model saints, but I do say that there is great danger that good people may try to satisfy their consciences by throwing all responsibility in such matters upon these guardians of public order. We all have a common responsibility in the case. Let us simply demand two things. First, that if our laws are imperfect, no time be lost in making them effective, and second, that when the law is made right, it be at once vigorously administered by those upon whom this duty rests. We ask simply that our streets may be decent, that quiet neighbors may have the power to secure the removal of brothels from their vicinity, that public thoroughfares shall no longer be barred to the use of respectable men with their wives and daughters, that children shall be protected, that houses of nameless vice be peremptorily closed, that obscene literature be relentlessly proscribed, and that the foreign colony in our midst be utterly broken up, and all the male colonists at least summarily deported from our shores.

We are in serious earnest in what we are doing. We have taken up this matter without any intention of laying it down, until something is accomplished. Let no one suppose that the agitation will end with the present meeting. It will go on until either our laws, or our courts and police force, have been amended. We do not propose quietly to be told by a learned Justice of the High Court that the greatest possible wrong that can be inflicted upon any innocent child, is virtually shielded by the law. We do not propose to leave the children of this great city to the tender mercies of the worst men and women to be found on the globe. As I have just said, either our laws, or else our courts and our police force must be reformed. It is not for me to say where the difficulty really lies. I only know that, as a matter of fact, it seems to everyone who attempts to secure a reform, that the laws all work against him. It may not be so, but it seems so. Many of us feel deeply that this is so. We meet this evening to insist that it shall be so no longer. If our task cannot be finished in a month, we will take a year for it, if a year will not suffice we will take ten years, and if ten years will not suffice, we are prepared to give twenty-five years to the work. We have entered into the contest expecting to win, and we shall not give up the contest until our work is finished.

DR. MOHENDRA LAL SARKAR said :—Reverend Sir and Gentlemen, I can assure you that it is owing to a sense of duty, duty imperative, duty which could not be shirked, which has compelled me, notwithstanding the present state of my health, to which allusion has so kindly been made

by the Reverend Chairmap, 'I say' it is nothing but a sense of duty which has compelled me to appear before you this evening, and I therefore crave your indulgence for being brief. And it appears to me notwithstanding what has so ominously fallen from the Chairman, that one can afford to be brief. For what is required at this meeting is not many words but the consciousness of deep conviction. Now gentlemen, I believe you have realised, not only the supreme importance but the extreme delicacy of the subject; a delicacy which demands that it should be treated with all the seriousness of which human nature is capable, not with a light heart, certainly not with frivolity, and in order that this may be done it is necessary that we should remember two things in connection with this subject. One is the strength of the passion which lies at the bottom of all the mischief which is the burden of our complaint, and the other is the strength of the force of example, especially when that passion is concerned. Of the strength of the passion, gentlemen, I think that you need not be told in detail. If you simply remember that it has been implanted by God himself in human nature, in common with all animate nature, for no other than the divine purpose of continuing his creation, you will not be surprised to find that it is scarcely less strong than the instinct of self preservation itself. In man the regulation of this passion has been most wisely and most beneficently left to his free will in order that it may be to him, as Milton has well stated "the scale by which to heavenly love he may ascend." But in point of fact man has not carried out the divine purpose. What ought to have been his highest happiness has been his greatest misery, and instead of making it the ladder to convey him and lift him to the pure love of God, and man, he has made it to carry him to the lowest depth of degradation. And why or how? Simply by the abuse of that most precious gift, which has elevated him above the brute, free will. By the abuse of this free will he has sunk the God in him and exalted the brute. Gentlemen, however sad, however unfortunate, however disastrous it may be, it is a fact and it behoves every man who wishes good to himself and to his fellow men to recognise this fact with all humility, and set to work prayerfully. I use this word advisedly, for unless we do that, we should be grievously wrong and should be retarding every attempt at reform if we look upon our erring brothers and sisters with horror, as if there was a monopoly of sin. On the contrary, gentlemen, we should remember the solemn rebuke which was administered by that great exemplar of humanity to the accusers of the adulteress, and the heavenly forbearance he showed to the adulteress herself, "Neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more."

Do not suppose for a moment that I quote the almost superhuman example of Jesus Christ to make you lenient towards vice; no certainly not, for remember the stern command which accompanied the forbearance, "Go and sin no more" There we are taught to forbear as well as to be firm in our resolve to sin no more—"Sin no more." These words have a significance deep and wide They have a deep significance as regards the individual sin and a wide significance as regards others whom he or she may involve And then you see what your attitude towards vice ought to be. In the light of these words you see that you have every right, and indeed, it is your plain duty to see that vice is not only corrected in the individual but that it does not spread by example, the example which is contagion of the worst description because of its most potent influence. Gentlemen, this is a duty which we owe not only to the present generation, but to all future generations, for you hardly need a medical man to tell you that the vice in question contaminates and poisons the very fountain of life itself, and unless a very strict watch is kept over it, the lamentable and irremediable deterioration of the human race is inevitable That this vice is on the increase in the metropolis is shown by its most shameless display in the most public places Everyone of you must be familiar with the fact, and can it be doubted for a moment that such a display of such a fascinating and such a ruinous vice will draw into its vortex the weak and the unwary and thus involve the welfare not only of this or that community, but of all the communities of Calcutta, and expose them to the most widespread and serious form of moral leprosy imaginable Then the most obvious duty of every individual, and of every community and of the state, must be to check the malignant progress of this vice by all legitimate means I do not think, gentlemen, there is any necessity for more words from me and I have therefore the greatest pleasure in moving the first resolution which is as follows:—

RESOLVED, that this meeting has observed with serious alarm, the increasing infringement of public decency caused by the presence and action of improper characters on streets, drives, and places of public resort in Calcutta, as well as the grave annoyance caused to schools, churches, and residents in many parts of the city by the proximity of disreputable houses. This meeting therefore asks for an administration of the existing law, or if necessary, for additional legislation, which will secure the maintenance of public decency in the city of Calcutta

THE REV FATHER LAFONT, S. J., C. I. E., said:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, the chairman has given you already an idea of the importance of the object of this meeting, by drawing your attention to the

fact that on this platform and in this hall, there are no distinctions of nationalities or religions. When all men coalesce, congregate, unite, in this fashion for an object, that object must be of extreme importance. Nothing short of the importance of this question to all men, all families, and society itself, could have drawn us together in such large numbers. You will have noticed, gentlemen, that there are a great many clergymen, who have inaugurated this meeting. We are the moving spirit of this meeting, and I think no clergyman needs an apology for pushing forward such a meeting as this. For there is nothing that I can conceive of more disastrous to religion than this social vice. After the weighty address which you have heard from Dr Sarkar, who has given us his long experience as a man, as a father of a family, and as a physician, you will not expect me to say very much more on the subject of which he treated. I shall therefore confine myself to bearing witness to the necessity for this first resolution.

I have been twenty-eight years in Calcutta, and therefore I can speak *de visu*. I have seen and I will tell you the result of my experiences for the past twenty years. Twenty years ago there were in my neighbourhood three or four streets which were shunned by every man who was manly and by respectable men. These localities were known to be localities of a disreputable character, and no man was ever seen there who had the slightest respect for himself. That was twenty years ago. Now at the present moment, in that very same quarter of Calcutta there are not only three or four streets that contain these houses, but I should say perhaps only three or four that do not contain them. Now, gentlemen, this is a great public hardship, because these houses are not generally found in those quarters inhabited by the upper ten, but they are found amongst the dwellings of the poor, and the dwellings of the middle class. Now there are already too few streets in this city with decent dwellings for the poor, and too few even with decent dwellings for the middle class, without our having the few streets that can be inhabited by their families polluted as they are now polluted. These are facts, and these are not theories, hard facts, and the number of these houses is increasing almost in geometrical proportion, and thus many localities which I have known for years, and which I could name in my quarter of the town where decent people used to live are now deserted.

Only the other day I was asking a woman, a parishioner of mine, who had been away and had come back, why she had not returned to her old dwelling, and she said "how could I think of doing so. I was glad enough to escape from that house, and I shall never set foot there



again " Is it not lamentable, gentlemen, that people should be driven from the healthy parts of the town, and that prurient vice should flourish in Calcutta as if it had the right to drive every honest citizen from these resorts. Now, what do we want? We want to see if nothing can be done to repress the boldness of these creatures. We have tried, our chairman has given you instances, and I could give you instances in my experience. But it is of no use for private individuals, not even for a body of determined individuals to try and set the law going against these houses. I have in my mind a case now which was taken up by several honourable gentlemen, living not very far from me, who have put their heads together and their purses together in order to have a test case. Well, the result of that test case, which they now record, is that that same house, after two months is there still, individuals are powerless therefore, and what we want to do by this resolution is to go to Government, and say that when an epidemic appears in Calcutta, when cholera or small pox breaks out or leprosy shows any increase, you feel it your duty to interfere, you feel it your duty as a Government to come forward, and if necessary spend large sums of money in order to stamp the epidemic out. Well, there is an epidemic in Calcutta just now. All the old residents will bear witness to what I say. There is a recrudescence of the social evil which is becoming well nigh intolerable. We have tried to cope with it, we have tried the law as it exists or is administered just now and proved it inefficacious. When the General hospital, the Medical College hospital, and all the other hospitals are not sufficient to meet an epidemic of cholera or small pox we come to you for further help, who are responsible for governing this city, and ask you to help us to drive out this epidemic for we cannot do it without your help. This we shall say with all respect no doubt, but as the chairman has said, we have begun to say it to-day, and we shall not cease to say it until the work is done.

REV H WHITEHEAD, Principal of Bishop's College, said — "Mr Chairman and Gentlemen — as the chairman has already impressed upon us the need of brevity, I will not take up the time of the meeting by going over again the ground covered by the preceding speakers. No one, I think, who seriously considers the matter can doubt the magnitude of the evil with which we have to deal. If he does, I should advise him to go some evening between eight and ten o'clock down College and Cornwallis streets from Bow Bazar to Cornwallis Square. It will be hardly possible for him to walk fifty yards without passing two or more women of bad character plying for hire, and the same is true of almost all

the streets that run at right angles to this main thoroughfare. Now this section of the city is the great centre of our educational institutions. There are some twenty large schools and colleges within these limits, and about two thousand university students from the mofussil reside in lodgings in the same quarter. So that the quarter which swarms with schools, colleges and students' lodgings also abounds in houses of ill-fame. From an educational point of view this state of things cannot but be regarded as most disastrous.

But admitting the magnitude of the evil, the question remains, what can be done to remedy it? And the main object for which we have met together this evening is to consider especially what can be effected by legislation. Looking at the resolutions which are to be put before the meeting, I see that each one of them ends by asking for some fresh action on the part of the Government and more stringent legislation. It is important therefore that we should begin with having a very clear idea as to what we really want and what it is possible for legislation to effect. In the first place then we do not expect to make people moral by means of legislation. Legal penalties can restrain men's outward actions; it cannot touch their motives. But, thank God, there are other agencies at work to which we trust to purify and elevate men's consciences and characters. Nor are we rash enough to hope that legislation can entirely abolish or even very largely mitigate this evil which we deplore, or prevent bad characters from showing themselves in public. Nor again would it be desirable, even if it were possible to attempt to confine all houses of ill-fame to one particular quarter of the city. To do so would introduce far greater evils than it would abolish. But legislation can do two things and we have met together this evening to demand that it shall do these two things here in Calcutta. In the first place it can prevent houses of ill-fame from making themselves a nuisance and a source of annoyance to respectable families and respectable neighbourhoods. People have no more right to infect the moral atmosphere of a place with houses of ill-fame, than to infect the air with the germs of disease. And where therefore such a house is a cause of annoyance and moral danger to respectable people the public have a right to demand that the house shall be removed. But the point I wish especially to put before you is this, that for this purpose we do not want any fresh legislation. If you will look at section forty-three of the Calcutta Police Act, you will see that the Commissioner of Police has already the power to order the removal of houses of ill-fame which are a nuisance or a source of annoyance to the inhabitants of a neighbourhood. But before he can take any action, he must be moved to do so by a petition

from the inhabitants themselves. So that the initiative in this matter rests not with the police but with the public, and from a conversation I had this morning with Sir John Lambert, I am quite sure that, if the public will bestir themselves and take the initiative, he is quite ready on his part to use to the full, all the power which the law puts into his hands in the interests of public morality. What then we need in order to carry out the objects specified in this first resolution is not fresh legislation but a more vigilant and active public opinion to put in force the existing legislation. It is quite true that during the last few months there have been technical difficulties in the way of enforcing the penalty prescribed in this section of the Act, but I am glad to be able to state on the authority of Mr Ashton, that a letter has been received this morning from the Government stating that these difficulties have now been removed. So that now we have not got to attack the Government or to attack the police authorities, but to attack public opinion and rouse that up to take the initiative and put in motion the arm of the law. And what I would venture to suggest is that a vigilance committee should be formed or several vigilance committees for different parts of the city to organize and concentrate the force of public opinion. We must remember that the work which this resolution suggests is not the work of a week or a month or a year or of ten years. We have to deal with an organized system for the extension of vice and it can only be fought by organizing the public opinion that is on the side of virtue.

Then there is a second thing which legislation can do and that is, protect innocence and especially the innocence of childhood. I will not dwell upon this point because it will form the subject of the next resolution but I will only say this, that if we are men, if we have any spark of manliness in us, we shall insist that the children are protected and will never rest until the evils, against which that second resolution is directed, are removed.

MR R D MEHTA SAID—Reverend Sir and Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to support this resolution. This is a movement in which I am very glad to find that every section of the community has joined. Purity as we all know is the great cause, and we are all interested in supporting it as well for our own sake as for the sake of the rising generation of our countrymen. It affects them and it affects them keenly, for, no doubt sir, no true progress can be made unless it is founded on a genuine moral foundation. I am quite sure that this is a movement which will enlist the sympathies of our rulers, as becomes a civilised Government, and I am quite sure that if the Government and the different

sections of the community are united together there is no reason why success should not attend our efforts, and the cause of purity be established on a firm basis in this city

BABU KALI CHARAN BANERJEE proposed the second resolution which was as follows

RESOLVED, that this meeting has learned with indignation that a horrible traffic is carried on to an alarming extent in Calcutta in children of eight or ten years of age who are being purchased or kidnapped in the villages of Bengal to be employed and used for immoral purposes. This meeting pledges itself to the use of every legitimate effort for the suppression of this vile trade and demands that the law, having been proved inadequate in its present form to cope with this widespread evil, may be at once strengthened and amended, so that innocent childhood may be protected, justice vindicated and the guilty brought to condign punishment.

He said --That there should be occasion for a public resolution like this is deeply humiliating—humiliating to humanity, humiliating to human legislation. The occasion for it is the horrible traffic—horrible is hardly an adequate characterisation—referred to in the first part of the resolution, a traffic in innocence, as a learned judge in a sister presidency puts it, involving the letting to hire and hiring, the selling and buying of girls under sixteen years of age for the purpose of prostitution, or for any unlawful and immoral purpose. This traffic had long been in the air, although but few cases were brought to light, and dealt with as they should have been. It is not difficult for us to understand the reason why. There have been instances in which the traffic has been conducted, be it said to their eternal shame, with the connivance of the very persons who stood to the innocent children in the relation of natural protectors. There have been instances, again, in which there has been a somewhat natural shyness to prosecute offenders, from considerations of family exposure. There have been instances yet again, and these instances have by no means been few or far between, in which the machinery for prosecuting the offenders and bringing them to justice has proved absolutely ineffective. Whatever the reasons might have been, the traffic, as I have said, had long been in the air, and it needed but to be spotted. The attention of the Calcutta Missionary Conference was drawn to it, and they initiated practical steps to remove the evil. As a result of their efforts in this direction, there was a test case put forward, and although that test case failed for reasons to which I shall presently refer, reasons which you find set forth in the latter half of the resolution, it led to the discovery of

some thirteen innocent victims of the traffic, who had been brought all the way from the district of Midnapore, and who were being used for immoral purposes in this city. We had information this morning that the offenders have been placed on their trial at Midnapore, well, if as many as thirteen victims, all belonging to one district, were discovered in connection with one effort put forth by the Calcutta Missionary Conference, you may well imagine how, if there were a determined and sustained effort, many more such discoveries might be made. It is not my desire to dwell on the details of this traffic, because my esteemed friends, who are to follow me, will refer to such details. My object is to lay before you the present state of the law in regard to the traffic. Reference is made to it in the latter part of this resolution. The criminal law of the country provides for the punishment of persons who let to hire or hire, buy or sell minor girls under sixteen years of age for the purpose of prostitution, or for any unlawful and immoral purpose. The criminal law of the country provides for this, and yet you will have noticed from the words of the resolution, that the law has been proved to be inadequate to cope with the sore evil. You wonder why. I shall presently show you why, and in that behalf, I shall draw your attention to two points of procedure and two points of interpretation of the law. When you consider the provision of law to which I have just referred, it must strike you that in order to bring an offender to justice you must prove that the victim is under sixteen years of age. In that test case, the victim was eleven years of age, but when the case was being prepared for the higher court, no evidence was adduced in the lower court to prove that the infant was under sixteen years of age. No doubt in the eye of the law this was a culpable oversight, but with the girl in court no one perhaps ever thought of solemnly enacting the farce of proving that a girl obviously of ten or eleven years of age was under sixteen. Yet the law requires that you must prove by evidence that an infant of even twelve months is under sixteen years of age, and so when the matter went up to the higher court and the discovery was made that there was this defect in the getting up of the case, and application was made that the defect might be remedied and evidence might be taken as to the age of the girl. But it was questioned whether it would be proper at that stage to allow the evidence to be supplemented by the importation of evidence as to age, and because the propriety of that procedure was questioned there was a persistent defect, fatal to the case, and the offenders could not be brought to justice. Gentlemen, this is how, sometimes, justice suffers.

Then I will refer to another point of procedure. The section to which I have referred lays down that the girl must be under sixteen years of age. Now suppose this section of the law is found not to apply, there is another section which may be applied to a case like this, where the girl is under twelve years of age, and the offender might be found guilty of abetment of defilement, even though it might not be proved against him that he had let out to him a girl under sixteen years of age for the purpose of prostitution. When, therefore, a difficulty was suggested in the higher court as to whether the former section of the law applied, application was made that an alternative charge might be added to the indictment, so that if the first section failed, the offence might be dealt with, under this other section. There again it was questioned whether having regard to the proprieties of legal procedure this alternative charge not having been framed when the case was being prepared for the higher court, could be added at that later stage. Well then, the propriety of adding the alternative charge having been questioned, the offenders could be punished only if they were proved guilty under the first section. Thus you see how sometimes, defects of procedure from obliviousness on the part of those entrusted with the preparation of cases in the lower courts, defeat the ends of justice. Now I come to something more serious. The question was whether, in this particular case, the offenders could be convicted under the section to which I have referred, and so the section had to be interpreted, and it is having regard to the interpretation, that we here affirm that the law has been proved to be inadequate. Let me explain to you gentlemen, how the inadequacy of the law in its present form has been established. I have quoted to you the clauses of the section. It must be proved that the letting to hire or hiring, the buying or selling, has been for the purpose of prostitution. Let me draw your attention to the interpretation that has been put on the words "for the purpose of prostitution." Suppose a girl of eleven years of age is let to hire or sold to one single individual and not to individuals indiscriminately, it has been held that this is not letting to hire or selling for the purpose of prostitution. In order to prove that the letting to hire or selling was for the purpose of prostitution, it must be proved that the girl was let to hire or sold for the purpose of indiscriminate defilement, as constituting prostitution, and so if an innocent child is made the victim of defilement at the instance of only one brute, the law is powerless, the letting to hire or selling not having been for the purpose of indiscriminate defilement. Then take the next clause, "for any unlawful and immoral purpose."

The word "purpose" has been so interpreted as to make out that offenders such as those in this particular case, could not be touched by the law in its present form. It has been held that if the letting to hire or selling was only for a single act of defilement and not for a course of defilement, the section did not apply. Just re-ask, gentlemen, where you are. An innocent child is made the victim of defilement; you appeal to law, and the law refuses protection, because, forsooth, there has been only one act of defilement, although that one act is the ruin of the innocent girl. Are we to be told that the legal machinery of the country is to be kept in abeyance, till this one act of defilement develops into a course of defilement? But that is not all. Suppose a case brought up, in which an innocent child has been the victim of a second act of defilement. You appeal to law and you are met by the plea, that the child is already a prostitute, and so the law cannot protect her. The words are "for the purpose of prostitution," such purpose cannot be predicated, when the child concerned is already a prostitute. And so between niceties of legal procedure and niceties of legal interpretation, innocent childhood is victimised with impunity. Will you not declare it to be a scandal, and a scandal that ought at once to be removed from the statute book? Such is the object of the present resolution. It is to call upon you to pledge yourselves to the use of every legitimate effort, to secure, by an amendment of the law, or otherwise, that innocent childhood may be protected, justice vindicated, and the guilty brought to condign punishment.

The chairman at this stage informed the meeting that it was with much regret he had just heard that severe illness in his family had prevented the attendance of the Hon. Surendra Nath Banerjee who was to have seconded this resolution. This duty would be taken by Baboo Hiramba Chandra Maitra of the City College and a prominent member of the Brahmo community.

BABOO HIRAMBA CHANDRA MAITRA, in seconding the resolution, said —  
 Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—In spite of the stirring oration of my eminent friend, the mover of the resolution, I think that most people, in speaking on a resolution like this, would experience one difficulty. On such an occasion it is difficult to give adequate expression to one's sentiments, perhaps it is difficult even to make one's sentiments rise to the height of the occasion. Making the most sober statement of the case, I may say that the resolution before you embodies the most urgent demands upon the best efforts of the Government and the people that could possibly be made. I cannot think of a more sacred cause or a more legitimate

duty that could be pressed upon the attention of the people or the rulers of this unfortunate country. If to-morrow the Government of India were to pass a law sanctioning slavery in this land, it would rouse one chorus of horror and indignation from one end of the civilised world to the other. And yet there is in existence in our midst, as a sober reality, a slavery more terrible than that of the body alone, for it is the selling of body and soul together. Hundreds of innocent children are being brought from our villages to be sacrificed to the greed of lust. The very idea of the magnitude of the evil overpowers thought and speech. When one thinks of the tender ones who are torn away from their families, from their simple rural homes, where they had been living, in poverty perhaps, but still in peace in the bosom of nature, to be trained up in the art of brutalising themselves, and of helping to brutalise others, in order that the wicked people who carry on this traffic may fatten upon the foul harvest of precocious licentiousness, one's blood tangles with indignation. Should any one be disposed to question the existence of this evil, I can only say he lives in blissful ignorance of the real state of things. To those who have studied the question, it is well known how deep-rooted and widespread is the evil. But even those, who like myself have not sought special opportunities of watching this infamous traffic, now and then come across startling facts revealing the existence of a whole layer of iniquity beneath the smiling surface of the palaces and gaieties of this city. A few years ago, one most pathetic case was brought to my notice by the author of that well-known temperance publication *Surā-pān bī bishapān* (शरापान बा बिषपान), and I have had other cases brought to my notice, showing that there is an organised machinery of wickedness with which it is impossible to cope without adequate help from the Government. Only the other day a friend brought to my notice the fact that within a hundred yards of the building of the Society for the Higher Training of Young Men there was a house where a father traded upon the virtues of his daughters. The traffic in girls prevails not only in this city, but also in the mofussil. Only this morning I received a letter from Kushtea, informing me that probably ten per cent of the prostitutes living in that municipality were bought from their parents. I have been told that in Tangai there are at least thirty girls of a tender age in the keeping of prostitutes. I do not wish to tire you with more details. We are accustomed to call this city the "metropolis" or the "mother-city" of this country. Does it deserve to be called by that name? Let us not desecrate the holy name of "mother" by giving it to Calcutta so long as it is defiled by this traffic.



I wish to draw your attention to one part of the resolution. It says—"This meeting pledges itself"—Are you going to pledge yourselves, or are you not? If you do not wish to pledge yourselves then tear this resolution to pieces. If you do pledge yourselves, then pledge yourselves with a pledge which it shall not be in the power of any one to treat like dicers' oaths. Pledge yourselves with a pledge as solemn and sacred as a marriage vow. There could not be a nobler work than that of helping the Government to cleanse this land of the leprosy of lust, and to clothe it in the raiment of righteousness. Gentlemen, this is an age in which one cannot believe in a moral principle without running the risk of being called a faddist. I am proud to be a faddist in that sense. I do believe that if there is anything that exalteth a nation, it is righteousness. Let us, therefore, aid in every way the noble band of workers who have stried themselves to remove this iniquity from the face of the land.

THE HON'BLE SIRAJ-UL-ISLAM, KHAN BAHADHUR said —I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been moved and seconded. I do not think I can add much to what has already been said, but before I sit down I wish to say this, that though we are a great many communities, it is the bounden duty of all people to do their best to suppress this vile evil and protect innocent children. With these remarks I support the resolution. It was then carried unanimously.

The Third Resolution ran as follows—

"Resolved, that this meeting earnestly protests against any further toleration of a system which has been established and organized on a large scale by a band of foreigners in this city, by which women are brought from other countries to India for immoral purposes. It is believed that many of the women are decoyed on false pretences by these men who club together to make a profit of this infamous traffic. This meeting therefore asks that these foreign dealers in vice may be deported from Calcutta and other cities of India as was recently done in Bombay, so that further importation of women may be prevented."

THE REV J BROWN moved this resolution and said —

"Some time ago a series of letters appeared in one of the daily papers of this city under the heading *White Slavery*. These letters were from the pen of a well-known writer and contained such startling facts concerning one phase of the immorality of Calcutta that public attention was arrested and investigation challenged. There were some who were incredulous and others who were horrified, while a few superior ones imagined that they had answered the writer's indictment when they

had denounced the writer as a fanatic or a faddist. The Calcutta Missionary Conference appointed a small committee to collect details of the horrible traffic and made a representation of the evil to Government. A deputation also waited upon the Lieutenant-Governor at Belvedere and requested that the law might be put in force against the evil doers. The traffic, however, continues, and we are gathered together in this Hall to-day, representatives of every section of the community, to record our protest, and to do our part in ridding this city of one of its darkest blots.

Very opportunely an official reply has come to us from the Government of Bengal and appeared last week in the pages of the *Hindu Patriot*, which cannot fail ultimately to help the cause of Social Purity. In this reply the evil is recognised, and Government pledges itself to 'take measures for the abatement of the evil' when it 'assumes such serious proportions as to render interference necessary'. The letter states that there are now 'about seventy women of this class in the town and that the number of the men who live almost solely on the earnings of these women is about fifty'. We have satisfactory reason for believing that the numbers, in both cases, are much larger than is stated in this police return. Careful enquiry has been made by reliable persons and they describe the evil as much larger than the Government has been led to believe. But granting for the present that there are only fifty men in the four Clubs 'who live almost solely on the earnings of these women' we contend that here is a social and moral danger of such serious proportions as to render interference immediately imperative, fifty men in the heart of this city, whose time and energy are divided between gambling and plotting the ruin of multitudes of young people! Here surely is an evil that demands immediate attention. It constitutes one of the gravest menaces to society, it is a perpetual source of danger to our youth—a vampire that sucks the lifeblood of many a fair and promising life. The British Government throws open its ports to men of every land and nationality and this is one way in which its political confidence is abused. The offscouring of such places as Port Said and San Francisco, traffickers in the bodies and souls of their fellow creatures, establish their horrible trade under the very shadow of our churches and chapels and at the very doors of our schools and seminaries. They enrich themselves by the shame of women whom they have deceived, they fatten on the unholy gain of their victims.

Calcutta is not the only city that is invaded by this class of foreigners. Dr Stalker, the well-known Scotch divine, speaking recently at a

meeting in Glasgow, says, ' Books were poured over the country of a most degrading type and if they looked at the title page they found that the great majority of them were published by foreigners resident in this country. If in any of the large towns they saw a shop where filthy prints which defiled the mind were shown, and looked up at the sign, they would find that it was kept by a foreigner '

The victims of these foreign traffickers often alienate the sympathy of the public by the open and shameless manner in which they pursue their trade on the public thoroughfares. Let us not, however, judge them too harshly. Every one of the seventy women in the Government return has a history full of wrong and deceit and fraud. They were ' more sinned against than sinning '. A few years ago they were as innocent and pure as our own sisters, but the majority of them have been enticed, entrapped and enslaved by the most abominable methods. Listen to their own story. One was allured from Italy by the promise that she would have a position as an assistant in a place of business; another was brought from Roumania under a similar pretence, one was engaged as a barmaid in a large hotel, another was engaged as a milliner. Many of them came out to the country under the impression that they were honourably married. I have been told of one man that has gone through the marriage ceremony no less than nineteen times, repeating the process in village after village and then passing on his victim to Brindisi, or some other continental port to await his arrival as soon as he had collected a sufficient party. The English language does not contain a word sufficiently strong to characterize the scoundrelism of such a man. These victims pass from one agent to another, from Port Said to Bombay, and from Bombay to other cities in India. Once in the clutches of these men, escape is almost impossible. They have to work out the cost of passage and other expenses. Needless to say very few of them ever succeed in doing this. A slave might occasionally make good his escape by the aid of some kind friend, in the old slavery days of the Southern States. But here escape is almost impossible. Hope is abandoned in many cases, and where life is prolonged they work out their revenge by preying upon that which is purest and best in society.

Can we fairly be accused of interfering with the liberty of the subject when we ask the Government to place an arrest on the vile traffic of these monsters of iniquity? All honour to Bombay for setting us an example in this movement! All honour to the men who have dared to grapple with ' this terrible evil '. What is Calcutta going to do? Are we going to content ourselves with simply passing this resolution? Remem-

ber this evil comes very near to us, it casts its baneful shadow upon our own homes, it is a disgrace to our civilization, it is an insult to our manhood As the late poet laureate reminds us,

"The woman's cause is man's, they rise or sink  
Together, 'twar'd or godlike, bond or free"

It is impossible to degrade woman without lowering the tone of society generally The wrong done to one sex speedily works its revenge upon the other sex

We are told that we shall not receive much sympathy from those who are in places of power or responsibility We do not anticipate *sympathy* but we have a right to expect a proper discharge of *duty* from those who are paid out of public funds to look after public interests. We demand that the law be put in force against these law breakers In the name of all that is pure and honest, in the name of crushed and ruined womanhood, in the name of God that created them and us, we demand that the law be vindicated We demand that these fifty men who live on the earnings of their enslaved victims shall be driven out from our midst We believe it can be done We deprecate any appeal to the British House of Commons until we have exhausted all local resources Fellow-citizens, let us resolve with the heart of one man to arise and put away this accursed thing

THE REV F W WARNE said —The resolution which I have been called upon to second deals with the "deportation of foreign dealers in vice" My feelings are sufficiently intense to induce me to make a long speech upon this subject, but after the eloquent remarks we have already heard, and remembering that a distinguished Member of Parliament from England has yet to speak, I shall make my remarks brief I am encouraged to ask you to support this resolution because these foreigners have been deported from Bombay and that which has been done in Bombay, we believe, can be done in Calcutta We are at present in this difficulty. The "Foreigners' Act" was used in Bombay, but at present it is being said that this Act was framed for political and not for moral purposes, and whether or not it shall be made effective in Calcutta is held in abeyance Our purpose at this meeting is to let the Government know that they will be supported by public opinion if they deport these foreign traders from Calcutta

I am encouraged further to ask you to support this resolution because of the size of this colony A gentleman high in the police told me that there were three hundred foreign men in Calcutta making their living

in this traffic The Government acknowledges, that there are fifty I think this policeman perhaps spoke off hand and rather exaggerated A great many of these people make a pretence of having some business, such as, keeping a cigar shop, and these are probably not included in the Government reports But three clubs in which they club together are well known, and a gentleman who has investigated the matter told me that he knew three clubs and in one of these clubs there are fifty men, and I think we may safely assume that somewhere between fifty and three hundred, say one hundred, or one hundred and fifty is the actual number

I am further encouraged to ask you to support this resolution because the presence of these foreign dealers in vice is the prime cause of the intolerable public indecency which has led to the summoning of this meeting The flagrant indecency of the streets in European parts of the city is almost wholly due to their presence and management

I would further ask you to support this resolution, because of the nature of the business, if business it may be called, in which these foreign men are engaged I have been six years in this city, and I have had a good deal to do by way of testing the liberality of the mercantile community of this city, and I don't believe their gifts to charitable purposes can be equalled anywhere on the face of the earth by the same number, and it is a disgrace to the mercantile community of this city that these foreigners should set up in Calcutta such an enormous traffic in vice. Their first business is to decoy women into this city for immoral purposes

The following deposition is a typical case, and was taken down in the Calcutta Police office on the 15th October, 1887 It lets some light on the way a certain class of foreigners are brought to this country and detained here We suppress names and some undesirable details I am aged about twenty years I was born at Geneva and lived there with my uncle, a general agent While there, I became acquainted with a Mrs W who resided near us and she introduced me to a Mrs M with whom I became very intimate She invited me to go with her to Zurich for a change and I consented On the 16th March, 1887, I left Geneva for Zurich with Mrs W and on arrival there she took me to a house, the character of which I afterwards found out, and I was forced to fall in with its ways After a month, I was made over to a man who took me to Melouse and put me in another house of the same description where I remained for another month—while in that house I was introduced to a man named S and he arranged with my landlord and took me to Bombay, where we arrived on the S S *Singapore* on the 20th June last On our arrival S made me over to L, a relative of his, and I was taken by him to a house in a lane opposite the Byculla Hotel On the day of my arrival, I signed this blank paper at the request of L I remained in that house for about three months, and during this time I was not allowed out I was frequently beaten and ill treated by both L and his wife, because I wished to leave the house and be sent back to my home I could not complain to

any one because I could not speak English, and I was afraid being in a strange country. L used to say I was in his debt. I never got any of this money. A few days ago, L said he would take me to Calcutta, and I agreed to go as I was willing to go anywhere away from them. We left Bombay four days ago and (sic) arrived here on the 11th inst, L took me to a house in Coling Bazar and there we saw a woman. She spoke to L and he said he wanted £50 for me. This the woman refused to give. We then drove to No 6 Kerr's Lane, and L took me into the house. I there saw R and another woman and shortly afterwards a man, M came in. They had some conversation about me with L and he asked £50 for me, both R and her husband refused to give that amount. Then L and M left the house and I remained with R. She put me in a room and gave me some food and told me not to come out. I remained there all day and night. At 2 o'clock in the morning L came into my room and beat me. I screamed out. He beat me several times during the night. At 5 A.M. M came into the room and he and L had some further conversation about how much he was to pay for me. M at last agreed to pay 1,400 francs. At about 10 A.M. another man G came in and in his presence M handed me a bundle of notes, telling me to give them to L and I did so. R and the other woman were also present. L then left the house accompanied by M and the other man, saying he was going back to Bombay. I believe he left by train. After they had gone, R told me that I would have to remain in her house until I paid off the money M had given for me. I do not wish to continue the life I have been forced to lead. I would like to get some work or get back to my country. I do not wish to go back to R's house — *Extract from Englishman of October 25, 1887*

I further plead on behalf of the children and young people of the city for their deportation. I know one of the most objectionable houses in the city, in the neighbourhood of four schools in which are over five hundred scholars of both sexes, and also a large Sunday-school, and I with others have been trying in vain for over four months to get that house removed. Such things as these are intolerable. I plead for their deportation because these men watch for vacant houses, and are spreading these brothels in all directions, among the poor and middle classes, and corrupting the young with sights they should never see. At the annual fete for the schools in Calcutta given at Government House one sees seven or eight thousand children together, and because of these foreigners many of these children cannot go to their homes or about many parts of the city without having their minds corrupted. Therefore on behalf of the young people, I ask you to support the resolution asking for the deportation of foreign dealers in vice.

MR. H. J. WILSON, M. P., said — Bishop Thoburn and citizens of Calcutta, I am not unmindful of your exhortations to brevity and I will try to obey them. I am glad to say how rejoiced I am to see such a meeting as this in your great city of Calcutta. My wife and I have been engaged for many years in work of a similar kind to that which you are engaged in, but although I know something of the nature of the work in our

own country, I do not think it would become me to enter into any details with regard to these matters in your city, with which I must necessarily be ignorant. However, I may make one or two remarks which are applicable to all countries. What we have heard to-night in the admirable speeches, the remarkably able and earnest speeches to which we have listened, has been directed chiefly to the suppression of vice, which appears to be so rampant in your midst. Now, if you will allow me to say so, when you come to deal with this subject you will have to decide how far you are going and what your own convictions are. The conclusion to which we have come in England, and I think in Europe is this, that these matters will never be properly dealt with, until you have established in your own minds the absolute equality of the moral law for men and women alike. This is the foundation on which all your action must rest. It is no use having one moral law for women and another for men. I am rejoiced to have heard such reasonable sentiments about the miserable victims of this miserable traffic. We have for too long been throwing stones at the women and letting the men go free. Why do we not talk of women "sowing their wild oats," and of "fallen men"? Turn it the other way about and see how they like it. There are two persons to this business. You would not have this traffic if there were not a number of profligate men in your midst. Who pays for these women? Where does the money come from? It comes from the pockets of men, and some of it from men who occupy high and honourable positions, though their characters are not honourable. We are sometimes told in England that vice is necessary to man, that man cannot live without sinful indulgence. We say it is a lie. There are thousands of men who have proved that it is perfectly possible to live useful lives and live up to old age, without indulging in sexual intercourse at all. When I hear people talk like that I feel inclined to say, You may judge yourself by that standard, but do not judge the respectable classes. It is said you cannot make people moral by Act of Parliament. Whoever said you could? But what we do say is that it is possible for the law to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong. I want to congratulate you on having this meeting. There has of late been a great moral uprising in England and not in England only but in Europe, and it rejoices me to find that there is a moral uprising in Calcutta. The feeling in England is very different from what it was some time ago, and also in some parts of France, and I do not want Asia to be behind Europe. And therefore I say, in God's name go on,

"Tread all the powers of darkness down, and win the well fought day"

Babu Mahendra Nath Roy moved the next Resolution, which was that a copy of the three foregoing resolutions be forwarded to H E the Viceroy and H H the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal

Babu Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, in seconding the proposal said — I will not trouble you with any lengthy remarks at this late hour I only wish to say that we are under great obligations to the missionaries and clergy of this city for the movement against what I consider, and what everyone of you should consider a public disgrace I may say that this public meeting which has been held in response to the call of the organisers of this movement, is an ample indication that every class of the community is in sympathy with the subject

BARU NARENDRA NATH SEN, Editor of the *Indian Mirror*, moved a vote of thanks to the chair, and addressed the meeting as follows

I rise to discharge a simple duty It is to propose a cordial vote of thanks to the chair We are deeply grateful to Bishop Hobson and the general body of Missionaries in this city for the lead that they have taken in this matter I am sure, you will all admit that this demonstration has not been made a moment too soon for the evils complained of have been growing unchecked, and assuming formidable proportions of late, and it is well that all classes of the community should combine, as they have combined on the present occasion, and make a strong protest against their continued existence It is considered to be quite unfashionable to talk of these things, but, I believe, it is wholly a mistake to maintain silence on the subject We must throw aside our false sense of delicacy, and expose the evils in their hideous nakedness There is nothing like plain-speaking in these matters in order to ensure a radical cure of the social maladies with which we are afflicted I am glad to find that the cause of morality has, of late, been asserting itself, and I do not know how sufficiently to thank our Missionary friends for the efforts that they have been successfully making in furtherance of such a cause It is to these Missionaries that we are indebted chiefly for the recent suppression of the State regulation of vice, than which there could not be a greater blot on the administration of this country, and for the couple of Commissions of Enquiry that are now sitting in India in the interests of temperance What good a little plain-speaking has done in connection with the abominable system of the State regulation of vice, ought to stimulate our efforts in the present Social Purity movement in Calcutta, and to induce us to carry on a persistent agitation until we succeed in gaining our object I know our difficulties are enormous, for wealth, influence, and landed interest are all arrayed



against us in this matter, and I, for one do not know if we can count even upon our Police for help and co-operation. But no difficulties ought to daunt us, and we ought to persevere until we rid this city of its moral plague-spots. I feel strongly on the subject, and it is, therefore, that I have come here to express my deep personal sympathy with the movement. I am afraid, there is not another city in the world where vice obtrudes itself upon public notice in such a shameless form everywhere as in Calcutta, and the worst of it is that we find it flaunting itself in the most crowded and frequented thoroughfares, especially in the Indian quarters of the city. The way in which the evils complained of are allowed to flourish, is simply a disgrace and a scandal. Vice being so obtrusive, it is no wonder that the morals of our boys and girls are soon corrupted, and the endeavours, made by our religious bodies, our schools and colleges, and the Government to train up a generation of moral youths, go for nothing. Our eyes and ears are shocked every moment with sights and sounds of such an immodest character as outrage all our ideas of public decency. How can we expect, under the circumstances, to see our boys and girls, our young men and women, grow up in morality? I am perfectly bewildered when I think of the amount of immorality that is allowed to thrive in this city in various shapes and forms, and until the tide of immorality, which has set in so strongly, is resisted at once in its course, Calcutta deserves to be swept off the face of the earth. There is a large Municipal body in Calcutta with a Health Officer to take care of our physical health, but there is no corresponding body with a corresponding officer to take care of our moral health. We are badly in need of such an organisation to cope with the evils which we have so thoroughly discussed this evening, an organisation which will be a standing menace to all kinds of immorality.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Lal Moolah Mookerjee and carried unanimously. Dr. Mookerjee expressed his deep appreciation of the loving labours of the missionaries in the highest interests of the country.









